

ARS ISLAMICA

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PHOTO. M. B. SMITH. NEG. L-92.44

FIG. 1—BARSĪĀN, MASJĪD [5]28 II. AND MANĀR 491 H., FROM S.-W.

MATERIAL FOR A CORPUS OF EARLY IRANIAN ISLAMIC ARCHITECTURE¹

BY MYRON BEMENT SMITH

II. MANĀR AND MASDĪD, BARSĪĀN (IŞFAHĀN)

NAME, LOCATION. THE SMALL VILLAGE OF BARSĪĀN LIES NEAR THE NORTH BANK OF THE Zāindeh Rūd, six farsakh east of Işfahān, on the caravan track which passes through Kādĵ and Fasārān. In the summer only, with the greatest difficulty, it can be reached with automobile by crossing twenty kilometers of kawīr from Saḳzī to Fasārān and then fording two deep canals. Barsīān is in Baraān, the seventh² district of Işfahān, as was noted in 740 H. by Mustawfī,³ who spelled it برسیان.⁴ The plain about Barsīān, once famous for its fertility, is today insufficiently watered, as by mid-June the Zāindeh Rūd is dry below Shahristān. Other desiccated towns near-by, marked by manārs at Zīār⁵ and Gār,⁶ and by domes at Azīrān,⁷ Kādĵ,⁸ and Dashtī,⁹ or by ruins at Fārfaān,¹⁰ demonstrate what I have often observed in Iran—the tendency of towns to migrate¹¹ up the water courses.

Barsīān is today a hamlet of a few vaulted, mud-brick houses, two ruined čineh¹² ḳal'ehs, a small baked-brick Safawid kārwanserāī, the mud-brick domes of several camel-sweep flour mills, and four simple Imām-zādehs named for Shāh-zādehs Morād, Mardān, Shāms Allāh, and Langar. In the center of the village rise the sturdy manār and dome of the masdĵid, both visible for miles across the wheat and taryāḳ fields by the river, or from the sandy desert to the north.

LITERATURE

The manār and dome are mentioned by Djanāb.¹³ The manār is given a preliminary notice in my "The Manārs of Işfahān."

¹ For the first monograph in this series, see M. B. Smith, "Material for a Corpus of Early Iranian Islamic Architecture, I, Demāwend," *Ars Islamica*, II, (1935), pp. 153-73.

² A. Houtum-Schindler mentions Barsīān as in the fifth bolūk of Işfahān, *Eastern Persian Irak*, London, 1896, p. 126.

³ Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, "The Geographical part of the *Nuzhat-al-Qulūb*, trans. G. Le Strange (Gibb Series, Vol. XXIII, 1919), p. 58; or text (Gibb Series, Vol. XXIII, 1915), p. 51.

⁴ A local tradition communicated to me by the charming kadkhodā, Ḥādĵĵī Barsīānī, would have Parsīān for the original name. The name appears "Bisiyun" on the 1:2,000,000 "Southern Asia Series" map, *Survey of Indīa*, 1914.

⁵ For description of the Seldĵūk manār, see M. B. Smith, "The Manārs of Işfahān," *Āthār-ē Īrān*, Teherān, I (1936), No. 13.

⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 5; the manār is dated 515 H.

⁷ The Masdĵid-i Gabrī. A plan and photographs of this Mongol dome, which I made on Sept. 26, 1935, will be published in the near future.

⁸ A Mongol dome which I first visited on June 8, 1934; I intend to publish it.

⁹ The Mongol Masdĵid-i Buzurg, studied Sept. 28, 1935. I shall publish it.

¹⁰ Once one of the two large outlying towns of Işfahān; cf. Mustawfī, *loc. cit.* (Fārifaān) فارفان; Houtum-Schindler, *loc. cit.* (Farfahan); Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge, 1930, p. 206 (Fārifān).

¹¹ For migrating towns in Afghānistān, see J. P. Ferrier, *Caravan Journeys . . .*, London, 1856, pp. 172-73, and 395.

¹² A stratified *pisé* construction of argillaceous loam.

¹³ Āghā Mīr Saiyid 'Alī Djanāb, *Al-Işfahān* (Işfahān, litho. 1303 H., in Persian), p. 233, where he describes the

METHODS OF STUDY

On June 13, 1934, I visited the monuments for a few hours, a sufficient time to make a sketch plan and preliminary photographs. The next year I managed to get camping and working equipment to the site by automobile, enabling a stay from September 17 to 20. Unfortunately, I then found the mosque half filled with broken straw, making photography of the interior difficult and a full theodolite survey impossible. The plan and section were drawn on the spot at a scale of 1 : 50, and later traced. The height of the dome was taken by the theodolite. The outer profile of the dome was traced from an enlargement to scale of a 59 cm. focus photograph made from the dome of the neighboring serāi. The daur-i 'ad̄jamānah profile layout (*Sketch A*) was worked out from enlarged photographs by trial and error; therefore my sketch may not represent the original method. My third visit was on June 30, 1936.¹⁴ The masd̄jid and manār were recorded on 252 negatives.

BRIEF DESCRIPTION, PRESENT STATE

The mosque group consists of a Seldjūk manār dated 491 H. (1097-98 A.D.), a Seldjūk domed masd̄jid¹⁵ dated Ramaḍān [5]28 H. (June-July [11]34 A.D.), and a ruined Safawid ṣaḥn¹⁶ and īwāns bearing an inscription in the name of Shāh Ṭahmāsp I.¹⁷

Although the manār leans slightly to the north, it is essentially sound. It is 5.75 m. diameter at the ground, 4.2 m. at the top, and is 34.55 m. high; possibly a meter is missing at the top. The shell is 1.8 m. thick at the base, 1.03 m. at the top.¹⁸

The sanctuary interior was never finished, as may be seen by the empty niche-heads (*Figs. 13-15*), the incomplete carved gač of the miḥrāb (*Figs. 14, 20, 32, 39*), the lack of carved gač in the ṣaḥn arch soffit (*Fig. 49*), and the unpointed brick joints (*Figs. 12, 13, 15, 36, 41, 43, 47*). The fabric is in a sad state. The dome crown has fallen (*Figs. 9, 16*), vicious cracks show in the dome, octagon, and cube (*Figs. 2, 3, 16, 19*), and bricks have been taken away from the outer wall (*Fig. 10*). All but one of the sanctuary openings have been blocked with baked- or mud-brick. A low dado of gač was at some time plastered around the interior (*Figs. 13-15*), covering the extremities of the miḥrāb frame inscriptions. A damaged gač inscription panel (*Figs. 14, 34*) is more recent than a trial pointing of the brickwork (*Figs. 14, 40*). The south squinch shows a repair patch (*Figs. 4, 12*).

manār as being 28m. [*sic*] high and from the time of Malik Shāh [*sic*], the neighboring dome as having an inscription similar to that built by, and bearing the name of, Khwād̄jeh Niẓām al-mulk, in the Masd̄jid-i Djum'a, Iṣfahān, [the 465-485 H. kibleh dome chamber].

¹⁴ Only part of the straw had been removed. After digging a deep pit in it, Ustād Ḥusain, master-mason of the Iṣfahān Ma'āref, removed the later gač dado which covered the end of the miḥrāb main inscription (*C* in *Table of Inscriptions*). As a photograph was not pos-

sible, I was compelled to record it with a drawing (*Sketch B*).

¹⁵ To obviate confusion with the later ṣaḥn, I shall hereafter designate this masd̄jid as the sanctuary.

¹⁶ Local tradition would have this a madraseh. I have found several Safawid madrasehs in small villages about Iṣfahān.

¹⁷ 930-984 H. (1524-1576 A.D.).

¹⁸ The circular core is 82 cm. in diameter at the base, 72 cm. at the top. The stair starts with 15 risers to a revolution. At the present top I could find no trace of a platform.



PHOTO. M. B. SMITH, NEG. L-93.30

FIG. 2—BARṢIĀN, MASJID, S.-E. ELEVATION



PHOTO. M. B. SMITH, NEG. L-93.26

FIG. 3—BARṢIĀN, MASJID, N.-W. ELEVATION

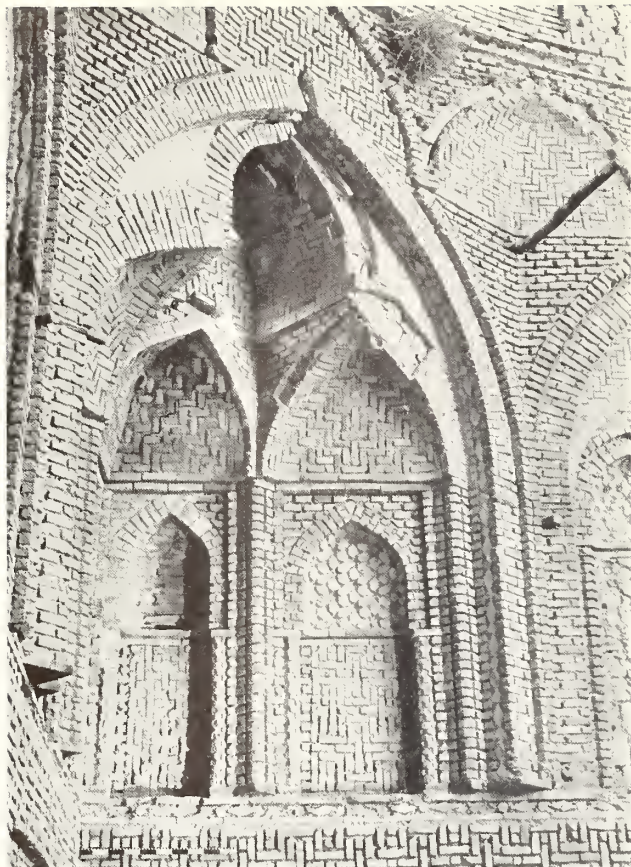


PHOTO. M. B. SMITH, NEG. L-92.16

FIG. 4—BARSĪĀN, SQUINCH, SOUTH CORNER

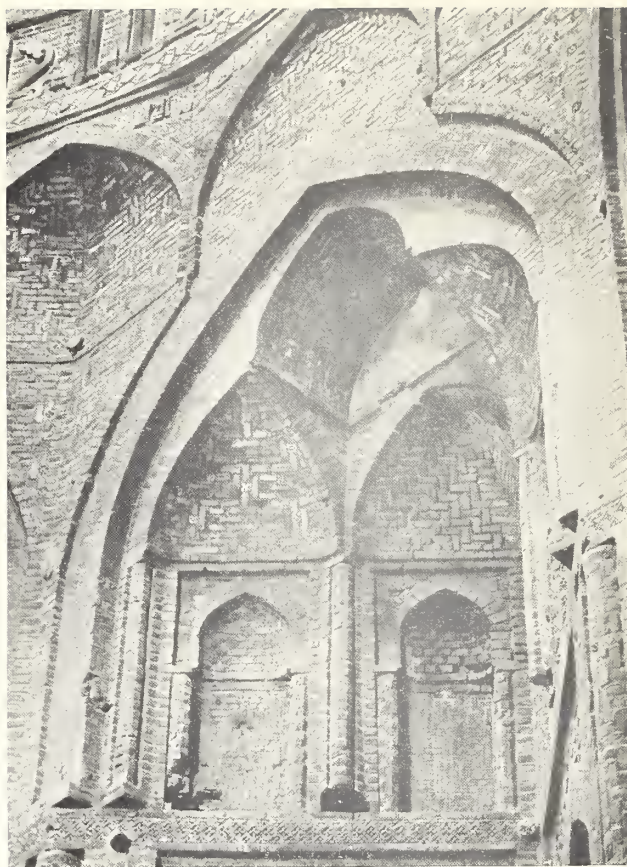


PHOTO. M. B. SMITH, NEG. L-151.30

FIG. 5—ISFAHĀN, DJUM'Ā, SQUINCH, 481 H.

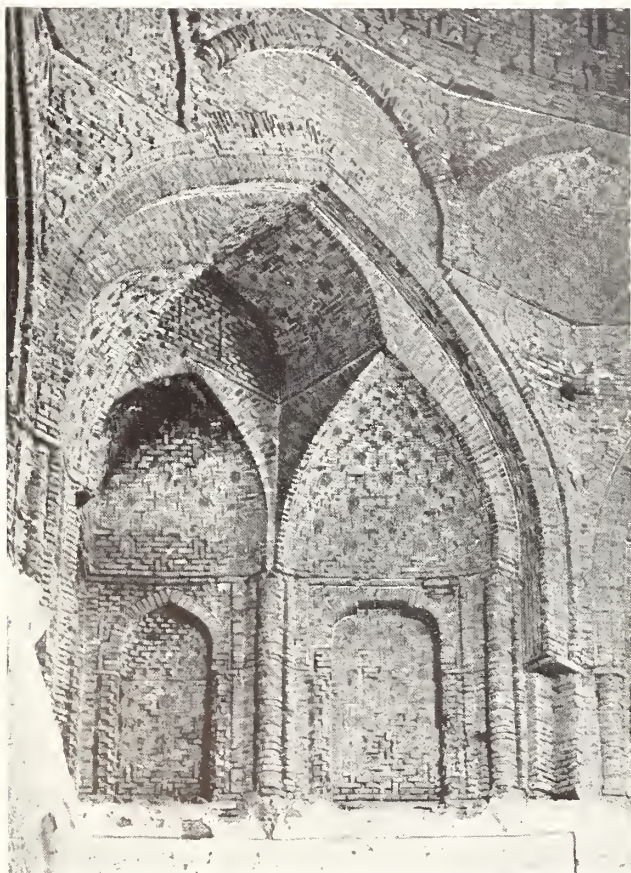


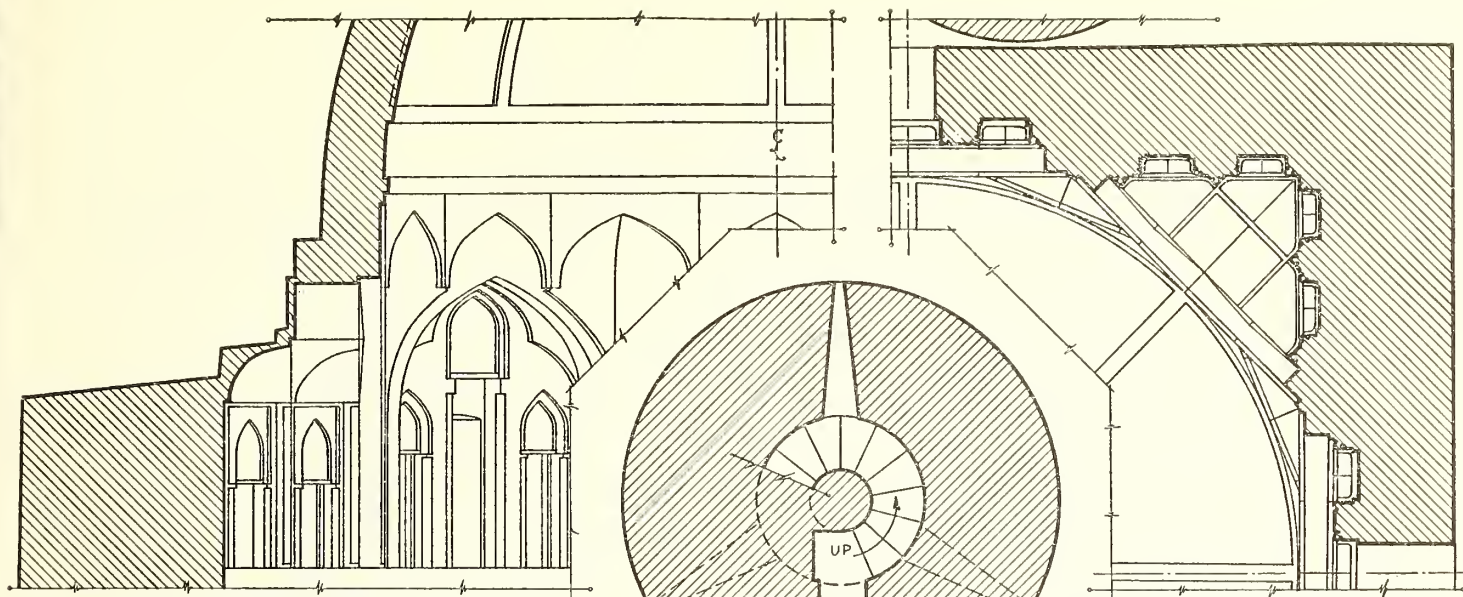
PHOTO. M. B. SMITH, NEG. L-151.27

FIG. 6—ISFAHĀN, DJUM'Ā, SQUINCH, 465-85 H.



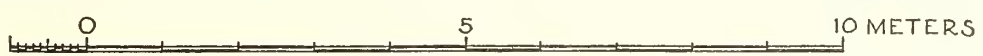
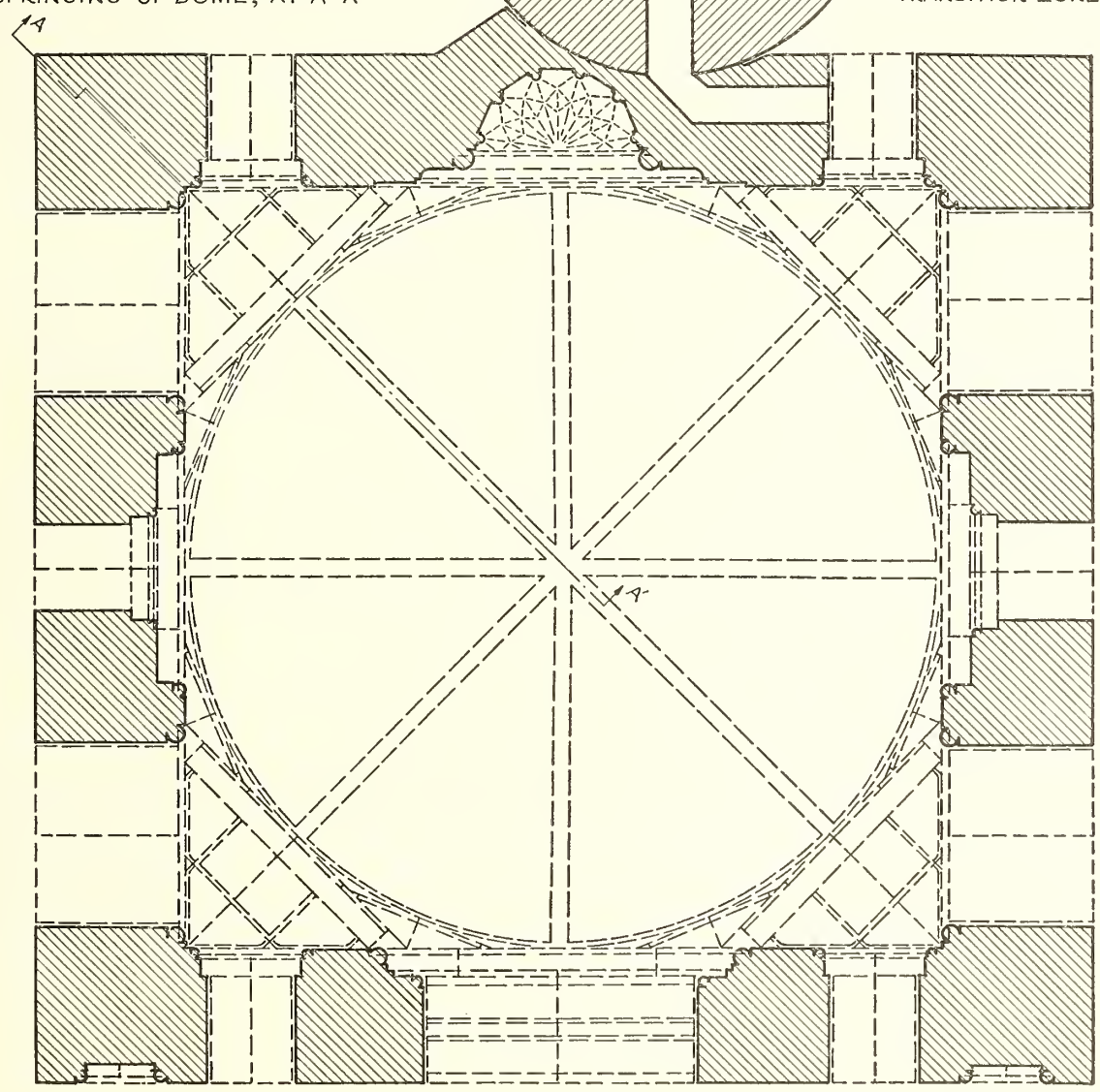
PHOTO. M. B. SMITH, NEG. L-100.2

FIG. 7—GULPĀIGĀN, DJUM'Ā, SQUINCH, 498-511 H.



SECTION AT 45° THROUGH SQUINCH AND SPRINGING OF DOME, AT A-A'

REFLECTED QUADRANT PLAN OF TRANSITION ZONE AT LEVEL B-B'



© JUNE 1936. MYRON BEMENT SMITH

PLATE I—BARSĪĀN, MASDĪD, PLAN AND DETAILS, REPRODUCED AT SCALE OF 1 : 100

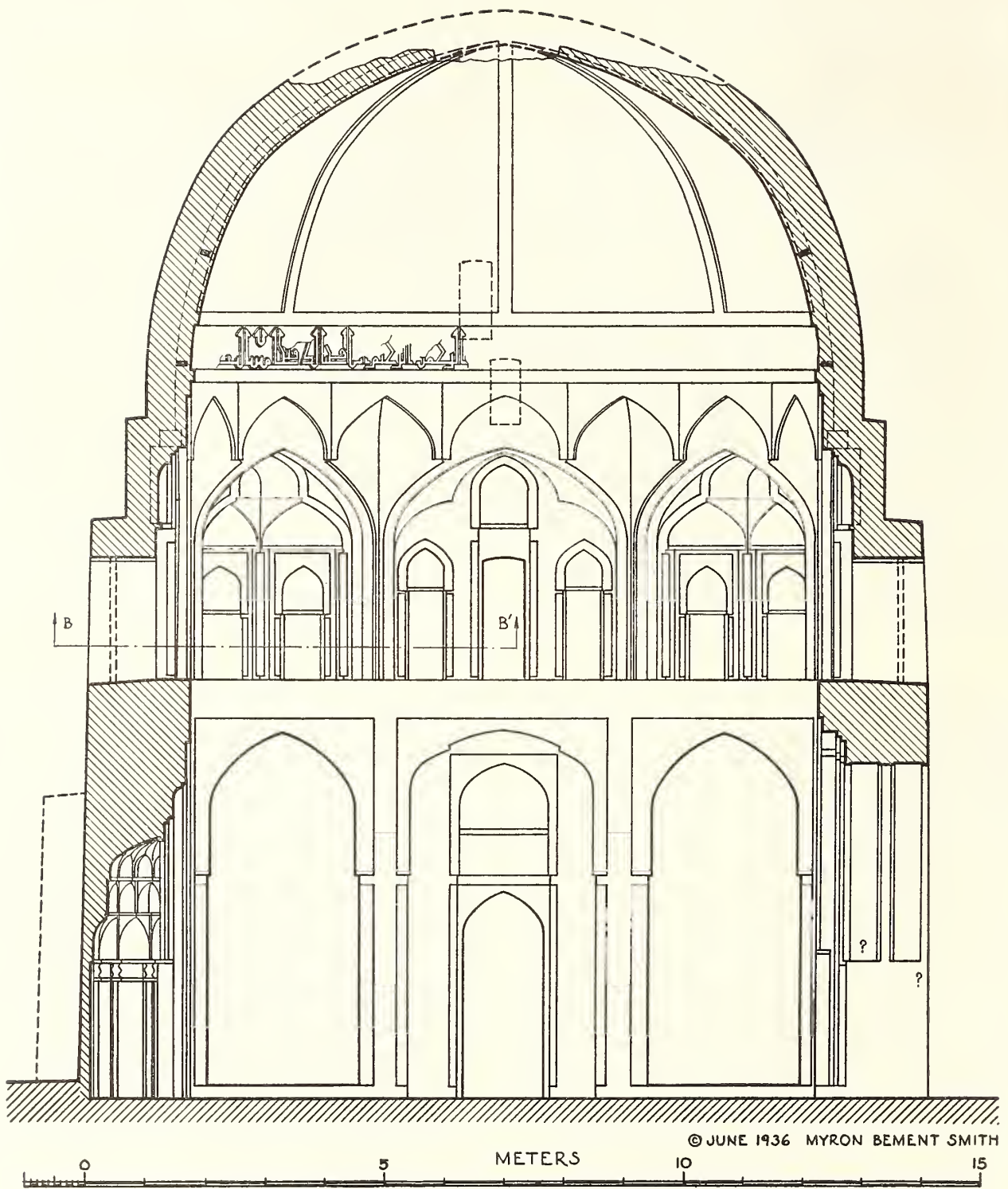


PLATE II—BARŠIĀN, MASJID, SECTION ON KIBLEH AXIS, REPRODUCED AT SCALE OF 1 : 100

The *ṣaḥn* (Figs. 8, 11) is an almost complete ruin. Sections of the *ḳibleh iwān* inscription frieze had fallen between my first and second visits. During 1936 the *ḳibleh iwān* piers were robbed of bricks.¹⁹

PLAN, ORIENTATION

The *manār* presumably served a former mosque. In laying out the present sanctuary, it was placed to the northeast of and close against the *manār*, producing an asymmetrical scheme (Pl. I) with the *manār* entrance prolonged through the sanctuary wall. The sanctuary was conceived as an open kiosk, free standing, entered by eleven openings disposed on its four sides. As these openings had no doors,²⁰ it must be concluded that the *manār*-sanctuary group stood in a *ḥaram* area, or walled *temenos*, guarded by gates. By means of early Safawid additions, the plan was reformed to resemble the *Khorāsān* *madraseh* plan of arcaded *ṣaḥn* with *iwāns*. These additions consisted principally of a rectangular *ṣaḥn* (Fig. 8) surrounded by vaulted openings and two *iwāns*,²¹ the latter disposed on the *ḳibleh* axis, the *ḳibleh iwān* concealing the sanctuary *façade* (Fig. 11). The middle arch to the sanctuary was furnished with a bridge²² (Figs. 11, 15) which doubtless served as a *dakkah*,²³ while its two flanking arches were blocked. This Safawid addition was wrapped around the sanctuary flanks, impost grooves being cut in the walls (Fig. 3) to receive the low vaulting system. Entrances to the sanctuary were now reduced to three. After the *ṣaḥn* fell into ruin,²⁴ the opening under the *dakkah* was grilled. The eleven original openings and four windows furnished abundant lighting. The windows sometime had grills (Pl. II). The original floor level appears to have been preserved (Fig. 14).

The *miḥrāb* points 26° 20' W. of S.²⁵ As the true *ḳibleh* for *Barsiān* is ca. 49° 40' W. of S.,²⁶ the error is approximately 23° 20' to the south.

¹⁹ The *Iṣfahān* *Ma'āref* has now put a stop to these depredations. M. Godard tells me that the Service Archéologique will add the *masjīd* and *manār* to the Inventory of National Monuments, after which the fabric will be put in repair.

²⁰ For evidence of doors at *Ṭāḳ-i Kisrā*, *Sāmarrā*, and *Mshattā*, see E. Herzfeld, "Die Genesis der islamischen Kunst und das Mshatta-Problem," *Der Islam* (Strassburg), I (1910), p. 111, and Fig. 1 (repeating the drawing of Schulz).

²¹ The lateral *iwāns* are suppressed, as at M.-i *Dj.*, *Warāmīn*, for plan of which see F. Sarre, *Denkmäler Persischer Baukunst*, Berlin, 1910, II, Abb. 68.

²² In the Mongol period such a bridge, with a small access stair, was added to many *masjīds* and *madrasesh*. As the *miḥrāb* axis was thereby obscured, the effect is unfortunate. To name a few examples: *Iṣfahān*, M.-i

Dj.; *Sedeh*, M.-i *Khūzān*; *Muḥammadiyah*, M.-i *Dj.*; *Abarḳūh*, M.-i *Dj.*; *Dashtī*, M.-i *Buzurg*.

²³ At M.-i *Dj.*, *Nāin*, the Mongol *dakkah* was added inside the building, in front of the *miḥrāb*, while similar platforms flanked it; for a sketch plan, see H. Viollet, "Un Monument des Premiers Siècles de l'Hégire en Perse," *Syria*, II (1921), Pl. XXVIII; cf. also the measured plan of M. André Godard in Smith, *op. cit.* (1935), Fig. 29.

²⁴ According to local tradition, the village was devastated by the *Afghāns*.

²⁵ Directions are from true N. The magnetic variation for *Iṣfahān* is 4° 20' E. (corrected up to June, 1936).

²⁶ Determined graphically from a true polyconic projection, even so only an approximation.

FORMS, COMPOSITIONS

Manār. The manār is a conico-cylindrical shaft (*Fig. 1*) without plinth, divided by ornament as a plain base, a prolonged main zone, and at the top a doubled collar under a slightly corbeled crown.

Sanctuary. The sanctuary exterior mass-composition shows a square plinth on which are superposed in turn a low octagon and a conico-hemispherical dome. The interior utilizes the same forms in changed proportions and the addition of a double-octagon below the dome. The interior octagon is emphasized at the cost of the square plinth and the dome. The dome was intended to have a stilted, four-centered profile. The interior wall decoration is composed as two stories. The lower story utilizes triple arch and triumphal arch²⁷ groups. The upper story is the continuous arcade. There are two niche compositions. The first are triforas incorporating the transition-zone windows, and are framed in blind arches (*Pl. I, Fig. 12*). The second composition, the niche-over-arch, is seen at large scale in the squinches and their corresponding blind arches superposing the openings in the cube walls (*Pl. I, Fig. 12*). It reoccurs in ten instances at smaller scales (*Fig. 12, Fig. 13 center, Fig. 15 corners*).²⁸

MATERIALS, CONSTRUCTION METHODS, WORKMANSHIP

Manār. The baked-brick manār was erected with the use of exterior scaffolds, the holes of which are visible. The facing bricks are not a revetment, but were laid up with, and bonded into, the wall. The shaft diaper has a slight twist, clockwise in plan (*Fig. 1*). The stair passage is a spiral vault rising counterclockwise in plan,²⁹ lighted by three splayed, slit openings to each revolution, its ceiling a warped lintel of radiating, corbeled brick courses.³⁰ The single³¹ newel stair has each riser topped by a wood nosing which extends into the core and shell.³² The foundation is not visible.³³

Sanctuary. In constructing the sanctuary, the core was finished before the inner revetment was applied. The revetment, therefore, has little structural connection with the core. It is supported by the core (*Figs. 41, 50*), or by triangular wood corbels (*Figs. 17, 47*); it sits on the cube wall (*Pl. II*),³⁴ is held by the cohesion of gač (*Figs. 23-27*), or is semi-self-supporting (*Figs. 18, 36, 37, 43*). The scaffolding for the cube was erected inside

²⁷ The northeast elevation (*Fig. 15*).

²⁸ The corner use is the rule in early domed cubes of the Iṣfahān and neighboring areas. The earliest I have seen is at Dawāzdeh Imām, Yazd (429 H. inscr.). It continued through the Mongol period, as at Gunbad Khwādjeh Sard at Iṣfahān, M.-i Khūzān at Sedeh (here doubled), in Imām-zādeh Karrār at Buzūn, "B" in my plan, cf. M. B. Smith and E. Herzfeld, "Imām Zāde Karrār at Buzūn, a Dated Seldjūk Ruin," *Archaeol. Mitteil. aus Iran*, Berlin, VII₂/3, p. 66, and in many monuments as at Abarkūh, Yazd, Azīrān, Kādī, Gār, etc.

²⁹ The normal direction.

³⁰ The usual method, but I have noticed some intricate exceptions.

³¹ For examples of doubled stair, see Smith, *op. cit.* (1936), note 64.

³² I have found few exceptions to this construction.

³³ For Seldjūk manār foundations, see those of Čihil Dukhtarān (501 H.), and Gār (515 H.), *ibid.*

³⁴ Note setback of arches and niches of transition zone.

(*Figs. 13-15, 36*), but for the dome both in the intrados³⁵ (*Figs. 16-18*) and on the extrados³⁶ (*Fig. 3*). On the south corner of the cube the exterior newel stair (*Fig. 10*), reached by ladder, was useful during the construction, although its purpose was to facilitate roof repairs. The triangular salience behind the mihrāb (*Pl. I, Figs. 2, 10*) is not a buttress, but a necessary thickening of the niche wall. The use of gač mortar³⁷ and the apparent lack of projecting cornices presupposed frequent repointing of exterior joints if the fabric was to be preserved from the effects of rain, snow, and ice. The foundation is not visible. As certain woods, if exposed and kept dry, show little deterioration after eight hundred years in the Iṣfahān climate, the use of such materials for lintels cannot be held wholly vicious.³⁸ Deplorable, however, is the practice of omitting mortar in rising joints (*Fig. 42*). A comparatively high degree of accuracy is shown in the layout of the plan (*Pl. I*). The interior diagonals are equal to within 2 cm.,³⁹ although the sides are 31 cm. out of square. The elevations are far from exact, especially the southwest façade, which has both batter and warp. Owing to crude workmanship, the dome extrados is marred at the haunch by an over-abrupt change of direction. Extreme economy of material is noticed in the squinch closing, especially the tympanum of the upper arch, which is but the 12 cm. revetment.⁴⁰

Šahn. The šahn construction reveals poor foundations, hasty erection, and the most expensive and gorgeous Iranian revetment technique applied to the cheapest core, sufficient evidence to establish a Safawid dating even though the inscription were lacking.

BRICKWORK

Manār. The manār brickwork is medium-baked, and of pinkish yellow body.⁴¹ It is laid in weak, gač mortar, with slight irregularities in bed levels and bond alignments. The shell and the lower part of the facing are of brick specially molded to align with the circumference and to lie with sides parallel to radii (*Sketch C*). Small brick cubes back the wide, rising joints (*Fig. 46*).⁴² The other facing bricks were trimmed⁴³ before firing. With the possible exception of the lower part of the kūfī (*Fig. 48*), which may have been assembled in precast slabs, the diaper- and pattern-work were laid up free-hand. The pointing (*Figs. 45, 46*) was never completed. The general effect is plastic, unmechanical. The interior shows a smaller brick, 20.5 cm. square by 5 cm. thick, cut to the radius of the core, but not to that of the shell.

³⁵ In three tiers; the middle tier is partly preserved.

³⁶ A few scaffold holes show.

³⁷ The mortar is clay with the addition of various percentages of poor quality calcined gypsum (gač). Only in laying arches or domes without centering, for pointing, for carved work, and in casting mosaic, is gač used without adulteration.

³⁸ The two wood chains indicated in the dome (*Pl. II*) should be confined to lintels over the dome openings.

³⁹ At a height of 1.5 m. from the floor. At a height of 2.5 m., the diagonals are both 14.74 m.

⁴⁰ Best studied in the 45° section detail (*Pl. I*).

⁴¹ The fuel used on the plateau not only for baking brick, but also for calcining limestone and gypsum (often in the same kiln), is camel-thorn. Iranian bricks are not baked more than is absolutely necessary. I doubt if, on the plateau, wood was ever used extensively in historical times for brick baking.

⁴² Cf. Smith, *op. cit.* (1935), Fig. 25.

⁴³ "Damp trimmed," i.e., the mold marks are cut off with a peculiar knife.

Sanctuary. The sanctuary exterior is of slightly irregular, untrimmed, dark pink baked-brick of medium hardness, laid in irregular bond in argillaceous gač mortar (*Fig. 42*). The interior is finished with a full revetment of roughly dressed baked-brick laid in weak gač, in plain bond (*Fig. 41*), diaper bond (*Figs. 19, 36, 37, 43*), brick-mosaic (*Figs. 47* niche-heads, 50), or brick-gač-mosaic (*Figs. 23-33, 35, 38, 39*). Carved brick occurs in two instances: the false joints of the triangular plaques of a miḥrāb panel (*Fig. 38*), and the kūfī relief around the multilobed blind arch of the miḥrāb middle panel (*Fig. 35*). The saw was used to work out capitals (*Figs. 27, 39*), rabbits (*Figs. 23, 28, 32*), and kūfī characters (*Figs. 49, 50*). The geometrical units of the brick-gač-mosaic (*Figs. 23-28, 32, 39, 49*) were adzed to shape, then rubbed fairly smooth.⁴⁴ The effect of roughly raked joints (*Figs. 36, 47*) is of work unfinished; all joints were intended to be pointed (*Fig. 18*).

Şahn. The şahn brickwork is a massive core of mud-brick reinforced with a few baked-brick, both laid in clay mortar. This core is encrusted with a thin revetment of smoothly rubbed, yellow-pink, under baked brick laid in gač mortar, in even courses with precise bonding, the horizontal joints carefully raked, and the rising joints minute (*Figs. 11, 51* border). The tympana of the wall arches (*Fig. 11*) are in brick-mosaic technique. The arrises are of metallic precision. The general effect is dry, linear, mechanical. The panels of the piers (*Fig. 11*) are of brick-faïence-mosaic.

BRICK DIMENSIONS *
In centimeters

Length	Width	Thickness	Height of 10 courses	Horizontal joints	Vertical joints	Position where measured
27.0 †	27.0	5.5	74.0	1.50-2.50	4.50-6.0 ‡	Manār, facing, second zone from ground, <i>Fig. 46</i>
20.5	20.5	5.0	....	....	....	Manār, interior, top, corbeled vault
24.0 §	24.0 §	4.5-6	69.0	1.50-2.00	0.05-0.1	Sanctuary, exterior, north corner, <i>Fig. 42</i>
24.0	24.0	5.5 ||	71.5	0.03-0.04	1.50-2.2	Sanctuary, interior, rough tarāsh, <i>Fig. 41</i>
23.5	23.5	4.8	64.0	1.5 ¶	0.05-0.1	Şahn, facing, smooth tarāsh, <i>Fig. 11</i>
26.5	26.5	6.0	....	....	....	Şahn, backing, <i>Fig. 11</i>
27.0	27.0	6.0	....	....	....	Şahn, wall core, mud (sun-dried) brick, <i>Fig. 11</i>

* All baked, save last item.

† Special wedge shape, to fit radius, see *Sketch C*.

‡ 0.3 to 0.5 cm. for first meter from ground level.

§ Varies from 23 to 25.5 cm.

|| Pattern bricks rubbed to 5.2 thickness, other dimensions as required.

¶ Carefully raked 0.8 cm. deep.

⁴⁴ Tarāsh, تراش, (rubbed work); cf. English gauged work, for which see Nathaniel Lloyd, *A History of*

English Brickwork, London, 1928, pp. 75 ff.



PHOTO. M. B. SMITH, NEG. L-93.19

FIG. 8—BARSĪĀN, ŞAFAWID ŞAHN, SEEN FROM MANĀR



PHOTO. M. B. SMITH, NEG. L-93.22

FIG. 9—BARSĪĀN, DOME, SEEN FROM MANĀR

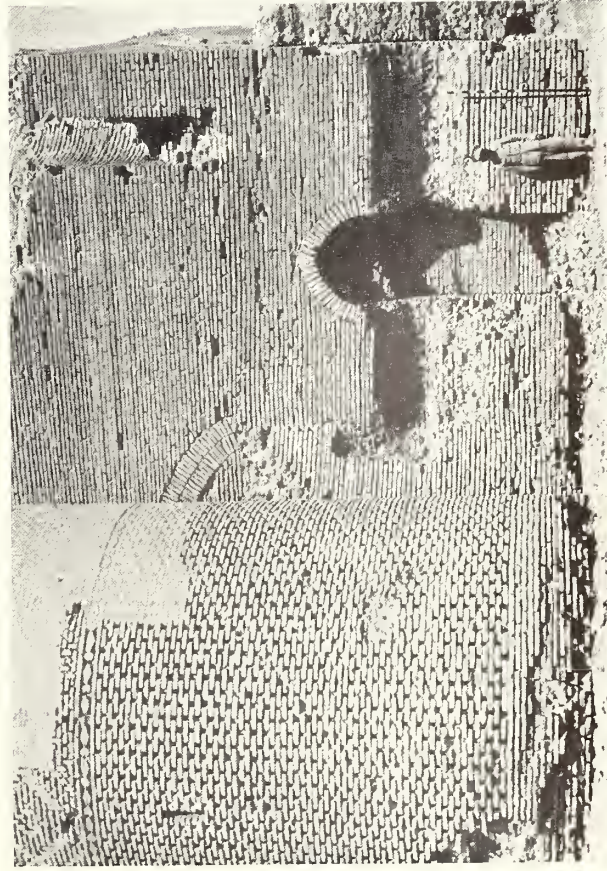


PHOTO. M. B. SMITH, NEG. L-93.31

FIG. 10—BARSĪĀN, S.-W. ELEVATION, BASE OF MANĀR

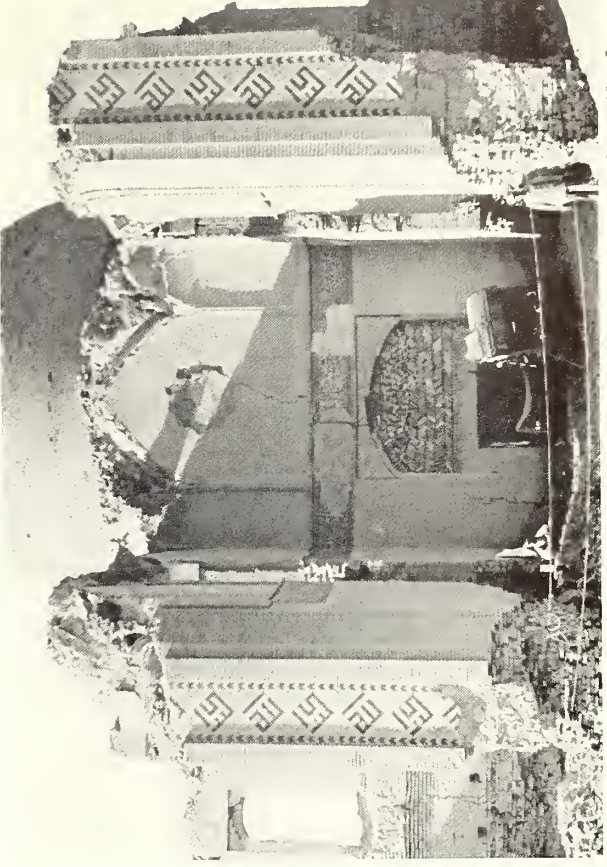
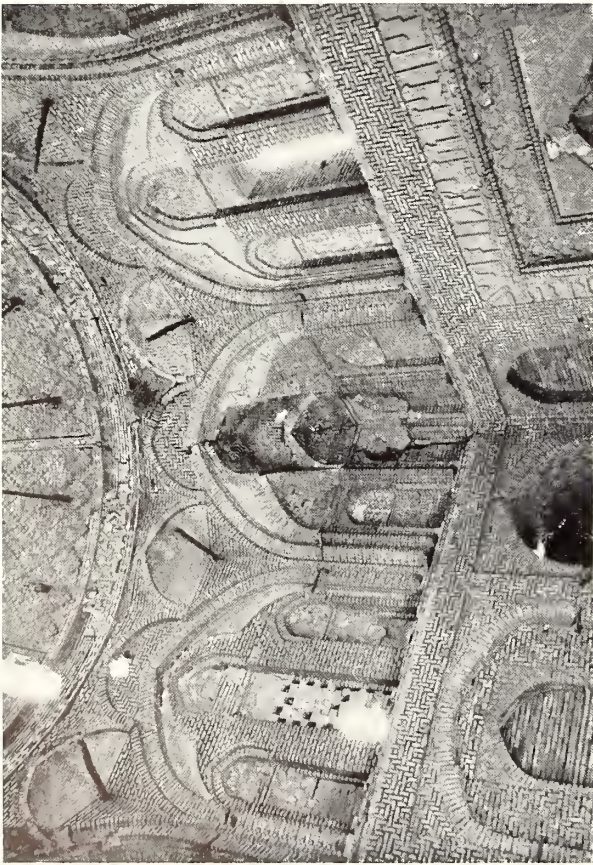


PHOTO. M. B. SMITH, NEG. L-93.37

FIG. 11—BARSĪĀN, N.-W. ELEVATION, RUINED ŞAFAWID İWĀN



PHOTO, M. B. SMITH, NEG. L-4.27

FIG. 12—SANCTUARY, INTERIOR, SOUTH CORNER, TRANSITION ZONE



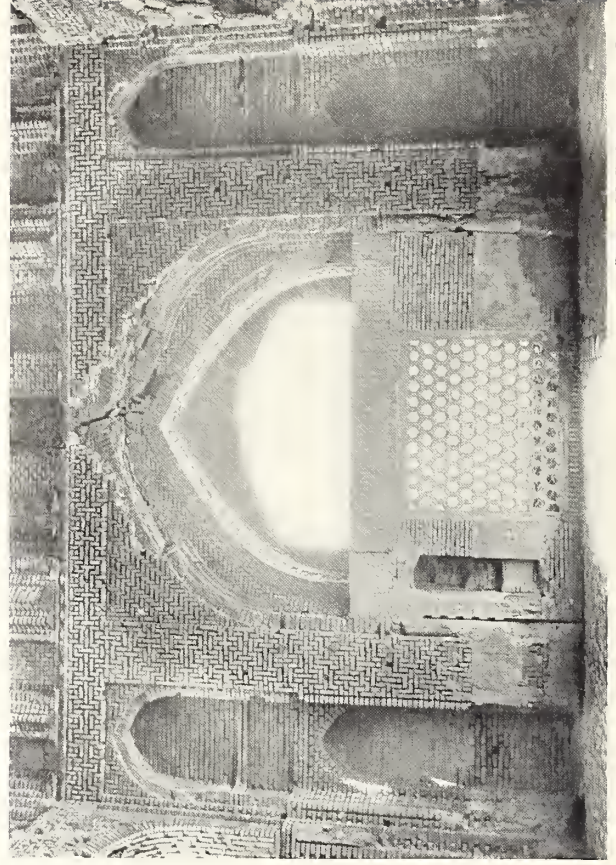
PHOTO, M. B. SMITH, NEG. L-4.25

FIG. 13—SANCTUARY, INTERIOR, N.-W. ELEVATION OF CUBE



PHOTO, M. B. SMITH, NEG. L-4.23

FIG. 14—SANCTUARY, INTERIOR, SOUTH CORNER OF CUBE, MURAB



PHOTO, M. B. SMITH, NEG. L-4.29

FIG. 15—SANCTUARY, INTERIOR, N.-W. ELEVATION OF CUBE

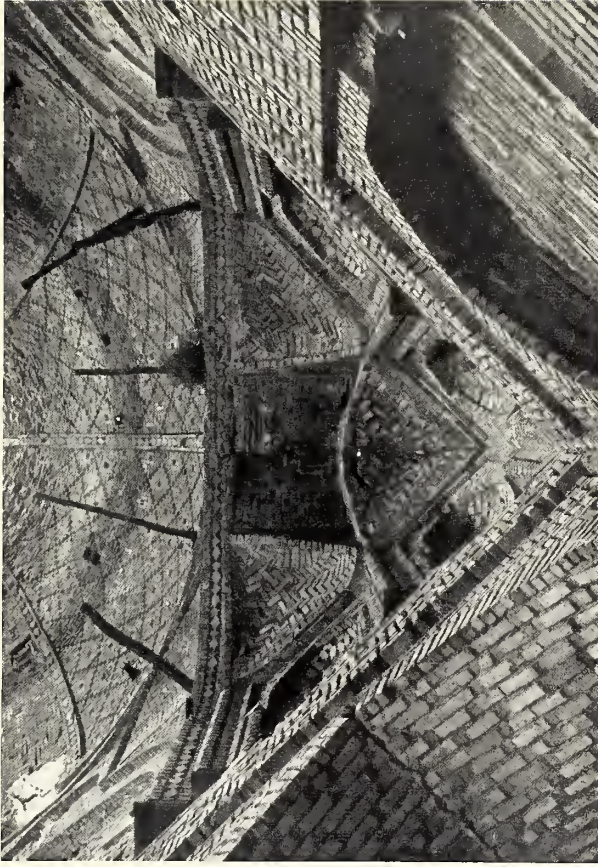


PHOTO. M. B. SMITH, NEG. L-4-30

FIG. 17—SOUTH SQUINCH, FROM BELOW



PHOTO. M. B. SMITH, NEG. L-150-39

FIG. 19—FRACTURE IN DOME, SHOWING RIB AND REVETMENT



PHOTO. M. B. SMITH, NEG. L-4-39

FIG. 16—S.-W. PART OF DOME, FROM BELOW

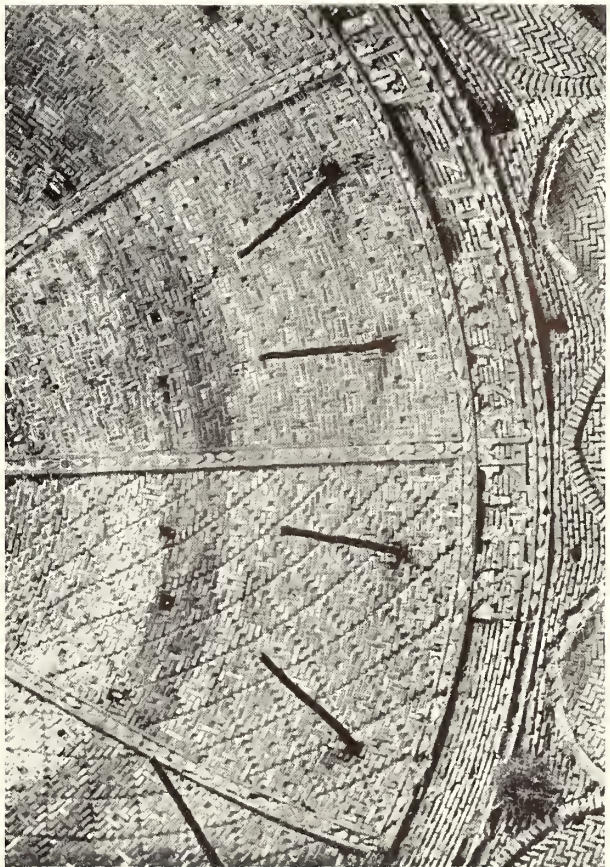
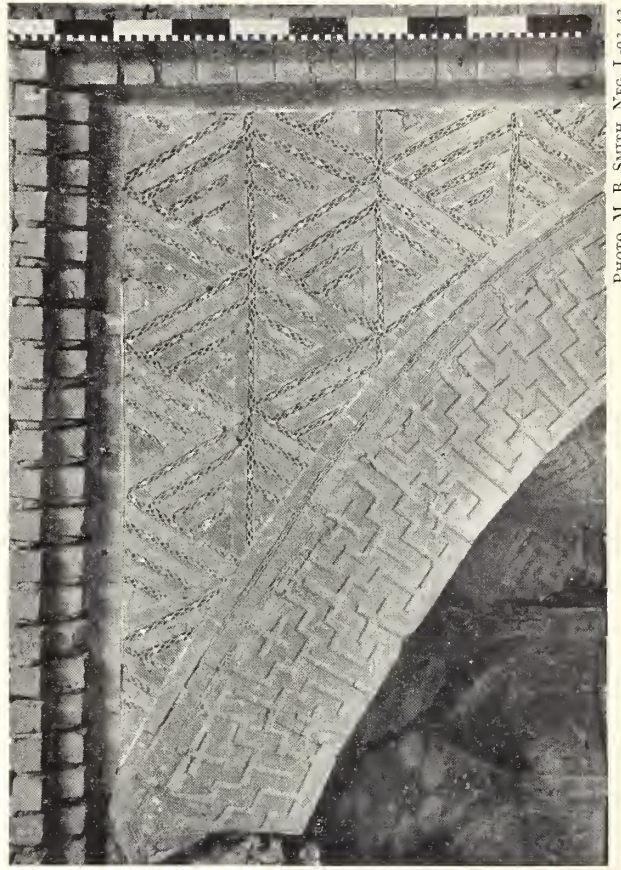


PHOTO. M. B. SMITH, NEG. L-92-32

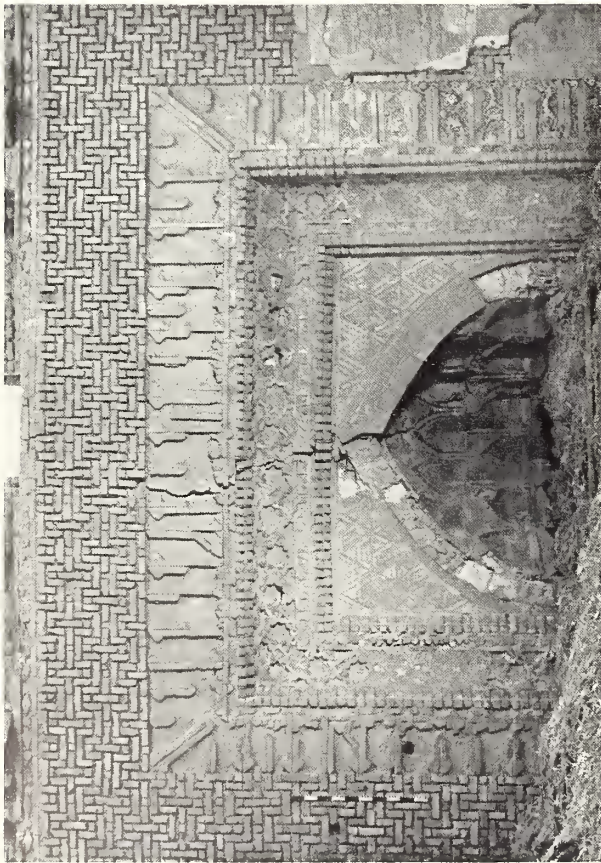
FIG. 18—SPRINGING OF DOME, S.-W. SEGMENT



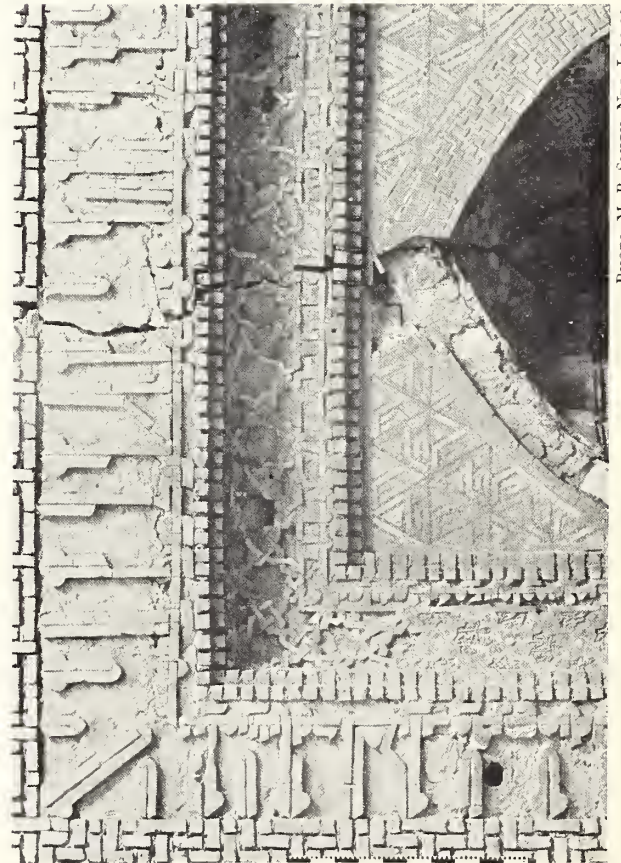
PHOTO, M. B. SMITH, NEG. L-438
 FIG. 21—MIHRĀB, STALACTITE NICHE, FROM BELOW



PHOTO, M. B. SMITH, NEG. L-93.42
 FIG. 23—MIHRĀB, SPANDEL DETAIL, BRICK-GAČ REVETMENT



PHOTO, M. B. SMITH, NEG. L-92.31
 FIG. 20—MIHRĀB, UPPER PORTION



PHOTO, M. B. SMITH, NEG. L-92.29
 FIG. 22—MIHRĀB, DETAIL OF RECTANGULAR FRAME

ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS

Dome. The dome consists of a plain outer shell, and an inner revetment composed as eight spherical triangles separated by eight ribs. There is no brick bonding between these three elements of shell, revetment, and ribs (*Sketch D*). The outer shell is 62 cm. thick at its springing, of which 24 cm. is an outer, facing brick and the balance the rough backing (bonded to it) of $1\frac{1}{2}$ bricks, plus joints.⁴⁵ The shell and its backing are of concentric rings of bonded half- and whole-brick laid as stretchers, in gač mortar beds horizontal at the springing, but as they mount, increasingly tilted inward to parallel the rising radius. After repeated examination I am persuaded that the thickness of the shell was considerably less near the broken crown. The revetment is a full brick (24 cm.) thick at the springing, but only a half-brick (12 cm.) near the crown. It is a diaper bond, the narrow face of the brick exposed (*Fig. 19*). The salient rib, of rectangular section, is *ca.* 21 cm. (three bricks plus two thick mortar joints) wide, and a full brick (24 cm.) deep, the bricks laid with the narrow face vertical and exposed. The middle brick is depressed, with the resulting channel inlaid flush with a lozenge-disc pattern. The 6 cm. salience was obtained by backing the entire rib with a thick bed of mortar (*Fig. 19*). To the northwest, at the springing, are two narrow openings through the outer shell, one of these below the springing of the rib, the other diagonally above it and beside the rib. The revetment, including part of the kũfi zone, blocked these openings inside, but in the outer shell they remained open. On the south-east, another pair of similar openings is opposed (*Fig. 2*), making four in all.⁴⁶

Arched Profiles. For convenience in classification there are grouped in the following table not only true arches, but also blind arches, niche-heads, and relieving arches. From the table it is evident that the most useful profile was the daur-i 'adjamānah,⁴⁷ followed in turn by the multifoil,⁴⁸ segmental, and shoulder.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ These dimensions assume that the same size brick is used for the dome as for the cube, a fact I could not verify. The full thickness at springing of shell plus revetment would be 87 cm.

⁴⁶ These openings were used in building the dome. The complicated method of erecting this dome will be described in detail in my forthcoming "Iranian Single and Double Domes." If not already apparent, that description will demonstrate that the ribs of this dome are not functional.

⁴⁷ Cf. Sarre and Herzfeld, *Archaeologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet*, Berlin, II (1920), p. 167, note 2. Argument for the Iranian or the Mesopotamian priority of the pointed arch profile recently left the material plane for discussion of an ogee example on the famous Sasanid plate in the Hermitage (illus. J. Orbeli et C. Trever, *Orfèvrerie Sasanide*, Moscow, 1935, Pl. 20); and of a stilted, four-centered example on the engraved bronze salver in the K.-F. Mus., Berlin (*Cat.*

Int. Ex. Persian Art, London, 1931, 3rd ed., No. 78). If such representational examples are to be admitted, I submit that the earliest four-centered profile yet known in the Near East is that of the Parthian shrine in the sanctuary of Aphlad, Dura-Europos, a *depinto* now in the Yale Gallery of Fine Arts, New Haven, cf. M. Rostovzeff, "Dura and the Problem of Parthian Art," *Yale Classical Studies*, V (1935), p. 248 and Figs. 54, 55; also, *Excavations at Dura-Europos, Preliminary Reports*, New Haven, V (1934), pp. 104 ff. and Pl. XXXVII.

⁴⁸ For a trifoil profile at Raḡka (Great Mosque, ṣaḡn façade of Nūr al-Dīn), see Sarre and Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, III (1911), Pl. LXVI *supra*. For an example at Sāmarrā (Ḳaṣr al-Āshīḳ), see *ibid.*, I (1911), Fig. 31; III, Pl. XVII. For a squinch profile: at Yazd, Dawāzdeh Imām, 429 H. For a stalactite profile: at Abarkūh, the so-called Gunbad 'Alī (E. G. Browne, *A Year Amongst the Persians*, 2nd ed., Cambridge, 1927, pp. 385-86; first photographed in 1904 by Dr. Donald W. Carr of the C. M. S.

ARCHED PROFILES

Description	Location	Illustration	Frequency
A. <i>Pointed, 4-centered, stilted, oversailing (daur-i 'adjamānah)</i>			
True arches	Cube openings	Pl. II, Sk. A, Figs. 2, 3, 10, 13, 14, 15	11
Blind arches	Transition zone	Pl. II, Figs. 4, 12, 16	8
Niche	Mihrāb	Figs. 14, 20	1
Niches	Over corner openings of cube	Figs. 13, 14, 15	6
Niches	Wall niches, transition zone	Pl. II, Figs. 4, 12, 47	28
Niches	Double octagon	Pl. II, Figs. 4, 12, 16	8
Spherical triangles	Squinch heads	Pl. II, Figs. 4, 14, 17	16
Spherical triangles	Mihrāb niche-head	Figs. 20, 21, 24-27	18
B. <i>Multifoil</i>			
Pointed, trifoil, oversailing	Squinch opening	Pl. II, Figs. 4, 12	4
Pointed, trifoil, blind	Corresponding position within blind wall arches	Pls. I, II, Fig. 12	4
Pointed, trifoil, blind	Transition zone, framing squinches, blind wall arches	Pls. I, II, Figs. 12, 16	8
Polylobed, blind	Mihrāb panel *	Fig. 35	1
C. <i>Segmental</i>			
True arches	Transition zone, windows	Pl. II, Figs. 2, 3	4
False arches †	Dome outer shell, openings	Pl. II, Figs. 2, 3	4
D. <i>Shoulder, segmental crown, stilted, oversailing</i>			
Blind arches, simple	Above middle arches of cube	Pl. II, Fig. 14	3
Blind arches, triple reveal	Opening to ṣaḥn	Fig. 15	1
E. <i>Semi-elliptical, (foci axis horizontal)</i>			
Relieving	Over mihrāb, doubled voussoirs	Fig. 10	1
Relieving	Over transition zone windows	Figs. 2, 3	4

* Also on later gač inscription panel (Fig. 34).

† Heads now broken; bricks were carried on wood lintels.

Hospital, Iṣfahān; its true identity was determined, and its 448 H. date was read by M. and Mme. André Godard from photographs made by them in 1933 and by myself on Sept. 24, 1934. The monument was published by M. Godard in *Āthār-é Īrān*, I, [1936]. For the multilobed profile: at Ziār, manār, see Smith, *op. cit.* (1936), No. 13; at Rahrawān, manār, *ibid.*, No. 14; it occurs in the small mihrāb at Ardisaān (M.-i Dj.), cf. M. S. Briggs, "Gothic Architecture and Persian Origins," *Burlington Magazine*, LXII, No. 361 (April, 1933), Pl. II, B (does not show clearly in the photograph; the incorrect dating in the legend is not an error of Mr. Briggs); also in a stone mihrāb dated 533 H. in the Mus. of Fine Arts,

Boston, No. 31.711, cf. M. Aga-Oglu, "An Islamic Tombstone and Mihrāb of the Twelfth Century," *Bull. Mus. Fine Arts, Boston*, XXXI, No. 185 (June, 1933), pp. 42-44; (I hope to publish the exact provenance of these stones).

⁴⁹ This profile is found generally with a segmental crown. It must have originated as a centering expedient. In the Mongol period, it becomes almost a style tag. Some early examples: Abarqūh, Gunbad 'Alī (so-called), 448 H. (niche, interior); Iṣfahān, M.-i Dj., kibleh dome chamber, 465-485 H. (Fig. 5); Gulpāigān, M.-i Dj., 498-511 H. (Fig. 7); Ardistān, M.-i Dj., 553 H. (or earlier), illus. Briggs, *loc. cit.*

Arch. The arched openings of the sanctuary were constructed without use of solid centering, as pointed tunnel vaults⁵⁰ sometimes by one, sometimes by the other of the two following methods. Those of the six smallest openings have a single ring of voussoirs of bricks laid as stretchers in courses running in the direction of the vault axis and with beds as prolongations of radii, *i.e.*, tilted increasingly as they approach the crown (the normal western disposition). The four larger lateral vaults, however, have doubled voussoirs.⁵¹ The outer ring is constructed like those described above, save that it shows only on the exterior (*Figs. 2, 3*). The inner arch is laid as concentric, vertical courses normal to the vault axis, the units rising edge-to-edge. This construction shows only in the soffits (*Fig. 41*), as the archivolt is concealed inside and out behind a revetment of false, radial voussoirs (*Figs. 2, 3, 13, 41*). Later, small coffers were chiseled in the soffit bricks (*Fig. 41*) to provide keys for gač plugs, which remain lacking.

Squinch. The mechanics of the squinch (*Pls. I, II, Figs. 4, 12, 17*) are best understood by examining its exterior (*Figs. 3, 9*) and studying its reflected plan and 45° section (*Pl. II*). The method of construction is as follows: At the level of the transition zone window-heads, a four-centered squinch-arch is thrown across the corner of the cube. The cube wall is carried to slightly above the squinch-arch springing (*Pl. I*) and stopped. The exterior mass here becomes an octagon, the walls of which abut the squinch-arch and continue so as to cover its crown extrados. The square has now been converted to an octagon. On the exterior there is no double-octagon zone, but a straightforward superposition of dome on octagon. The squinch structure now lacks only covering for the small triangle at the cube inner angle, and a tympanum for the squinch-arch. This for the structural ele-

⁵⁰ The key position of the tunnel vault in the history of Iranian Islamic architecture was recognized by Professor Herzfeld, cf. his "Khorasan," *Der Islam*, Berlin, XI (1921), pp. 155-59; he naturally appreciates that its monumental construction in baked-brick without centering depended on the use of quick-setting gač mortar. G. Bell, *Palace and Mosque at Ukhaidir*, Oxford, 1914, p. 96, mentions the seventh century B.C. Palace of Nebuchadnezzar, Babylon, as the earliest Mesopotamian use of gač mortar. (The fundamental chronology of early vaulting, R. Delbrück, *Hellenistische Bauten in Latium*, Strassburg, 1907-12, II, pp. 63-85, is not available to me in Işfahān). Strzygowski argues for the high antiquity of the *form*, which he thinks originated in "Persian Mesopotamia" [Irāk], cf. his *Origins of Christian Church Art*, Oxford, 1923, pp. 21-22. I learn through V. Müller's review (in *JAOS*, LV, [1935], p. 468) of E. A. Speiser, "Excavations at Tepe Gawra," I, in *Publ. Am. Schools Or. Res.*, U. of Pa., 1935, that "a true barrel vault above ground" was excavated there; its significance will depend on the mortar; (this publ.

is not available to me as yet). Professor Herzfeld holds that monumental vaulting was introduced generally during the early Hellenistic period, *Archaeological History of Iran*, London, 1935, p. 93. For an extensive bibliography, see K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture . . .*, Oxford, 1932, I, p. 349, note 1.

⁵¹ This construction was defined as "islamisch-irakenisch" by Herzfeld, *op. cit.* (1910), p. 110.

Four-centered, stilted examples with doubled voussoirs and offset (*tas de charge*) are found at Mshattā, cf. Herzfeld, *ibid.*; at Raḳqa, Sarre and Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, II, Fig. 331; III, Pl. LXV; at Sāmarrā, *ibid.*, III, Pl. XVI 1; at Ukhaidir, Bell, *op. cit.*, Pl. 34. Captain Creswell (*op. cit.*, I, p. 404) states that no example with an offset at the springing is known before Islām. With the vault *set back* at the springing: examples at Ctesiphon (semi-circular or semi-elliptical profiles), cf. Sarre and Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, III, Pl. XL; II, Fig. 168; IV (1920), Pl. 126 *infra*; examples at Ukhaidir (pointed profile), cf. Bell, *op. cit.*, Pl. 36, Figs. 1, 2.

ments of the squinch. All else is masking and decoration. In the interior, above the squinch zone, the angles of the octagon are spanned by eight small squinch-arches,⁵² half buried in the octagon, half in the dome-stilt (*Pl. II*). The inside circle of the dome plan is inscribed tangent to the resultant double-octagon, the oversailings accommodated by sixteen lunette-shaped corbels (*Pl. I* detail B-B, *Figs. 16-18*).

Niche. The niche-head elevation profiles are analyzed in the *Table of Arched Profiles*. With exception of the pointed, semi-domed mihrāb niche-head of polygonal plan (*Fig. 14*) and the niche-heads of angular plan (*Figs. 24, 26, 16* octagon angles under dome), the niche-heads are on a corbeled, semi-elliptical plan⁵³ (*Figs. 17, 21, 27, 47*). The latter forms superpose sunken panels of rectangular plan flanked by engaged colonettes. Where possible, the niche and colonettes are framed in a rectangular reveal (*Pl. I, Figs. 13, 15, 47*). In the case of the mihrāb, this reveal is a developed frame of fascia and cavetto moldings⁵⁴ (*Figs. 14, 20, 32, 33*).

Colonette. Engaged colonettes occur 96 times in the interior. To this number the partly concealed northeast façade doubtless adds a dozen more. The shafts, of either round or octagonal section, are quarter-engaged in salient angles. They support the impost of niche, arch, or blind arch, without intermediary capitals, save at the mihrāb re-entrant angles, where the capitals are of a bulbous, vase form of square plan.⁵⁵ All colonettes lack bases. As the colonettes are part of the revetment decoration, they have no structural function.

*Stalactites.*⁵⁶ The squinch niche-head is filled with a plastic stalactiform arrangement of a pointed tunnel vault springing from the salient crowns or spandrels of 90°-opposed niche-heads.⁵⁷ In direct elevation (*Fig. 12*) the effect is that of a trifoil niche-head⁵⁸ pierc-

⁵² These arches appear to be purely decorative.

⁵³ Cf. G. Bell, *ibid.*, p. 139; Pls. 163, 211, 26, 27.

⁵⁴ For cavetto frame at Sāmarrā, see E. Herzfeld, *Erster Vorläufiger Bericht . . . von Samarra*, Berlin, 1912, p. 10, Fig. 2; also Sarre and Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, I, Figs. 31, 32; III, Pl. XVII.

⁵⁵ For similar capitals see the 515 H. doorway, M.-i Dj., Iṣfahān, illus. E. Diez, *Persien, Islamische Baukunst in Churāsān*, Hagen, 1923, Pls. 24, 25; also A. Gabriel, "Le Masjid-i Djum'a d'Iṣfahān," *Ars Islamica*, II, (1935), Fig. 15. For the same profile, but round plan, cf. Mosque of al-Suyūshī, Cairo (478 H.), cf. H. Glück and E. Diez, *Die Kunst des Islam*, Berlin, 1925, Pl. 159.

⁵⁶ From lack of a better terminology, this word and its derivatives must be applied not only to those pendant forms for which its adoption was logical, but also to these nonpendant proto-forms.

⁵⁷ The earliest dated example of this combination of forms that I have seen is the squinch of Dawāzdeh Imām, Yazd (429 H. inscr.). For an example in the main mihrāb, M.-i Dj., Demāwend, see Smith, *op. cit.*

(1935), Fig. 15, pp. 162-63 and note 24. It is used in the M.-i Dj., Ardīstān (the gač decoration of the domed sanctuary is dated 553 H., but M. André Godard suggests that the structure is earlier, cf. his "Les anciennes mosquées d'Iran," *Journal de Teheran* I, 95 [Oct. 21, 1935], p. 1), and the two Seldjūq domes of the M.-i Dj., Iṣfahān, 465-485 H. inscr. and 481 H. inscr. (*Figs. 5, 6*), but not at Gulpāigān, 498-511 H. inscr.; (*Fig. 7*). [Note: the 398-511 H. date in Smith, *op. cit.* (1935), p. 164, note 27, is a misprint.] That this combination of forms originated in mud-brick construction may be evident from an example to be published in my forthcoming "Iranian Single and Double Domes." Its use is frequent in the Iṣfahān area, for example, Gunbad Khwādjuh Sard. (In a forthcoming study of the minor Mongol monuments of Iṣfahān, I shall endeavor to establish on architectural evidence that Captain Creswell is justified in viewing with suspicion an early tenth century A.D. dating assigned to this monument.)

⁵⁸ The resultant curvilinear lunettes are repeated as decorative reveals in the blind-arch tympana.



PHOTO. M. B. SMITH, NEG. L-3-17

FIG. 25—MIHRĀB, NICHE, CENTER NICHE OF FIRST TIER OF STALACTITES



PHOTO. M. B. SMITH, NEG. L-4-16

FIG. 27—MIHRĀB, STALACTITE NICHE, DETAIL AT SPRINGING



PHOTO. M. B. SMITH, NEG. L-4-9-5

FIG. 24—MIHRĀB, NICHE, DETAIL OF THIRD TIER OF STALACTITES

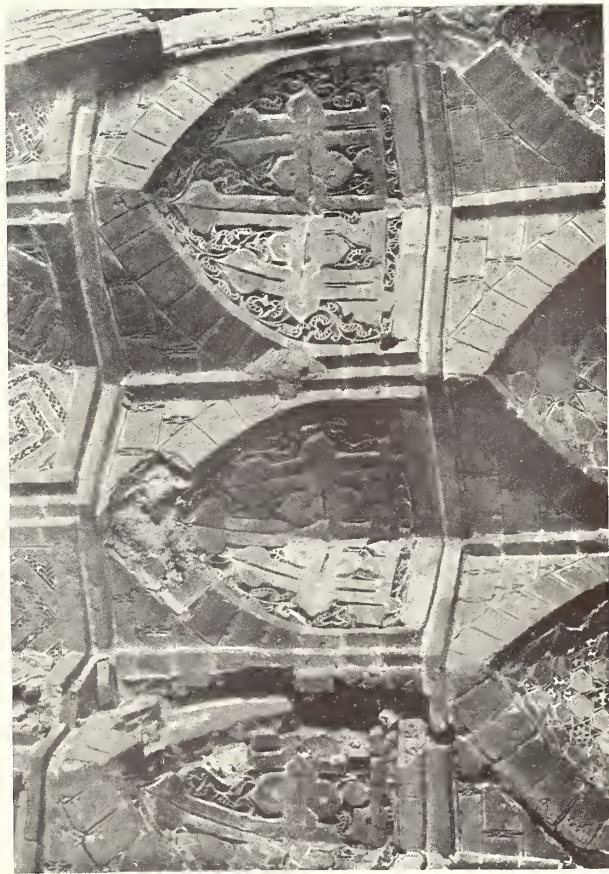


PHOTO. M. B. SMITH, NEG. L-4-18

FIG. 26—MIHRĀB, NICHE, DETAIL OF SECOND TIER OF STALACTITES



PHOTO, M. B. SMITH, NEG. L-320
 FIG. 28—MIHRĀB, CAVETTO OF FRAME, DETAIL OF BRICK-GAČ REVETMENT



PHOTO, M. B. SMITH, NEG. 770D1
 FIG. 29—MIHRĀB, DETAIL OF KŪFĪ INSCRIPTION, BRICK-GAČ REVETMENT



PHOTO, M. B. SMITH, NEG. 770D2
 FIG. 30—MIHRĀB, DETAIL OF KŪFĪ INSCRIPTION, BRICK-GAČ REVETMENT



PHOTO, M. B. SMITH, NEG. 770D3
 FIG. 31—MIHRĀB, DETAIL OF KŪFĪ INSCRIPTION, BRICK-GAČ REVETMENT



PHOTO. M. B. SMITH, NEG. L-93.39

FIG. 32—MIHRĀB, DETAIL OF CAVETTO OF FRAME

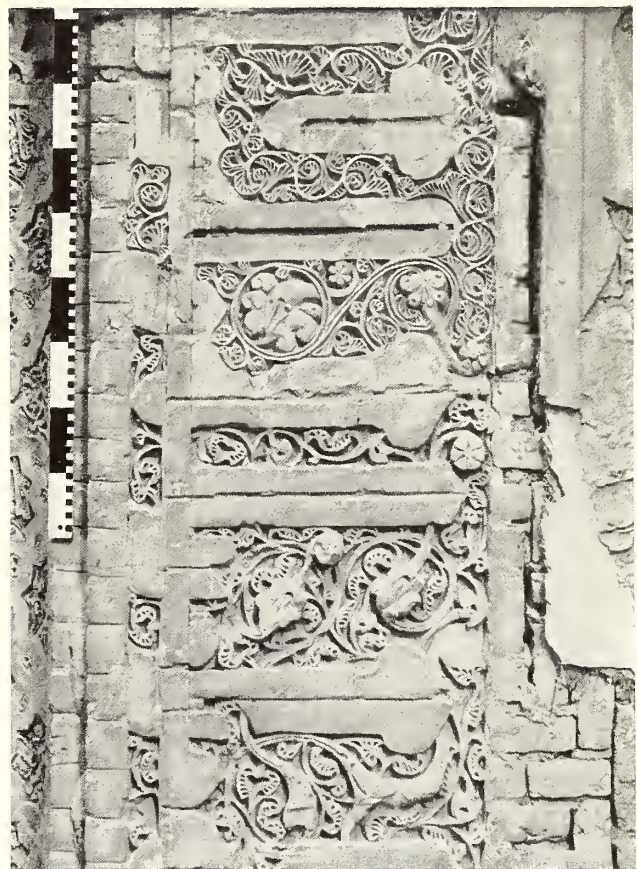


PHOTO. M. B. SMITH, NEG. L-93.36

FIG. 33—MIHRĀB, DETAIL OF KŪFĪ FASCIA OF FRAME

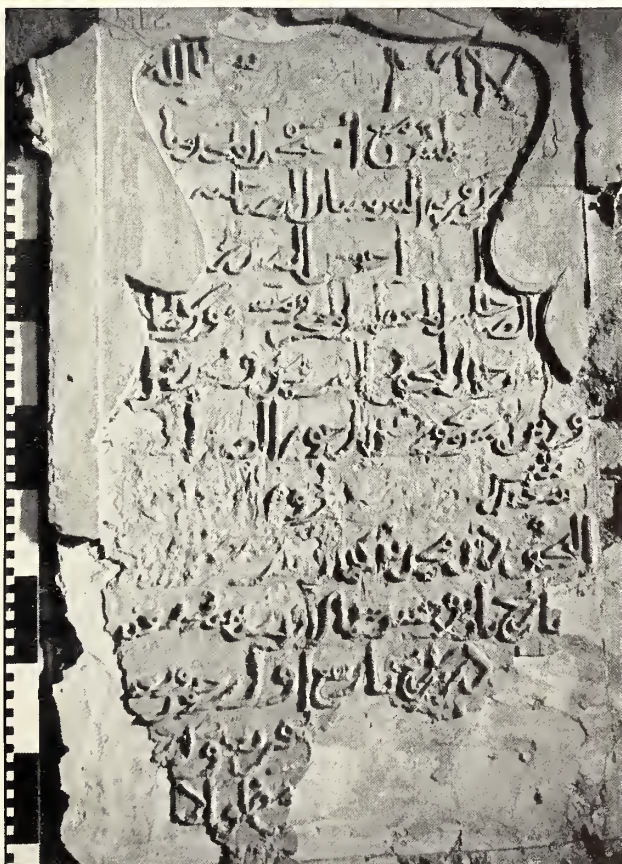


PHOTO. M. B. SMITH, NEG. L-93.10

FIG. 34—INSCRIPTION, GAÇ, TO RIGHT OF MIHRĀB



PHOTO. M. B. SMITH, NEG. L-149.14

FIG. 35—MIHRĀB, MIDDLE PANEL, NICHE NEAR FLOOR

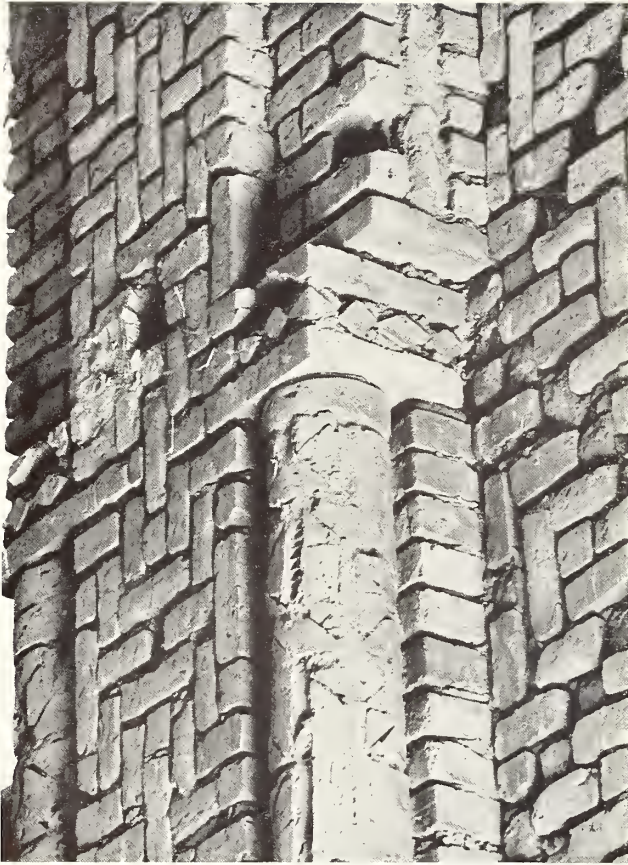


PHOTO. M. B. SMITH, NEG. L-150.36

FIG. 36—SANCTUARY, INTERIOR, N.-W. WALL,
ENGAGED COLONETTES



PHOTO. M. B. SMITH, NEG. L-149.8

FIG. 37—MIHRĀB, ENGAGED COLONETTE
SUPPORTING NICHES



PHOTO. M. B. SMITH, NEG. L-149.11

FIG. 38—MIHRĀB, PANEL DETAIL, BRICK-GAČ REVETMENT

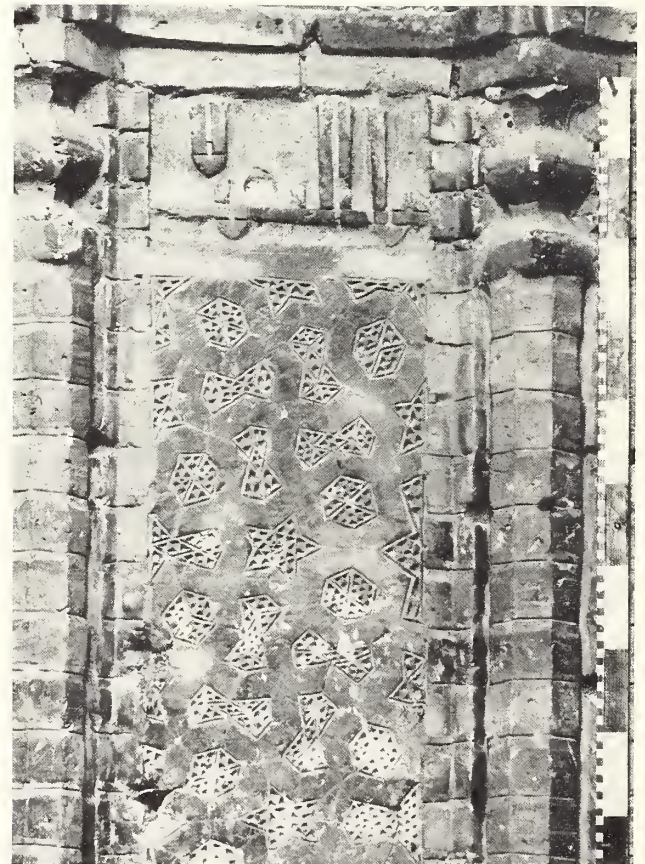


PHOTO. M. B. SMITH, NEG. L-149.18

FIG. 39—MIHRĀB, DETAIL OF PANEL AND COLONETTES

ing the squinch-arch tympanum. The semi-domed niche-head of the mihrāb is filled with four tiers of stalactitic, oversailing, salient-pointed niche-heads springing from visible brick templets⁵⁹ of elliptical or triangular plan. The stalactites of the squinches and mihrāb are both executed in *qaṭar*⁶⁰ technique. They form part of the incrustation and are purely decorative.⁶¹

ORNAMENTAL TECHNIQUES⁶² AND MOTIFS

*Brick Bonds and Diapers.*⁶³ The manār main zone is in diaper work (*Figs. 44, 45*), the design consisting of bands of stepped soldiers spiraled in both directions⁶⁴ to frame nearly square rhombs of thirteen courses, the field of each rhomb being a small, depressed, Greek cross enclosed by a seven-course unit of soldiers. A similar cross interrupts the diaper bands at their alternate intersections. The slight taper of the shaft requires that the size of the rhombs decrease toward the top,⁶⁵ producing an accentuation of perspective. The lower zone of the manār (*Fig. 46*) is a plain bond with the wide, rising joints in vertical alignment.⁶⁶ The inscription zone (*Fig. 48*) is guarded by bands of doubled half-bricks. The crown is laid in doubled stretchers⁶⁷ with accented vertical joints. Under the inscription zone is a bold, salient fret of half-bricks. The sanctuary interior shows a simple herringbone⁶⁸ in spandrels and niche-heads (*Figs. 4, 12-15*), a five-course herringbone diaper in the pilasters (*Figs. 13-15, 36, 43*), and a nine-course herringbone unit in a lozenge diaper in the tympana of the flanking blind arches (*Fig. 13*). The eight gores of the dome are in

⁵⁹ In 1887 R. Phené Spiers had noticed the templet and its structural significance; see his *Architecture East and West*, London, 1905, p. 37.

⁶⁰ The Iṣfahān builders' designation for that stalactite technique (originally corbeled) with solid backing (in this case, of cantilevered brick, templets and gač fill). The other stalactite techniques are muḳarnas مقرنس (see Smith, *op. cit.* (1936), note 56), and Yazdī bandī بنسۃ یزدی, all of which I shall discuss fully in a forthcoming publication).

⁶¹ Spiers detected the essentially decorative nature of the late examples with which he was familiar, *op. cit.* pp. 35, 55; he was equally correct in presuming that an earlier, functional prototype in brick must have existed in Īrān, *ibid.*, pp. 35, 36. For such a prototype, see Smith, *op. cit.* (1935), Fig. 8, 10, 13-16.

⁶² By this classification I hope to emphasize the historical development of the Seldjūk ornamental techniques. I hold it as already demonstrated that evidence from pure ornament (especially carved gač) is of doubtful usefulness at this stage of the studies; see Smith and Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-73; also Smith, *op. cit.* (1936), note 108.

⁶³ The historic Iranian brick patterns are not in high

favor today. Such information as I can gather from the older masons will be included in my forthcoming "Iranian Islamic Brickwork."

⁶⁴ Called the mūd̄j موج (wave) pattern.

⁶⁵ Accomplished by decreasing the size of units, or narrowing the rising joints, the last the preferred method, and accounting for the character of many hazārbāf designs on manārs. This hazārbāf of soldiers and stretchers is unique among the Seldjūk manārs of Iṣfahān; the others depend for design on a widening of the rising joints.

⁶⁶ Cf. the manār at Demāwend, Smith, *op. cit.* (1935), Fig. 25, p. 162.

⁶⁷ Rare in the Iṣfahān district but frequent in Khorāsān and Transcaspiā; cf. V. A. Shukovsky, *Ruins of Old Merw*, St. Petersburg, 1894, Figs. 31-34; I. I. Umniakoff, *Architectural Monuments of Transcaspiā*, Tashkent, 1929, p. 18; E. Cohn-Wiener, *Turan*, Berlin, 1930, Pls. I-IV, VI, X-XII; E. Diez and M. van Berchem, *Churasanische Baudenkmäler*, Berlin, 1918, I, Pls. 13, 14, 16, 20; F. Sarre, *op. cit.* (1910), I, Pl. LXXXVI.

⁶⁸ This is called ازاره azāreh in Iṣfahān. The revetment on the face of a modern tālār or iwān platform is usually in this pattern.

four patterns consisting of five-, seven-, and nine-course⁶⁹ herringbone units disposed as diapers, in some cases in slight relief against a diagonal diaper (*Figs. 16-19*). It is to be remarked that the hazārbāf⁷⁰ work makes free use of undersize units, fractional units, and a sunken plane.

Gač Pointing and Plugs. The nature of the manār two-plane hazārbāf work (*Fig. 44*) is not evident until the gač pointing is installed (*Fig. 45*), when it is seen that the three-layer depressed cross is intended to hold carved gač relief, and that an additional lozenge diaper is established by decorative gač plugs in certain rising joints. The wide rising joints of the lower zone were to be pointed with incised gač plugs⁷¹ (*Fig. 46*). The lozenge-disc⁷² guard band above was to be pointed (*Fig. 46*). In the sanctuary, the pointing is so generally lacking that the intended effect must be imagined after a study of the completed 481 H. dome chamber of the Masdjīd-i Djum'a, Iṣfahān⁷³ (*Fig. 5*). The dome intrados appears to be finished (*Figs. 16-19*). The open joints of colonettes (*Fig. 36*) were to be tucked with carved gač similar to that of the miḥrāb colonettes⁷⁴ (*Fig. 37*). Near the miḥrāb, an unfortunate trial pointing patch (*Figs. 14, 40*) is in a technique I have not observed in dated examples before the eighth century H. The bricks are all but smothered under a coat of gač plaster in which selected joints were scratched to set off the five-course diaper figure, while the depressed targets were filled with pyramidally pitted gač plugs.

*Brick-Mosaic.*⁷⁵ Ornament in a developed technique of brick-mosaic is found in the inscription frieze at the dome springing (*Fig. 50*), in the soffit of the ṣaḥn opening⁷⁶ (*Fig. 49*), and in miḥrāb panels (*Figs. 35, 38*).

*Brick-Gač-Mosaic.*⁷⁷ Practically all the miḥrāb ornament (*Figs. 21-33*) is executed in brick-gač-mosaic. The brick units of the geometric patterns are arranged according to one of two principles. The first is based on a radial distribution of hexalateral tesserae, resulting in stellate figures of 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 13, or 16 points⁷⁸ (*Figs. 21, 25-27*). The second prin-

⁶⁹ The numbers of courses in the units decrease towards the crown.

⁷⁰ This term is not used in Iṣfahān, where it is called *خفته ورسته*, *khufteh u rasteh* (lying and standing); cf. Sarre and Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, II, p. 158 note 1, p. 383.

⁷¹ 'Ard-i malāt-i gač, *عرض ملات کچ*

⁷² A most popular motif in Seldjūk and Mongol work in the Iṣfahān area.

⁷³ Cf. M. B. Smith, "Persian Islamic Brickwork," *Architectural Forum*, LVII, July, 1932, p. 62; also Gabriel, *op. cit.*, *Figs. 14, 16, 17*.

⁷⁴ The pattern is a geometric interlace of two lines; for a mosaic border in the Great Mosque, Damascus, cf. Creswell, *op. cit.*, I, Pl. 36d.

⁷⁵ By *brick-mosaic* I designate the technique whereby bricks are assembled in patterns, cast in slabs of convenient size by means of gač, and then set on a wall as

a revetment. This and the techniques mentioned below will be discussed in detail in my forthcoming "The Historical Development of Iranian Islamic Revetment Techniques."

⁷⁶ Not only the kūfī, but the fret; cf. E. Herzfeld, "Die Gumbadh-i 'Alawiyyān und die Baukunst der Ilkhane in Iran," *A Volume of Oriental Studies presented to Edward G. Browne . . .*, Cambridge, 1922, Pl. II, archivolt of doorway (here an inscription).

⁷⁷ My designation for brick-mosaic with the addition of carved (or modeled) gač. For a detailed description of the technique, see E. Jacobstahl, *Mittelalterliche Backsteinbauten zu Nachtschewān im Araxesthale*, Berlin, 1899, pp. 24 ff.

⁷⁸ For a discussion of the principle, cf. Sarre and Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, II, under Baghdād and Mōsul, and Dwgs. 252-264. For other examples in Iṣfahān, see

ciple depends on the swastika⁷⁹ (Figs. 24, 30), but the number of legs is sometimes three (a triskelion)⁸⁰ (Fig. 38), or is increased to five⁸¹ (mihrāb panel, not illustrated). It is evident that the gač of the reliefs was added and carved after the brick designs were set in place.⁸² Carved gač is employed in pyramidally pitted stars between brick tesserae (Figs. 21, 24, 25, 27), and as geometrically incised tucking (Figs. 22–24).

Arabesques in carved gač fill the voids between the kūfi in stalactites (Fig. 26), mihrāb panels (Figs. 27, 38), the cavetto (Figs. 28, 32), and fascia (Figs. 29–31, 33) of the frame. The space-filling technique is either crowded *tiefenschatten* (Fig. 30) or exposed background (Fig. 28). The modeling varies from a dry, two-plane, slant-cut technique for the split-palmette (Figs. 26, 30) to high, plastic relief (Figs. 28, 29, 31) for the blossom. The rinceau is drawn in a swinging, calligraphic line that cuts across itself and passes under the kūfi (Figs. 29, 31). The stem is single (Figs. 26–28) or doubled⁸³ (Figs. 29, 31). The foliage is either a highly stylized, curling, split-palmette scored with deep, radial digitation⁸⁴ (Figs. 28–31), or is a flat, curling, lobate leaf, with drill holes (Figs. 27, 38). The flower appears to be an oriental palmette derivative, either six- or eight-petaled, with curving axial petal prolonged⁸⁵ to end in a six-lobed rosette⁸⁶ (Figs. 29–31). The flanking petals, seen in full

Gabriel, *op. cit.*, Figs. 15, 24. Cf. the soffit at Ka'eh Bist, in O. Niedermayer and E. Diez, *Afghanistan*, Leipzig, 1924, Pl. 136.

⁷⁹ Cf. Smith, *op. cit.* (1935), Fig. 27.

⁸⁰ Cf. Smith, *op. cit.* (1936), No. 4, Manār-i Čihil Dukhtarān.

⁸¹ In the 481 H. dome chamber of the M-i Dj, Isfahān, the figure has seven legs.

⁸² There is no indication that the gač is of later date than the mihrāb inscription.

⁸³ For examples of doubled stem tendrils, see Smith and Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, Figs. 1, 2, 3, 8, 10; Sarre and Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, II, p. 233, Fig. 236; G. Migeon, *Manuel d'art musulman*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1927, I, Fig. 75; also the following in J. Strzygowski, *Asiens Bildende Kunst*, Augsburg, 1930: Murtuk, wall painting, Fig. 80; Nara, bronze mirror, Fig. 102; Khārgird, the famous gač inscr., Fig. 118; Burgos, ivory casket, Figs. 224a–b; Baghdād, Talisman gate relief, Fig. 282; Sangbast, painted inscr., Fig. 615; Mshattā, relief, Fig. 629; Athens, lion relief, Fig. 638; citations sufficient to suggest the wide distribution.

⁸⁴ Cf. Smith and Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, Figs. 2, 3, 8.

⁸⁵ For discussion of the flower, see A. Riegl, *Stilfragen, Grundlegungen zu einer Geschichte der Ornamentik*, 2nd ed., Berlin, 1923, pp. 115 ff. Cf. E. Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, Berlin, 1920, pp. 115 ff. For comparative examples, see: Sarre and Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, II, p. 267, Fig. 263. E. Herzfeld, *Der Mandschmuck der*

Bauten v. Samarra . . ., Berlin, 1923, Abb. 89 Orn. 91, Abb. 144 Orn. 145, Pls. LV, LVI. Smith, *op. cit.* (1935), Figs. 20, 21. Smith and Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, Fig. 8. Lustered tile from Sāmarrā (British Mus.), R. L. Hobson, *A Guide to the Islamic Pottery . . .*, London, 1932, Fig. 8. Lustered mihrāb dated 707 H. from Națanz (V. and A. Mus.), R. Ettinghausen, "Important Pieces of Persian Pottery in London Collections," *Ars Islamica*, II, Fig. 18. Lustered bowl (Met. Mus. of Art), M. S. Dimand, *Handbook of Mohammedan Decorative Arts*, New York, 1930, Fig. 70. At Ka'irawān, mihrāb tiles, G. Marçais, *Les Faïences . . . de Kairouan*, Paris, 1928, Pls. IV²⁰, 24, VII¹⁶, XXV, XXVI, and Figs. 7, 13; his *Manuel d'art musulman, I, L'Architecture*, Paris, 1926, p. 174 and Figs. 95^{10–14} and 96. Stone reliefs at Marrakesh and Rabat, *ibid.*, p. 415, Fig. 247. Ĥarrān mihrāb in Boston, Aga-Oglu, *loc. cit.* Tombstone at Ghazna, A. Godard and S. Flury, "Ghazni," *Syria*, V (1925), Pl. XXI, Fig. 11a. Samarqand: on mausol. Timūr, *Commission Impériale Archéologique: Les Mosquées de Samarcande, I, Gour-Emir*, St. Petersburg, 1905, Pls. IV, XI; on tomb, N. Simakoff, *L'Art de l'Asie centrale*, St. Petersburg, 1883, Pl. 38; Samarqand tiles in Berlin, Sarre, *op. cit.*, I, Pls. CX, CXI; Shāh-Zنده, *ibid.*, Pl. CXXII. Konia, Sirtcheli Madrased, *ibid.*, Pls. LXXXIX–XCII; Madrased of Kara Tai, *ibid.*, Pls. XCVI, XCVII. Usen: tomb of Djālāl al-Dīn, portal, E. Cohn-Wiener, *Turan, Islamische Baukunst in Mittelasien*, Berlin, 1930, Pl. XIII; tomb of 1186/87, *ibid.*, Pl. XVIr. Tile from Warāmīn, dated 1262

side view, flare smartly out and curl on themselves. Certain flowers and rosettes have drill holes (*Fig. 29*).

Polychromy. The Seldjūk portions lack polychromy either as faïence or painted gač. The original contrast between exterior gač and brick has been so softened by weathering and dust that it is scarcely apparent today (*Fig. 45*). On the mihrāb, there is a difference of surface texture in the carved gač⁸⁷ (*Figs. 24, 25*) that suggests color, though none is present. The mihrāb gač was intended to be painted.⁸⁸

*Faïence-Mosaic.*⁸⁹ The Safawid inscription frieze *N* is in developed faïence-mosaic technique (*Fig. 51*). The colors are turquoise blue, lazuline blue, milk white, blue-black, nut brown, deep turgid jade green, and a few accents of dark bottle green that count nearly as black.

*Brick-Faïence-Mosaic.*⁹⁰ The inscriptions *O* are of small, unglazed, rubbed brick combined with lazulite and turquoise glazed units.⁹¹ The faces of the tesserae are rectangular; their backs are wedge shaped.

INSCRIPTIONS

The inscriptions are briefly described and located in the table following. Their epigraphical study has been entrusted to Mme André Godard, for whose collaboration I am deeply grateful.

A.D. (K.-F. Mus.), E. Kühnel, *Islamische Kleinkunst*, Berlin, 1925, Fig. 53. Similar tile, undated (British Mus.), Hobson, *op. cit.*, Fig. 112 Inot from the Mosque (*ibid.*, p. 96) which is dated 722 H., but more likely from Imām-zādeh Yaḥyā, the reputed provenance of the lustered mihrāb dated 663 H., now on loan at Univ. Mus., Phila. (*Cat. Int. Ex. Persian Art*, 3rd ed., No. 156)]. Ḳur'ān written 559 H. in Hamadān (Univ. Mus., Phila., publ. by R. Ettinghausen), heading for sūreh 4, 13, 29 etc. Ḳur'ān written 706 H. (Stadt-bibliothek, Leipzig), Glück and Diez, *op. cit.*, p. 499. Persian tile, Mongol (Mus. de Sèvres), G. Migeon, *Manuel d'art musulman . . .*, Paris, 1907, II, Fig. 217; cf. *ibid.*, Fig. 216. The famous gač inscr. at Khārgird, Diez and van Berchem, *op. cit.*, Pl. XVIII₂. The following comparisons are interesting, all from J. Strzygowski, *op. cit.*: Patleina, convent-church, Fig. 195; Tun-Huang, cave painting, Fig. 160; Budapest, Nat. Mus., silver armour, Fig. 237; Schikschin, Naga cave, ceiling, Fig. 491; Aachen, elephant textile from Zeuxippos, Fig. 565; Berlin, Völkermuseum, MS. from Chotscho, Fig. 590; and Egypt, Dair al-Sūryānī, the famous stucci, Fig. 646.

⁸⁶ Cf. Smith and Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, Fig. 2 (four petaled rosette on kūfī).

⁸⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, Fig. 10.

⁸⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, oo. 69-70.

⁸⁹ By this I designate the technique by which thin tiles of various solid colors (occasionally unglazed), are chipped to the shapes required, fitted together face down in a design, cast in slabs by a backing of gač, and attached with gač to a wall to form a revetment.

⁹⁰ By this I designate the technique by which thick glazed and unglazed units (generally rectangular), are assembled in patterns (usually geometric), cast in convenient slabs, and set on the wall in gač, as a revetment. The backs of the units are *wedge* shaped. The units are more of the nature of special shaped glazed and unglazed brick, than tile. This technique developed earlier than faïence-mosaic.

⁹¹ Sizes of typical units: 3.3 cm. x 10 cm.; 2.3 cm. x 9 cm.

⁹² My working list shows the following: 388-412 H. Ghazna, Afghānistān (Maḥmūd); 466 H. Kāshān, M.-i Dj.; 491 H. Barsiān; 501 H. Iṣfahān, Čihil Dukhtarān;



PHOTO. M. B. SMITH, NEG. L-150.34
 FIG. 41—SANCTUARY, CORBELLED STILT OF WALL ARCH



PHOTO. M. B. SMITH, NEG. L-150.30
 FIG. 43—SANCTUARY, INTERIOR, BRICKWORK OF N.-W. WALL



PHOTO. M. B. SMITH, NEG. L-93.35
 FIG. 40—SANCTUARY, WALL TO RIGHT OF MIHRĀB, GAÇ POINTING



PHOTO. M. B. SMITH, NEG. L-93.23
 FIG. 42—SANCTUARY, EXTERIOR, BRICKWORK AT NORTH CORNER

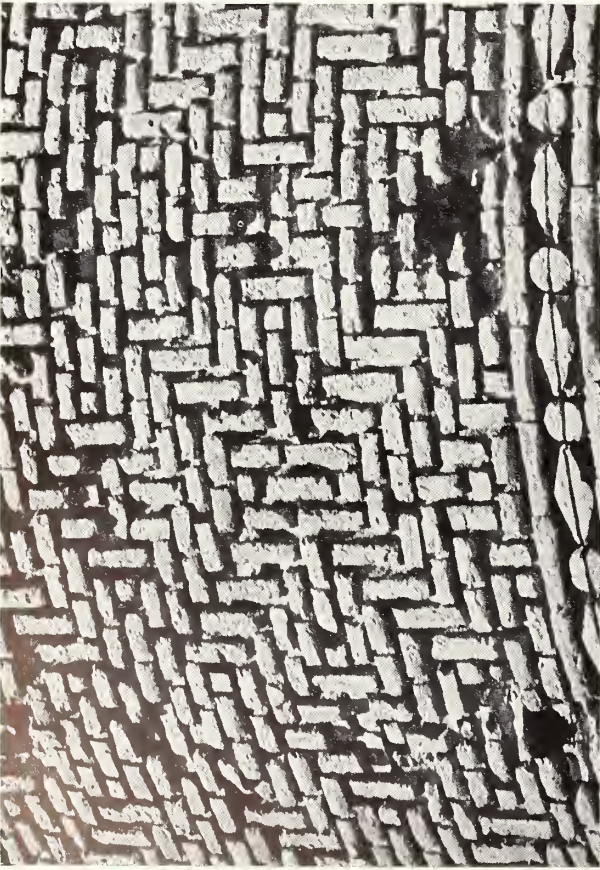


PHOTO. M. B. SMITH, NEG. L-3.28
 FIG. 44—MANĀR, BRICKWORK, BEGINNING OF MAIN ZONE

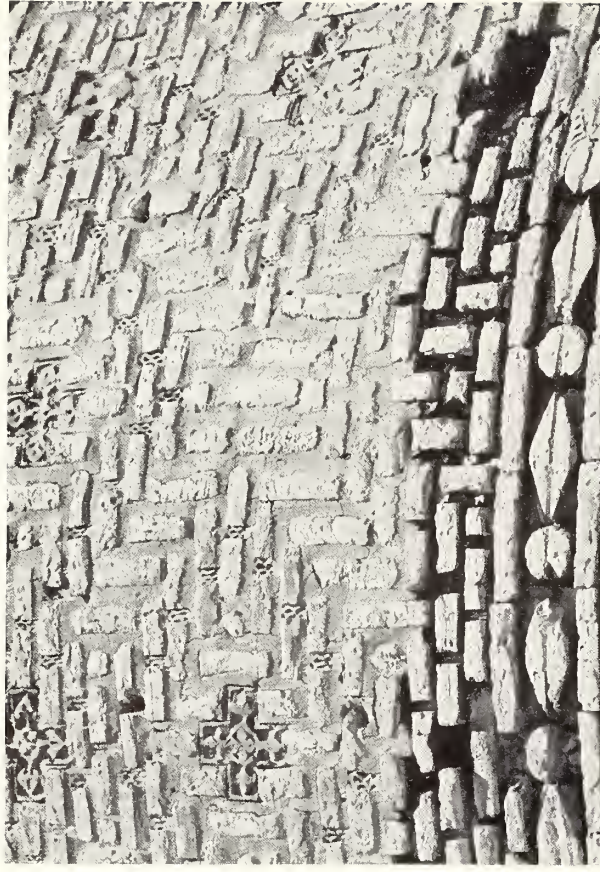


PHOTO. M. B. SMITH, NEG. L-150.21
 FIG. 45—MANĀR, BRICKWORK WITH GAČ POINTING

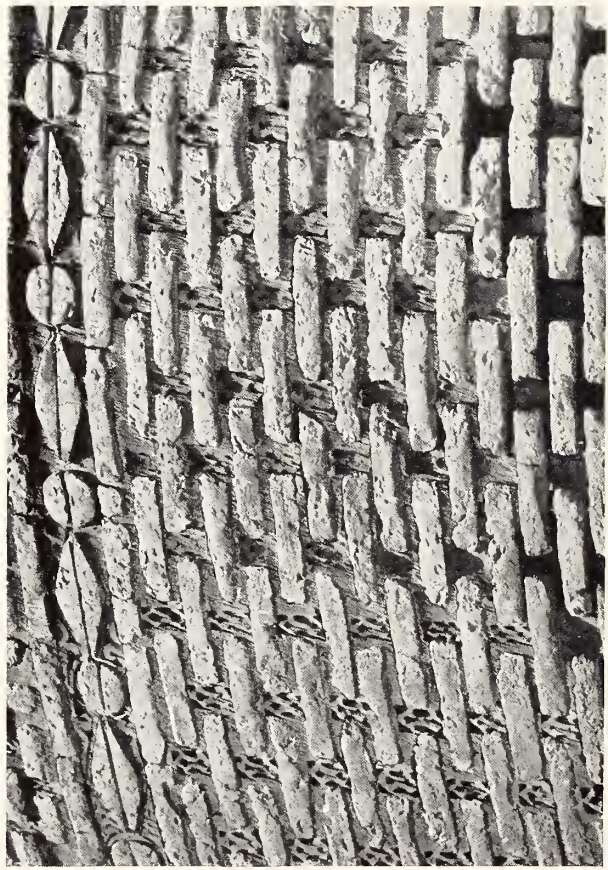


PHOTO. M. B. SMITH, NEG. L-150.13
 FIG. 46—MANĀR, BRICKWORK WITH GAČ PLUGS

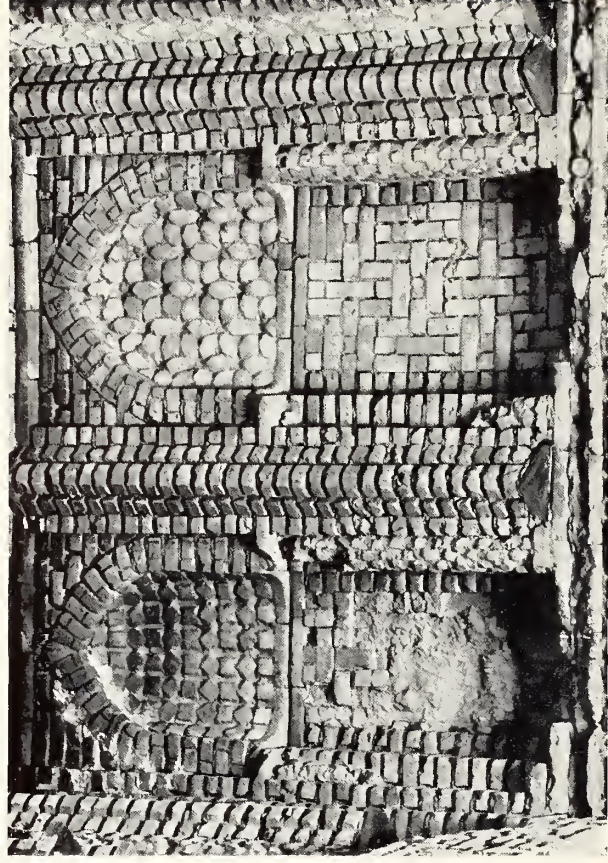


PHOTO. M. B. SMITH, NEG. L-150.32
 FIG. 47—SANCTUARY, INTERIOR, NORTH CORNER, NICHES UNDER SQUINCH

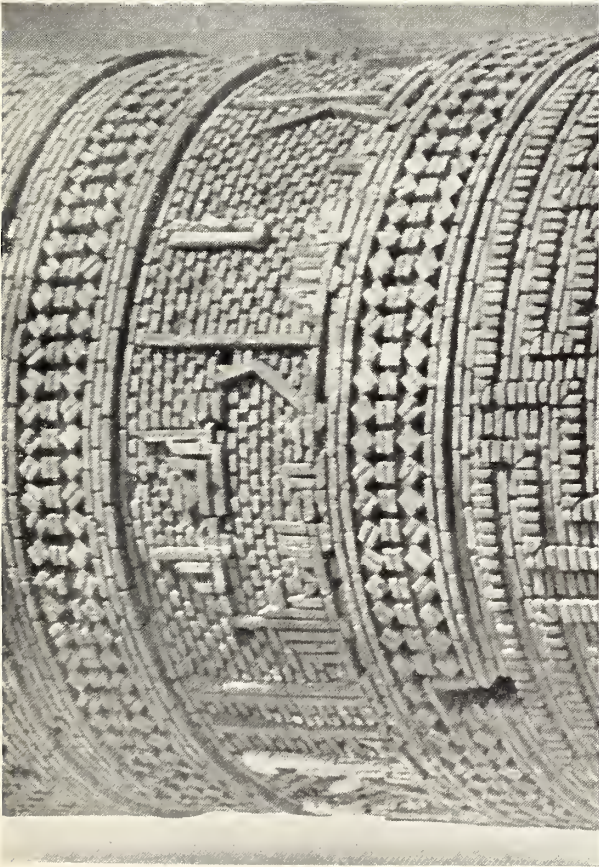


PHOTO. M. B. SMITH, NEG. 754
 FIG. 48—MANĀR, KUFĪ COLLAR NEAR TOP, SHOWING DATE 491 H.



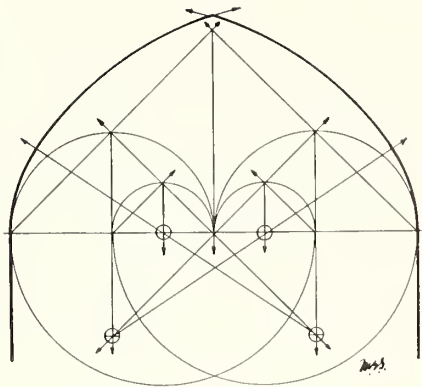
PHOTO. M. B. SMITH, NEG. L-4.22
 FIG. 49—SANCTUARY, ARCH TO ŠAHN, KUFĪ ON INTRADOS



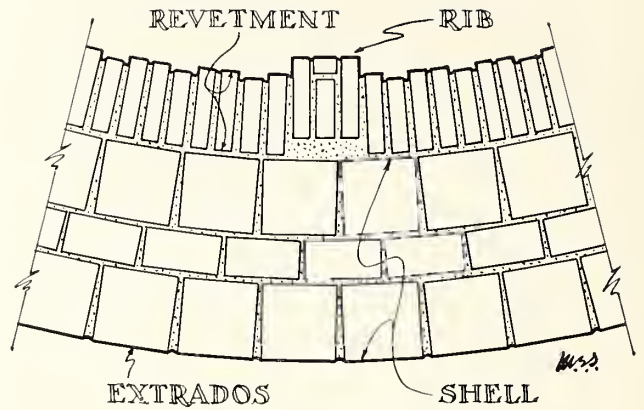
PHOTO. M. B. SMITH, NEG. 746
 FIG. 50—SANCTUARY, SPRINGING OF DOME, DETAIL OF KUFĪ ZONE



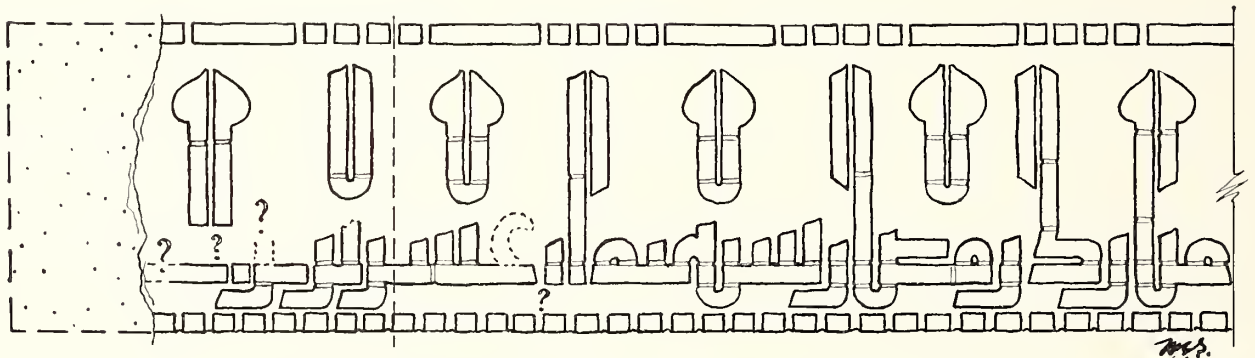
PHOTO. M. B. SMITH, NEG. L-3.43
 FIG. 51—ĪWĀN, FAIENCE-MOSAIC INSCRIPTION, NAME OF ŠAHĀH TAHRMĀSP I



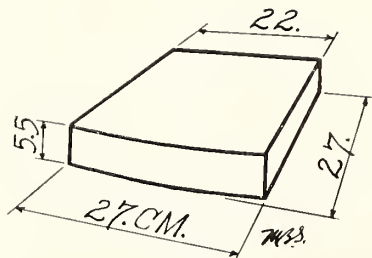
SKETCH A—DAUR-I 'ADJAMĀNAH, CONJECTURAL LAY-OUT



SKETCH D—DOME CONSTRUCTION



SKETCH B—INSCRIPTION C, TERMINATION, (AFTER REMOVAL OF DADO)



SKETCH C—SPECIAL BRICK OF MANĀR

INSCRIPTIONS

Designation	Location	Style	Technique	Condition	Illustration
A	Manār, collar near top, 491 H.	Kūfī	Brick-mosaic	Intact	Figs. 1, 48
B	Sanctuary, zone at dome springing	Kūfī	Brick-mosaic	Over half destroyed	Pl. II, Figs. 12, 16, 18, 50
C	Sanctuary, mihrāb, fascia of frame, [5]28 H.	Kūfī	Brick-gač-mosaic	Ends covered and damaged	Figs. 14, 20, 22, 29, 30, 31, 33, Sk. B
D	Sanctuary, mihrāb, cavetto of frame	Braided kūfī	Brick-gač-mosaic	Damaged, ends covered	Figs. 14, 20, 22, 28, 32
E	Sanctuary, mihrāb, cavetto of frame, star panels (12)	Kūfī and naskhī	Carved gač	Series incomplete	Figs. 22, 28, 32
F	Sanctuary, mihrāb niche, panel heads (4)	Kūfī	Brick-gač-mosaic	One lacking	Figs. 14, 27, 38, 39
G	Sanctuary, mihrāb niche, center panel, multifoil blind arch	Kūfī	Brick-mosaic and carved work	Partly covered	Fig. 35
H	Sanctuary, mihrāb stalactites, first tier, center	Kūfī	Brick-gač-mosaic	Intact	Fig. 25
I	Sanctuary, mihrāb stalactites, second tier (6)	Kūfī	Brick-gač-mosaic	Intact	Figs. 21, 26
J	Sanctuary, mihrāb spandrels, two repeats	"Triangular naskhī"	Brick-gač-mosaic	Intact	Figs. 22, 23
K *	Sanctuary, larger openings to sides, arch soffits (4)	"Rectangular naskhī" †	Brick diaper (unfinished)	Obscure, unfinished	Figs. 13, 41
L ‡	Sanctuary, center arch to ṣaḥn, soffit	Kūfī	Brick-gač-mosaic (unfinished)	Partly covered	Figs. 15, 49
M	Sanctuary, panel to right of mihrāb	Naskhī	Carved gač	Damaged	Figs. 14, 34
N	Ṣaḥn kibleh iwān, frieze (930-984 H.)	Roghā'	Faïence-mosaic	Three-quarters destroyed	Figs. 11, 51
O	Ṣaḥn, kibleh iwān, pier panels (2)	"Rectangular naskhī"	Brick-faïence-mosaic	Sufficient	Fig. 11

* Not recorded.

† Cf. Smith, *op. cit.* (1936), note 37.

‡ Obscured by a brick wall (Fig. 11) on all but my first visit; I was therefore unable to fully record it.

SIGNIFICANCE

The Barsiān manār is the second earliest, actually dated, extant manār in Iran that has come to my attention.⁹²

The Barsiān sanctuary offers a unique opportunity to study an Iṣfahān Seldjūk monument in an unfinished state. The date of the sanctuary is a critical one in the evolution of Iṣfahān construction techniques. In the publication resulting from the studies which the expedition of the American Council of Learned Societies is now undertaking in the Masdjid-i

504 H. Sāweh, M.-i Dj.; 505 H. Khosrugird; 492-508 H. Ghazna (Mas'ūd III); 542 Bukhārā, Kalwān; and 599 H. Ḳāsimābād (date not checked). The second manār of Čihil Sutūn, Dāmghān, may well be between 417-420 H.; and that of M.-i Dj., Samnān may well be between 420-446 H., but I await their full publication; cf. E. Herzfeld, "Reisebericht," *Zeitsch. d. D. Morgenl. Gesellsch.* (Leip-

zig) V, (1926) pp. 281-82. According to a preliminary reading which Mr. George Miles has kindly made from my recent photographs of the complete inscription on the Manār-i Masdjid-i Maidān, Sāweh, a [4]53 H. may be possible, but the hundreds are denatured. Mr. Miles hopes to be able to establish the hundreds through identification of a name in the inscription.

Djum'a, Iṣfahān, I shall hope to demonstrate that the most reliable criteria (epigraphy aside), for dating Seldjūq monuments of a given area are to be found in building techniques and workmanship.

When it is realized that the sanctuary exterior was not left starkly plain the better to set off the manār ornament, nor to contrast with its own richly encrusted interior, it does not follow that the builder was inconsistent. Rather it is a mild example of that paradoxical combination of illusion and reality that makes Iranian Islamic architecture both splendid and naïve. For Iranian architects, like our theater designers, were allowed to choose arbitrary viewpoints for their creations. The lengths to which this convention (or privilege) was sometimes carried produced results of great interest.⁹³ Just as an acceptance of oriental perspective is prerequisite to the full appreciation of Iranian miniature painting, so the arbitrary viewpoint must be granted this architecture before it can be completely enjoyed. In the case of the Barsiān manār, there was no choice of viewpoint, but, for the sanctuary, the architect selected the interior.

In the foregoing technical analysis it has been demonstrated that the sanctuary consists of a structural cube, dome, and squinches, and a nonstructural interior revetment expressed in a brick medium and enlivened with minor decorative motifs. The structural honesty of the cube, dome, and squinches are reflected in the logical exterior mass-composition. The interior utilizes the same forms but their proportions are distorted by, and their structure concealed beneath, the dominating revetment. The interior elevations are based on a *parti* of superposed, unrelated⁹⁴ stories, conceived to a large extent in two dimensions. In these interior elevations the following compositions and elements have been noted: the triple (triumphal) arch, the niche with engaged colonettes in rectangular frame, the niche-over-arch, the arcade framed by pilasters and architrave, and the blind arch. These compositions, elements, and the two-storied *parti*, although adapted to the problem with some skill, are essentially non-structural, imitative architecture. The architecture copied was, of course, the Ṭāq-i Kisrā façade,⁹⁵ itself a poor imitation of *scaenae frons* of the Hellenistic theater,

⁹³ For example, the high, two-dimensional façade projecting above an iwān, as at M-i Dj., Yazd. It is the old oriental frontality expressed architecturally.

⁹⁴ More apparent on the kibleh and the northeast walls.

⁹⁵ I do not insist that it was a direct copy. I mention the Ṭāq as the example *par excellence* that has come down to us of this type of façade. Cf. Herzfeld, *op. cit.* (1935), pp. 94-95. For a minor example in the same spirit, the court façade at 'Āmmān, cf. R. E. Brünnow and A. v. Domaszewski, *Die Provincia Arabia*, Fig. 840; at Ukhaiḍir, G. Bell, *op. cit.*, Pl. 161; and to a lesser extent, the much restored Assur façade (now in the K.-F. Mus., Berlin).

Elsewhere I have indicated sources and intermediary

examples for the mihrāb niche composition (niche with flanking colonettes in a rectangular frame), cf. Smith and Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 70, note 1; cf. the Fīrūzābād ṭāqcheh, M. Dieulafoy, *L'Art Antique de la Perse*, Paris, 1885, IV, Fig. 42.

For the niche-head on corbeled, semi-elliptical plan, cf. Ṭāq-i Kisrā (my unpublished photograph, neg. no. 57). The earliest dated example I have seen in Iran of this peculiar niche-head is on Pīr-i 'Alamdār, Damghān (417 H. inscr.), cf. Sarre, *op. cit.*, I, Fig. 153.

The niche-over-niche composed on the same vertical axis is seen in the great court at Ukhaiḍir, cf. Bell, *op. cit.*, Pls. 27, 85, or O. Reuther: "Ocheḍdir," *Wiss. Veröff. d. deutschen Orient-Gesellsch.*, XX (1912), Pl. XVII. For the interesting career of this niche compo-

which was a façade taken indoors. Here at Barsiān the façade was taken indoors again, a second cycle! At least thrice removed from their structural prototypes, it is little wonder that these compositions and elements had long lost their functional character, and had degenerated to that imitative plane on which they were malleable to any medium or adaptable to any style. That they still recall their prototypes is remarkable, and the more so as they were here executed in brickwork of a character so emphatic that it constitutes a style in itself. In this brickwork I see one of the larger problems of Iranian Islamic architecture. That it came from Khorāsān—Transcaspia⁹⁶ in the form in which we here find it is practically certain.⁹⁷

But it is not alone the architecture and construction that are confused; there is also the gypsography. Side by side are two methods of space-filling, two relief techniques, and two degrees of conventionalization. The contrasts are by no means so strong as at contemporary Buzūn, but they help to explain the eclectic spirit of the Buzūn ornament with its provoking holdovers from the universal Sāmarrā style, its almost incredible affiliations with the Dair al-Sūryānī stucco,⁹⁸ the Ḳairawān wood minbar,⁹⁸ the Ḥīrah stucco,⁹⁹ and the Khārgird, Nāin, Istakhr,¹⁰⁰ and Yazd¹⁰¹ carved gač, combined with the fully developed arabesque, the contemporary Iṣfahān stylization of which I shall later demonstrate by two examples, dated 529 H. and 533 H.

Recently M. Godard has suggested¹⁰² that in addition to the primitive pired plan and the īwān plan, there was in Iran another early mosque that consisted of a domed, open kiosk standing in a ṣaḥn. As examples, he cites the Djum'as at Iṣfahān, Ardistān, Gulpāigān, and Ḳazwīn, and the Ḥaidariyeh at Ḳazwīn. Conclusive structural evidence that these dome-chambers originally had been isolated is difficult to produce owing to the fact that the side façades, and in most instances the front, are not exposed for full examination. Such evidence exists at Barsiān. Not only is it certain that the northeast façade and flanks were originally free; but the openings to either side of the miḥrāb as well as the position of the manār show that in this instance the ḳibleh wall also stood clear. It gives me pleasure to bring

sition in Byzantium and the West, see J. Puig i Cadafalch, "Decorative Forms of the First Romanesque Style," *Art Studies*, Cambridge, U. S. A., IV, pp. 11 ff., also in Vols. VI, VIII; and his *La Geografia i els Orígens del Primer Art Romànic (Memòries, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Vol. III, Barcelona, 1930)*.

The triumphal arch composition had intermediate examples in Iran (notably the Darwāzeh-i Gač in Khūzistān).

⁹⁶ For example, at Ghazna, tower of Maḥmūd (388–412 H.).

⁹⁷ Diez, *op. cit.*, *passim*; Herzfeld, *op. cit.* (1921), p. 173. But cf. the hazārbāf at Ukhaidir; Bell, *op. cit.* pp. 26, 138; Pl. 29, Figs. 1, 2. It is difficult to believe that this most intricate of brick techniques sprang into being. Building techniques develop, and slowly. They

cannot be the immediate expression of a fiat, like certain types of plans. What were the prototypes of this brickwork? Did it develop in mud-brick, and its early stages thus be lost? Did it have a structural, pre-revetment stage? Were there influences other than the material that dictated its geometric designs?

⁹⁸ My sincere thanks to Captain K. A. C. Creswell for his letter containing these two suggestions.

⁹⁹ Cf. Smith and Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

¹⁰⁰ Unpublished.

¹⁰¹ A small fragment of a tympanum in a ruin adjoining the Dawāzdeh Imām. It shows the grape cluster and grape leaf of Nāin.

¹⁰² "Les anciennes mosquées d'Iran," *Journal de Teheran*, Oct. 16, 18, 21, 23, 25, 1936.

this conclusive proof to the brilliant thesis of my colleague. Nor is the Barsiān plan without historical counterpart. Muḳaddasī described the famous *Djāmi'* at Nīshāpūr (built by Abū Muslim¹⁰³ and 'Amrū ibn al-Laith),¹⁰⁴ as having a structure with eleven doors standing in the center of a ṣaḥn, which was bordered on three sides by arwiḳat.¹⁰⁵ I suggest that the curious Nīshāpūr plan with its eleven doors may be explained by Barsiān; further, that it has now become clear in what manner the fire-temple could have been converted into a mosque.

To summarize: the essential structure of the Barsiān sanctuary is pure Iranian, the architectural treatment is a Hellenistic derivative, the medium is Khorāsān brickwork, while the minor ornament is an eclectic mélange from the widespread Islamic repertory. Later, when I return from the field and have access to a library, I shall want to enlarge certain of these ideas, to modify others. But the most important point will stand, which is that the dominating architectural principle utilized in this domed cube is incrustation, a core plus a revetment. Should it contribute but this, Barsiān is a fundamental document for the understanding of the Iṣfahān Seldjūḳ style.¹⁰⁶

NOTES ÉPIGRAPHIQUES

PAR Y. A. GODARD

Le minaret de Barsiān possède une inscription en caractères coufiques qui reproduit le verset 76 de la sourate 22 et dont la fin donne la date de la construction: "Dans l'année 491 (1097-8)." Le style de l'écriture est très simple. Aucune décoration, sauf un allongement assez particulier des hampes.

L'inscription qui se trouve à la base de la coupole est très semblable à celle du minaret mais l'espace à remplir étant moins haut le caractère des lettres s'en est trouvé un peu modifié. On y peut reconnaître les versets 1, 2, 3, 4, et une partie du cinquième de la sourate 48. Aucune date n'est visible mais une partie importante du bandeau ayant disparu, en avant du Bismillāh, il se peut qu'il ait comporté une indication d'année. Les hampes des *alifs* se terminent en demi-lobes simples et un seul *lām-alif* est entrelacé.

Le miḥrāb porte plusieurs inscriptions, la principale servant d'encadrement à l'ensemble. Elle est de même style que les précédentes et reproduit le verset 18 de la sourate 9. Le début s'en détache sur un fond de rinceaux ciselés dans le plâtre et purement seldjoukides, mais cette ornementation ne fut pas terminée; elle n'a été exécutée que sur une partie du côté gauche du miḥrāb. A la fin de cette inscription se trouve une indication historique: "Il a été ordonné de construire ce miḥrāb qui fut terminé dans le mois de Dieu, le béni, ramadān (d l') année 28. Le chiffre des centaines a disparu mais, à en juger de l'architecture, ne peut

¹⁰³ Governor at Nīshāpūr, 130-137 H.

¹⁰⁴ 265-287 H.

¹⁰⁵ Muḳaddasī, *Aḥsan al-Taḳāsīm fī Ma'rifaṭ al-Aḳālīm*, B. G. A. de Goeje ed., Leyden, 1906, p. 316.

¹⁰⁶ I wish to record my gratitude to Miss Mary E. Crane for editorial and secretarial assistance with this MS.

vraisemblablement être que 5. Le minaret de Barsiān étant daté de 491 le bâtiment à coupole voisin n'aurait donc été terminé que trente sept années plus tard, en 528 H.

Le bandeau à inscription du miḥrāb est doublé intérieurement d'un autre bandeau décore d'ornements géométriques entrelacés. Là aussi le travail n'a pas été terminé. Quelques médaillons portent des invocations à Dieu: O Créateur, O Puissant, etc. . . . dont les unes sont écrites en caractères coufiques, les autres en caractères naskhī, ce qui n'a rien de surprenant sur un monument daté de 528 puisque le minaret de Čehel Dukhterān, à Iṣfahān, porte déjà une inscription en caractères arrondis.

La niche du miḥrāb contient, sur les faces des stalactites, toute une série d'hommages à la puissance divine: Le pouvoir est à Dieu, La gloire est à Dieu, etc. . . . Les hampes se développent au dessus de la ligne d'écriture en motifs tressés uniquement décoratifs.

Au bas du panneau central du miḥrāb se trouve un petit défoncement trilobé accompagné d'inscriptions religieuses en caractères coufique:

Il n'y a d'autre dieu que Dieu.
Muḥammad est le prophète de Dieu.
Il est celui qui entend.
etc. . . .

Dans le défoncement même, en gros caractères: "*al-rahmān, al-rahīm,*" le Clément, le Miséricordieux.

DIE WISSENSCHAFTLICHEN AKADEMIEN HABEN DEM GELEHRTEN WIE EINEM STÜCK UNGEBÄRDIGEN HERDEN TIERES EINEN KLOTZ UM DEN HALS GEHÄNGT, DAMIT ER IN SEINER FREIEN BEWEGLICHKEIT BEHINDERT UND LEICHT EINGEFANGEN WERDEN KÖNNTE: DEN SOG. HUMANISMUS, D.H. DEN MITTELMEERGLAUBEN, DER U.A. DEN NORDMENSCHEN BLIND IN DIE ARME DER ROMANEN TREIBT. TATSACHE IST, DASS DAS, WAS WIR GEISTESWISSENSCHAFT NENNEN, DIE ERFORSCHUNG ÜBER DIE EINZELNEN LEBENSWESENHEITEN DES MENSCHLICHEN SEINS, DENKENS UND HANDELNS, SEIT DER RENAISSANCE ALS WICHTIGSTES HILFSMITTEL DER MACHT ERKANNT UND DEMGEMÄSS NACH STAAT, RELIGION UND AKADEMIE ANGEBLICH "WISSENSCHAFTLICH" AUSGEBILDET UND IN DEREN DIENST GESTELLT WURDE. AUS DEN JESUITENSCHULEN GINGEN DIE UNIVERSITÄTEN HERVOR, LOUIS XIII. GRÜNDETE DIE ERSTE DER WISSENSCHAFTLICHEN AKADEMIEN UND DIESEN IST ES BIS HEUTE NICHT GELUNGEN, IHRE IHNEN VON DER MACHT ANGELEGTE SCHEUKLAPPEN LOSZUWERDEN. DAS ABER VERHINDERT IN ERSTER REIHE EBEN DER MITTELMEERGLAUBE, DER IM MACHTSINNE DARIN GIPFELT, ZU BEHAUPTEN, ALLE WEGE FÜHRTEN NACH ROM. HEUTE ENDLICH ERMANNT SICH DER NORDEN, LÖST DEN LATINISMUS VON SICH AB UND BEGINNT ZU SEHEN, WAS IHM ALLES AN EIGENKRAFT DURCH DIESEN GENOMMEN WORDEN IST.

Zugleich aber wittert die altsprachlich und geschichtlich im Machtsinne überfütterte Jugend Morgenduft, erkennt hinter der Trugspiegelei von gestern das nordische Gestirn, das allein imstande ist, ihr die durch Gesetze, Gebote, Wissen und Technik abgelistete Seele wieder zu geben. Bisher war es Hellas, das in seiner einfachen und schlichten Sachlichkeit die Ahnung eines Menschentums vermitteln konnte, das fern von den Machtgelüsten der Dynastien, Kirchen und Schriftgelehrten sich tummelte und dem in der bildenden Kunst die Schönheit in stiller Einfachheit und Grösse Glaubensbekenntnis war; jetzt kommt von Asien her ein anderer solcher Hort zum Vorschein, einer, den wir bisher über den vorderasiatischen Machtstaaten nicht zu sehen vermochten. Es taucht im Osten hinter Mesopotamien und Persien das Herz Asiens in einem ähnlichen Sinne auf wie Hellas im Westen: das kleine Iran, das freilich nicht die Schönheit, sondern den Glauben, die Sittlichkeit zur durchschlagenden Kraft gemacht hat, einmal für Asien selbst, aber in Auswirkungen auch für Europa. Dabei muss von vornherein gebeten werden, Iran nicht mit Persien zu verwechseln, es verhält sich dazu etwa wie das alte Hellas zu Rom.

I. *Kunde*. Wir klammern uns in der Geistesforschung krampfhaft an das Wissen, das die Historiker und Philologen allmählich aus den Steindenkmälern mit ihrer Schrift und den Darstellungen in Menschengestalt im Mittelkreise herausgedeutet haben und ahnen gar nicht, was uns, insbesondere den Nordmensch, entgeht, wenn wir blind alle jene Kunde von der Geschichte fernhalten, die Aufschluss über die Voraussetzungen dieser in der Erd- und Menschengeschichte jüngsten und geistig engsten Menschengruppe des Mittelmeerkreises bringen könnte. Ist der Weg zur Kenntnis von Macht und Besitz der Höfe und Dynastien, von Kirchen und gelehrter Rechtgläubigkeit mit allen Mitteln der sog. Weltweisheit gepflastert, so dass man nächstens nicht mehr wissen wird, wo noch im Gebiete der

Mittelmeermächte zu graben wäre, so überlässt man das Wissen von der eigenen nordischen Heimat aus Trotz und Bequemlichkeit dem Zufall, will nicht wahr haben, dass es neben der Machtblüte am Mittelmeere einen eigenen Norden gegeben habe, der seelisch bedeutender war als alles, was uns an äusserlich verführerischer Lebenshaltung von den Mittelmeervölkern wie den Wilden der Schnaps übermittelt worden ist.

Es war leicht, Wissenschaft auf Grund des in Stein Erhaltenen zu treiben und alles andere als primitiv und barbarisch zu vernachlässigen. So hat man Europa, das ursprüngliche Europa nämlich, in einer Versenkung verschwinden lassen, weil es in Holz baute und Asien, das eigentliche Asien, weil es in seinem Wesen durch den Rohziegel und das Zelt bestimmt wurde. Erhalten ist leider freilich weder von den alten Holz-, noch von den Rohziegel- und Zeltdenkmalern etwas bzw. nur so geringe und junge Spuren, dass es einer ganz anders in Forschungsrichtungen, Verfahren und Tatsachen aufgebauten wissenschaftlichen Arbeit bedarf, um Geschichte vom Nordstandpunkt schreiben zu können, als das bisher vom Mittelmeerglauben aus der Fall war. Das alte Hellas wurde im 18. Jahrhundert entdeckt, man wird jetzt endlich anfangen müssen, das Herz Asiens, Iran, daneben zu stellen.

Ort. Iran, ein dem landläufigen Kunsthistoriker völlig unbekanntes Land, wenn man ihn nämlich darauf aufmerksam macht, dass es nicht verwechselt werden darf mit Persien, das sich zum alten Iran etwa so verhält, wie die Machtkunst nach Alexander, die griechische Werte für die Verherrlichung der Macht benutzt, zur Kunst des alten Griechenland. Iran, das mit Transoxanien zusammen Westasien, nicht zu verwechseln mit Vorderasien, bildet, liegt im Herzen Asiens, da, wo das eigentliche Asien sich von dem vorgelagerten und halb zum Mittelmeerkreise gehörigen Vorderasien trennt, das Vorland des Pamir, die Kreuzungsstelle aller Strassen, die vom Norden, Osten und Westen kommen und nach Indien führen. Dort kreuzen sich schon die ältesten Völkerwanderungsstrassen wie die amerasiatische und die indogermanische.¹ Wir wissen nichts über diese Urzeit, wohl aber fangen wir an zu sehen, dass der Pamir mit seinen Eiszeitgletschern die Ostvölker von Iran fernhielt, so dass an der Grenze der geschichtlichen Zeit der Norden den Ausschlag gab und später erst, als die Pamirpässe gangbar wurden, Türken und Ostasiaten auf den Plan traten und die alte nordische Gesinnung durch die der Wanderhirten noch verstärkten.

Zeit. Unsere zeitlichen Massstäbe, für die Geisteswissenschaften durch die Historiker und Philologen in haltloser Weise durch Aufrichtung eines Schlagbaumes mit Eintritt der "Schrift" festgelegt, sind in den letzten Jahrzehnten gründlich andere geworden; die paar Jahrtausende, die wir, ohne nach dem Woher zu fragen, seit Jahrhunderten in den Vordergrund stellten, spielen im Wesen und Werden des Menschentums gar keine entscheidende Rolle, es sei denn, dass man Macht und Besitz für des Menschen höchste Güter erklärt, wie das ja alle tatsächlich tun, die sich wie wilde Tiere um die Macht reissen. Für die Menschheit aber ist wichtiger zu erfahren, was sie war, bevor Macht und Besitz die entscheidenden

¹ Vgl. meinen Vortrag auf dem Kongresse für iranische Kunst und Archaeologie in Leningrad und Moskau, 1935.

Güter wurden. Die sog. Prähistoriker haben nur einen halben Schritt über die Historiker hinaus getan, indem sie sich an das hielten, was aus der vorhergehenden Zeit erhalten ist. Die Wissenschaft aber kennt keine solchen Grenzen, sie muss lernen, auch mit dem rechnen, was *nicht* erhalten ist. Sie geht bis auf die Anfänge zurück, sucht also das Werden des Menschengestes nicht in einer willkürlich begrenzten Zeit, sagen wir vom Einsetzen der bisher beachteten Schrift bis etwa dreissig Jahre vor der Gegenwart zu erfassen, sondern geht von der Geburt des Menschen über die Gegenwart hinweg in die fernste Zukunft, soweit es sich um Wesens- und Entwicklungsfragen handelt, wobei Möglichkeit und Wahrscheinlichkeit, das Rechnen mit dem Unbekannten also notwendig wird. Das nennt man Wissenschaft und in ihr spielt Iran in der Zeit vor und nach der sog. Antike eine so entscheidende Rolle, dass es kein ehrlich denkender Vertreter der Geisteswissenschaften ebensowenig übergehen kann, wie den Norden selbst, die Amerasiaten, Atlantiker und Indogermanen.²

Gesellschaft. Der Hochmut der Abendländer, nur solche Völker als geschichtswürdig anzusehen, die sich der Machtgesinnung des Mittelmeerkreises einfügten und alle anderen als Barbaren und Primitive zurückzustellen, hat die Geschichtsschreibung zwar sehr bequem vereinfacht, aber zugleich die Nordvölker und vor allem auch die Europas um ihren Wesenskern und den Einblick in ihre entwicklungsgeschichtliche Bedeutung betrogen. Indem man den Norden aus der Geschichtsforschung ausschloss, die Nordvölker, ob in Asien, Europa oder Amerika als Wilde, sog. Naturvölker oder Barbaren unbeachtet liess, soweit sie nicht von Herodot oder Tacitus genannt wurden, schied man aus dem Menschentum und der Geschichte der Menschheit gerade die entscheidenden Völker aus und versteifte sich bequem auf die Vertreter einer verfeinerten Lebenshaltung, denen seelische Tiefe immer mehr abging, wie wir als deren Zwangserben heute mit schwer verwundetem Gemüte erkennen. Und auch da noch will man uns im Wege des humanistischen Gymnasiums von aller Nordgesinnung möglichst fernhalten. Statt Rom zurückzudrängen und Hellas mit Iran und Indien zusammen zum Ausgangspunkt der Kunde vom Norden zu machen, hält man hartnäckig am alten Oriente und Rom fest, gibt dem Nordmenschen keine Möglichkeit, sich die eigene Seele da zu erfrischen, wo ihre hinter Macht und Besitz versunkenen Schätze liegen. Hellas kennen wir zur Not, obzwar auch da alles getan wird, um den Zusammenhang mit dem Norden nicht Bedeutung gewinnen zu lassen, von Iran weiss man überhaupt nichts, wechselt es höchstens mit den machtgierigen Persern, den Schülern der altorientalischen Gewaltmacht, die seit dem unklugen Vorstoss Alexanders über Europa mehr Einfluss gewinnen, als wir vorläufig zugeben wollen.

Über die Gesellschaftskreise hinweg, wie sie erst die Macht geschaffen hat, werden wir auf die ältesten Volksgemeinschaften achtenlernen müssen, die sich in den auf die Eiszeit zurückgehenden Gürteln und Strömen erkennen lassen. Davon unter Entwicklung. Ich behandle meiner *Krisis der Geisteswissenschaften*, 1923, *Forschung und Erziehung*, 1928, und *Geistige Umkehr*, 1936 entsprechend zuerst die Kunde und das Wesen und nach der Entwicklung dann zum Schluss den Beschauer.

² Vgl. darüber "Drei Kunströme aus nordischen Zwischenzeitaltern," *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, XI, 1935,

S. 65 ff., englisch *Research and Progress*, I, 1935, pp. 160 ff.

II. *Wesen*. Wir haben uns in den letzten Jahrhunderten darauf versteift, ein einziges Wesen, in welcher geistigen Lebenswesenheit es auch immer sei, gelten zu lassen, das sog. europäische, das seine Wurzel im alten Oriente hat und über den Hellenismus und Rom bzw. Byzanz auf Europa übergegangen ist. Das war unser Massstab, nach dem wir alles andere beurteilten und u. a. auch den Norden als barbarisch und den äquatorialen Süden als primitiv ablehnten. Für uns gab es nur ein gültiges Wesen, eben dasjenige, das uns von der Schule her mit dem Mittelmeerglauben eingedrillt wurde, jener Wahn, wonach nur die Macht, wie sie Hof, Kirche und rechtgläubige Bildung ausübten, die Menschheit von dem Übel, Mensch zu sein, retten könnte. Dem Menschentum wurden Zügel angelegt, eine von Höfen, Kirchen und Akademien zurechtgeschnittene Zwangsjacke, die den Menschen nach bestimmt vorgeschriebenen Regeln leben, seine Eigenseele aber verkümmern liess.

Heute erst fangen wir an, jenes andere Wesen zu suchen, dem die Seele wichtiger ist als Macht und Besitz. Wir glauben, das müsste erst in Zukunft errungen werden und wissen nicht, dass es längst da war und die eigene Heimat, der Norden, das ursprüngliche Europa sowohl wie das eigentliche Asien es noch an der Grenze des Überganges von der Antike zum Christentum besassen. Einer der wichtigsten Punkte, an denen dieses seelisch vertiefte Menschentum am längsten und fruchtbarsten zeugend ausgehalten hat, bevor es in der Blüte der christlichen Kunst des Nordens (Gotik) wieder aufblühte, ist Iran. Deshalb ist es so wichtig, es in Zukunft neben Hellas und der Gotik in den Vordergrund zu rücken. Es wird sogar viele geben, denen Iran wichtiger erscheint als Hellas, weil es den seelischen Schwerpunkt nicht in die Schönheit, sondern in die Sittlichkeit legte und wahrscheinlich der Ausgangspunkt aller jener Religionen geworden ist, die wir als Buddhismus, Christentum und Islam kennen und, ohne den schöpferischen Mazdaismus und das Indogermanentum zu beachten, Weltreligionen nennen. Die Bildende Kunst gibt in dieses nordisch-iranische Grundwesen und sein Werden einen guten Einblick. Betrachten wir zunächst das Wesen nach der für die wissenschaftliche Arbeit geltenden Einteilung nach Handwerk (Rohstoff und Werk) und geistigen Werten (Zweck und Gegenstand, Gestalt, Form und Gehalt).

Handwerk. In Asien hat das Handwerk an sich hohe künstlerische Werte aus dem Rohstoff herauszuholen gewusst, nirgends so überreich wie in dem Rohziegelgebiete von Iran, in das mit dem amerasiatisch-türkischen Vorstoss auch noch die Welt des Zeltbaues einmündete. Man kann sich wohl kaum einen grösseren Unterschied denken, als den des hellenischen Marmors gegenüber dem Lehm, der in Iran den Ausschlag gab. Aus diesem Rohstoffgegensatz allein schon versteht sich von vornherein der Grundunterschied im Wesen der griechisch-europäischen und der iranisch-asiatischen Kunst. Immerhin ist das nur einer, der vom Handwerk ausgehende Wesensgegensatz, der sich später schon in christlicher Zeit in dem Siege der Mosaikmalerei über die Marmorplastik schicksalhaft geradezu ausleben sollte, noch mehr allerdings zuletzt in der islamischen Kunst.

Die iranische Eigenart erklärt sich daraus, dass Iran beim Bauen kein wachsendes Gebilde, Glieder aus Holz etwa, sondern durch Rohziegel auch in der Decke Raumgrenzen herstellte und diese Mauern aussen und innen gegen die Einwirkung der Witterung gesichert werden mussten. So kam in das Bauen jener Geist des Verkleidens, der der griechischen

Art, wie später der Gotik, so völlig entgegengesetzt ist. Die Ausstattung der Wände mit Sinnbildern, in weiche Verkleidungsstoffe geschnitten, wurde entscheidend, "Zierate," die nicht wie die griechischen Bildwerke in Licht und Schatten modelliert, sondern ein farbiges Muster vom Grunde abgehoben zeigen. Dazu kamen allgemein nordasiatische Neigungen, wie die zu Durchbruch und Schrägschnitt, und es entstand so eine Fülle gemischter Werkarten, wie sie sich auf dem Kreuzungspunkt nordischer und hochasiatischer Wanderzüge erwarten lassen, deren Nachwirkungen noch zu allem Bodenständigen hinzukamen.

Geistige Werte. Die Bedeutung Irans aber liegt nicht so sehr in dieser allgemein asiatischen Hochwertigkeit des Handwerkes, sie liegt wie in Hellas viel mehr in den hohen geistigen Werten die von da aus ganz Asien und schliesslich auch Europa befruchteten. Diese sind es vor allem, die Weltbedeutung erlangten, wie schon bei Erwähnung der Weltreligionen angedeutet wurde.

Zweck und Gegenstand. Die künstlerischen Werte des alten Iran sind vor allem Bedeutungswerte gewesen. Das All, Sonne, Mond und Sterne bestimmten Glauben und Denken. Ursprünglich im Freien, später unter dem Einfluss des mittleren Machtgürtels in Tempeln wurde das Feuer verehrt das ursprünglich im Norden selbst Haus und Leben gegen die Strenge des Winters sicherte. Haus und Kleidung müssen dort im Norden in ganz anderem Sinne als später in Indien und selbst in Hellas Ausgangspunkt der Bildenden Kunst gewesen sein. Sogleich im Bauen uns haben Humanisten gelehrt, neuere Kunstgeschichte wie eine Art Geschichte der römischen Basilika zu schreiben; es kommt uns gar nicht zum Bewusstsein, dass ganz Osteuropa davon nichts weiss und der strahlenförmige Kuppelbau dort den gleichen Zweck erfüllt, wie im Westen die langgestreckte Basilika. Hinter diesem Kuppelbau aber steht der Feuertempel, der seine Voraussetzungen im Holzbaus des Nordens hat, obwohl er dann in Iran aus Rohziegeln errichtet werden musste. Der Innenraum, in dem das Feuer gehütet wird, scheint dann allmählig Wesen und Entwicklung der Nordkunst zu bestimmen.

Im übrigen richten sich Zweck und Gegenstand in Iran, soweit dort überhaupt die Darstellung in Betracht kommt, auf die Ausstattung von Feuertempel und Avesta so, dass alle Bedeutungsvorstellungen schliesslich im Tempel und den heiligen Büchern des Mazdaismus ihren Ausgangspunkt haben. Man lese darüber mein *Ursprung der christlichen Kirchenkunst*, 1920, und *Asiatische Miniaturenmalerei*, 1933, und *Ars Islamica* nach. Von Hvarenah und Paradies wird gleich die Rede sein. Im übrigen sind es Sinnbilder, die wir für Zierate ansehen, um die es sich zumeist handelt und die ja schliesslich auch reine Schmuckbedeutung erhielten.

Gestalt. Die Griechen scheinen es gewesen zu sein, die als erste unter den nach dem Süden gezogenen Nordvölkern unter dem Einflusse der Geistestätigkeit des Mittelmeerkreises Götter und noch dazu solche in Menschengestalt einführten. Der Iranier kannte nur Natur und Welt, sah beide in der Landschaft bzw. in all den Lebewesen, die diese füllen. In der Bildenden Kunst zeigt daher Iran eine so ausgesprochen der Gestalt nach andere Welt als Hellas, geschweige denn die altorientalischen Machtstaaten, dass wir darin wie noch im Islam am stärksten das Andersartige empfinden und dafür nach einer Erklärung durch

die Entwicklungsforschung verlangen. Die Einheit zwischen Hellas und Iran liegt eben nicht in den sachlich an die wechselnde Umgebung gebundenen Werten von Zweck, Gegenstand und Gestalt, sondern, wie wir sehen werden, in Form und Gehalt. Der Gegensatz spitzt sich besonders der Gestalt nach zu. Wir werden in der Vorstellung vom griechischen Tempel erzogen; in Zukunft müssen wir, um dem Begriffe Tempel gerecht zu werden, vollkommen umsatteln. Vorläufig vertragen sich Säulen- und Giebeltempel in keiner Weise mit dem Kuppeltempel und doch kommt es im Sinne des Nordens gerade darauf an, sich beide nebeneinander als aus verschiedenen Werkarten desselben Rohstoffes hervorgegangen vorzustellen. Der "Tempel" an sich ist eine südliche Neuerung, die Griechen gehen dazu über vom Holzhaus mit Pfettendach, die Iranier zwar ebenso vom Blockbaue, aber vom osteuropäischen Holzhaus mit dem Übereckdache, aus dem im Rohziegelbaue die Kuppel über dem Quadrat wird, in das Rund übergeleitet durch die Trichternische.

Nicht viel anders liegen Einheit und Gegensatz der griechischen und iranischen Kunst in den Gestalten, mit denen mittelbar verständliche Zeichen einer Art Darstellung geschaffen werden. Hellas verwendet dafür ebenso Sinnbilder wie Iran; davon später, soweit die Bedeutung an sich in Betracht kommt. Der Erscheinung nach aber besteht der grösste Gegensatz insofern, als das, was der Grieche durch die menschliche Gestalt andeutet, der Iranier aus der Landschaft nimmt, wobei in deren Rahmen neben Tier und Pflanze auch der Mensch auftreten kann. Niemals ist er, soweit nicht die Machtkunst eingreift, an sich und um seiner selbst willen wie im griechischen Gegenstand der Darstellung.

Das wichtigste Kennzeichen der Landschaft in der Bildenden Kunst des Nordens muss ursprünglich der Fels gewesen sein. Wir lernen das von Iran aus so eindringlich kennen, dass wenn die Italiener bis auf Leonardo keine andere Landschaft als die Felslandschaft verwenden, wir allmählich genau sehen, woher sie diese Art haben: vom Norden über Iran und den Hellenismus, zuerst vermittelt durch die Grossmalerei und das Mosaik, später durch die Handschriftenmalerei.

Die Gestalt ist schon aus diesem Grunde nie naturnahe, sie dringt nicht als Wirklichkeit durch das Auge allein in die Kunst, sondern geht immer den Weg der Vorstellung durch das eigene Innere. Wenn den Felsen oder Bäumen etwas Gleichförmiges anhaftet, so ist das eben aus der im Vordergrund stehenden Zeichensprache zu erklären.

Form. Wir sind in Europa kaum noch imstande, die Form von der Gestalt loszulösen, so sehr hat uns die naturalistische Übertreibung der Italiener irre gemacht. Wir wissen gar nicht mehr, dass eine Kunstform reine Form ohne Gestalt, vor allem ohne menschlich naturwahre Gestalt sein kann und müssen darauf erst wieder durch scheinbare Unarten der Bildenden Kunst der Gegenwart aufmerksam gemacht werden. Das Spiel freier Rhythmen in Punkt Linie, Fläche, Körper und Farbe, eher begreiflich von der Landschaft als jemals von der menschlichen Gestalt aus, das entscheidet in der eigentlich asiatischen Kunst. Darin ist Ostiran d. h. Westasien das feste Bollwerk gegen die völlig anders im Sinne des Mittelkreises ausgebildete Kunst Vorderasiens.

Wir halten das, was wir die geometrische Form nennen, für minderwertig und verraten damit am deutlichsten, wie sehr wir unserer eigenen europäischen Nordnatur, wie sie ur-

sprünglich im Einklange mit dem eigentlichen Asien war, entfremdet wurden. Iran neigt darin zur geraden Linie, im Gegensatz zu den alten Amerasiaten und Türkvölkern, die die geschwungene Linie man könnte fast sagen, geschaffen und überallhin bis zu den Spielereien des La Tène-Rokoko verbreitet haben.³ Es wäre zu erwarten, dass wenn sich die europäische Kunstgeschichte schon auf die Formprobleme der Machtkunst versteift, sie wenigstens eine Ahnung hätte von der anderen Art, die man Norden nennt und die ihren wichtigsten Zeugen gerade in dem Auswanderer kreuzungspunkte hat, den wir Iran nennen. Insbesondere sollte Iran in dem Werte, den wir für das Um und Auf der Bildenden Kunst überhaupt halten, in der Raumfrage nachdrücklich Beachtung finden; das würde uns von dem Wahne heilen, Perspektive, d. h. Raumdarstellung für die einzig richtige Art zu halten, Künstlerisch Raumwirkung zu erzielen. Die Iranier bauen ihre Landschaft nicht in die Tiefe, sondern in die Höhe.

Gehalt. Man hört immer öfter aussprechen, Europa fehle die Seele, man müsse sie in China, in Indien suchen; Europa habe seine Religion von gewissen primitiven Stämmen in Syrien bezogen und es sei höchste Zeit, dass es sich Chinas und Indiens so bewusst werde, wie jetzt Italiens, Griechenlands, Ägyptens und selbst des alten Assyriens. Glücklicherweise haben wir einen etwas kürzeren Weg, um hinter diese Lücke zu kommen und sie auszufüllen, brauchen nicht erst nach Indien und China zu gehen, sondern können uns, was wir brauchen, wie die Schönheit von Hellas, so die Sittlichkeit und den Glauben von Iran holen, das, was es vom Norden empfangen, nach Indien und China weitergegeben hat, ähnlich wie Griechenland seine Kunst weiter nach Europa gab.

Darauf spitzt sich letzten Endes der Unterschied zwischen Hellas und Iran, wie von Europa und Asien überhaupt zu: die dem Irdischen zugewandte Schönheit, schliesslich verkörpert in der menschlichen Gestalt einerseits und drüben jene Versunkenheit in die letzten sittlichen Lebensfragen, die der Ich-Verleugnung im eigenen Körper gleichkommt und in dem völligen Versunkensein des Yima bzw. des Buddha ihren vollkommensten Ausdruck gefunden hat. Aber wir wollen ja nicht sehen, dass, was Dürer in seiner Melancholie oder die Manessische Handschrift als Leitgestalt für den Dichter gegeben hat und was mit der bekannten Dichtung Walters von der Vogelweide übereinstimmt, die Seele des Nordens ist, ob nun von einem deutschen oder iranisch-buddhistischen Meister gegeben.

Und dabei ist nicht einmal die menschliche Gestalt in der Bildenden Kunst des Nordens Träger des Ausdrucks, nur für uns wird erst in ihr, der in die Kunst der Nordvölker vom Mittelmeere her eingedrungenen Gestalt des Menschen, verständlich, was gemeint ist. Wir haben eben, im Mittelmeerglauben erzogen, keine Ahnung vom Norden. Entscheidend ist im Hinblick auf den seelischen Gehalt der sinnbildliche Ausdruck; darin liegt die Einheit der für die Schicksale der Bildenden Kunst entscheidenden beiden arischen Hauptströme; ob in Hellas die menschliche Gestalt, in Iran die Landschaft verwendet ist, immer bleibt das der Natur entnommene Zeichen Sinnbild, wird in ewiger Tugend nicht mit der von der Macht eingeführten Rangordnung bekleidet. Für den Nordmenschen gibt es nur eine ein-

³ Vgl. *Altai-Iran und Völkerwanderung*, Leipzig, 1917, und jetzt auch "Der Amerasiatische Kunststrom," *Osta-*

siatische Zeitschrift, 1935, XI, S. 169 ff.

zige seelische Einheit, die die im All wurzelt, nicht wie in der Machtkunst des alten Orients, in Hellenismus und Rom eine Vielheit, die in der Folge Gott, Herrscher und Untertan wurzelnd, jedem eine andere Gesinnung vorschreibt.

Wir haben ganz verlernt, Sinnbilder zu sehen, es fehlt daher von vornherein das Verständnis für den Norden und das Iranische im besonderen, von dem noch aus seinen Ausbreitungsgebieten her mehr erschlossen werden kann, als vom Norden selbst aus, weil im Süden Rohstoffe verwendet wurden, die erhalten blieben, während der Norden leider in vergänglichen Rohstoffen arbeitete.

III. *Entwicklung.* Als vor Jahrzehnten "Dilettanten" aufstanden und uns den Wert des Ariers klarzumachen versuchten, glaubten wir, man wolle uns etwas, womöglich im gegenjüdischen Sinne einreden. Heute sieht die Sache allmählich doch etwas anders aus. Wir sehen in den Romanen und ihrem Anhang in Afrika, den Negern, keine geringere Gefahr als in den Juden, ahnen, dass wenn wir uns nicht bald zusammeneinander und auf die eigene Seele besinnen, der Untergang des Abendlands besiegelt sei. Nordbesinnung tut not, wir dürfen uns nicht länger geistig in den Händen der Humanisten und Romanen lassen, müssen dem Vordringen der äquatorialen Lebensgier mit aller Entschiedenheit die nordische Seele entgegenhalten. Die Nordvölker sollten sich aufraffen, auch die Nordamerikaner, sonst geht es ihnen allen an den Kragen. Der Nordmensch muss zur alten Einheit, die Asien mitumfasste, zurückkehren. Mit der völligen Unterjochung Europas durch die Machtgesinnung und den damit verbundenen Mittelmeerglauben ist dem Norden jede Vorstellung von dem verloren gegangen, was ich als Beharrung bezeichne, jene in Lage, Boden und Blut verwurzelten Kräfte, die das Werden der Menschheit seelisch bestimmten, bevor im Mittelgürtel zwischen Nord und Süd das entstand, was wir die politische Macht nennen, eine Bewegungserscheinung, die sich über alle Gegebenheiten von Lage, Boden und Blut hinwegsetzt. Wir glauben jetzt nach jahrtausendelanger Herrschaft der Machtunnatur gar nicht mehr an die Möglichkeit eines natürlichen Seins, verwechseln Glaube mit Konfession und Ordnung mit Macht, Geist mit humanistischer Bildung; darüber ist uns die Seele abhanden gekommen. Kann die Entwicklung wieder in ihr uraltes Bett zurückkehren, aus dem Europa durch die Ketten von Rom und Byzanz abgezogen worden ist?

Zusammenfassend lässt sich nach dem oben über das Wesen der iranischen Kunst Vorgebrachten sagen, dass sie für das eigentliche Asien der seelische Brennpunkt war in ähnlicher Art, wie es Hellas im Westen wurde; nur vertritt Iran das alte Indoariertum reiner in der bildenden Kunst insofern, als es der Machtkunst des Mittelmeerkreises entrückt und für die Nachschübe vom Norden und Osten offen, die menschliche Gestalt auf die Dauer fernhielt, dafür aber alles, was Zierat war, in sich, die alte Rohziegelbaukunst mit ihrer sinnbildlichen Verkleidung, aufnahm. Irans Gottesvorstellung blieb rein von Vermenschlichung, die Natur, die Landschaft, die einzelnen Tiere und Pflanzen, die sie beleben, blieben die sinnbildlichen Zeichen, durch die das Einssein der Seele mit dem All ausgedrückt wurde; nur am persischen Hofe, in Berührung mit dem alten Oriente und dem Hellenismus nach Alexander bildete sich eine Machtkunst aus, die im Dienste von Hof, Kirche und Bildung stand und das Vorbild des spätantiken und christlichen Rom und Byzanz wurde.

Beharrung. Den in der humanistischen Überlieferung Erzogenen, der womöglich nur Hellas als auffallend beharrende Kraft in der europäischen Überlieferung gelten lässt, überrascht es ungemein, wenn er ein ähnlich zähes Beharrungsvermögen im inneren Asien im Vorlande des Pamir, jenem Ostiran oder Westturkestan erkennen muss, das im Nordisch-Volkstümlichen beharrt, während im Süden der persische Hof nur zu willig dem Vorbilde der altorientalischen Monarchien folgt. Es ist das ostiranisch-transoxanische Dreieck zwischen Kaspi- und Aralsee in der Grundlinie, mit der Spitze am Induslaufe, das Asien seelisch nach allen Richtungen hin befruchtet und sich bewunderungswürdig zäh im Festhalten der indoarischen Überlieferung bewährt hat. Es ist dieses Kerngebiet, in dem die Veden ebenso wie die Kämpfe der Mahabarata zu Hause sind und das nach allen Stürmen, die Türkenvölker, Hellenismus und Islam über das Land brachten, an der Geburtsstätte und dem Schaffensgebiete zugleich des Zarathustra doch wieder einen Firdusi und das Schahname entstehen liess. Avesta und Feuertempel haben von hier aus ihre Weltbedeutung errungen und ebenso die westlichen Weltreligionen den Kuppelbau über dem Quadrat und den sinnbildlichen Schmuck der Pergamenthandschriften über Europa verbreitet. Darin liegt eine zäh beharrende Kraft, die selbst den Stürmen der Hunnen und Mongolen, wie (künstlerisch wenigstens) sogar der Bilderfeindlichkeit des Islam gewachsen war.⁴

Lage. Iran ist nicht wie Hellas oder Indien eine in den Süden bzw. den mittleren Machtgürtel hineinragende Halbinsel, sondern der im Norden des gebirgigen Rückgrates gelegene Kreuzweg von ganz Asien, als solcher in dessen Mitte gelegen. Die Folge davon ist, dass es sich nicht so eng wie Indien oder Hellas mit dem Süden oder dem mittleren Machtgürtel berührt hat. Wüsten und Gebirge schliessen es gegen Süden ab, während der Norden wie ein Trichter sich nach dem Vorlande des Pamir öffnet. Infolge davon ist dieser Westen des eigentlichen Asien ausgesprochenes Nordland geblieben. Nur Persien, das sich bis an das südliche Meer vorschob, verfiel wie gesagt dem altorientalischen Machtwahne. Aus solchen Überlegungen heraus versteht man auch, warum Iran (nicht Persien als Macht) immer wieder den grössten Einfluss auf den Norden Europas, die Slaven wie die Germanen ausgeübt hat, wie vorher schon als sich auf seinem Boden Amerasiaten und Indogermanen trafen. Das "Dach der Welt," wie die Gegend auch heisst, kennzeichnet als Schlagwort gut die Bedeutung der Lage.

Boden. Die künstlerisch entscheidende Kraft Irans liegt in dem Rohstoffe, der allein für das Hochland der Wüste und Steppe, wie für das Zweiströmland des Oxus und Jaxartes (Amu- und Syrdarja) in Betracht kommt. Aus ihm heraus ist viel von der Eigenart jenes Bauens sowohl wie des Ausstattens zu verstehen, das für Westasien bis Mesopotamien herein so überaus kennzeichnend ist: der Lehm. Man würde vom Mittelmeerstandpunkt aus urteilend, ein Bauen in der Art der Paläste Mesopotamiens erwarten; das ist aber nicht der Fall, einmal weil die volkstümlichen Voraussetzungen in Iran selbst doch andere und dem Machtwillen gegenüber als eine zähen Widerstand leistende Kraft wirkten und dann weil, wie ich schon in meinem Armenienwerke herausarbeiten musste, der von den Indoiariern aus Europa mitgebrachte Holzbau auf Iran entscheidenden Einfluss gewann und, in

⁴ Vgl. meine *Asiatische Miniaturenmalerei*, Klagenfurt, 1933.

den Rohziegelbau übersetzt, andere Grundformen zeitigte als im Palastbau Mesopotamiens, der ja auch z. T. den Rohziegel und etwas verwendet, das in Iran ausgesprochenes Heimatsrecht besitzt, die Verkleidung der Lehm Wände durch edlere Baustoffe, darunter in erster Reihe die Fliese.

Wenn die Kunstgeschichte bisher auf diese Dinge nicht achtete, so geschah es, weil sie auf die Kräfte des Bodens an sich überhaupt nichts gab und leichtfertig nur dem Erhaltenen nachging. Vom Rohziegelbau können aber wie vom Holz- und Zeltbau nur die jüngsten Schichten erhalten sein, die Kunstgeschichte wird eben nicht rein geschichtlich vorgehen, d. h. nicht nur mit dem Steinbau rechnen dürfen. Im eigentlichen Asien liegen die Dinge ganz anders als im Mittelmeerkreise und den Ländern, in denen die Macht Stein verwendete. Dort kommt zu dem auch im ursprünglichen Europa entscheidenden Holze der Rohziegel und seit das durch Hebung des Bodens umgebildete Hochasien wieder besiedelt wurde, das Zelt.

Ich sehe das alles durch jahrzehntelange Beobachtung meines Arbeitsstoffes, der Denkmäler der Bildenden Kunst, indem ich sie nicht einfach "historisch" nach dem auf uns Gekommenen ordne, sondern dazu gedrängt werde, dem Nicht-Erhaltenen mehr oder weniger den Vorrang zu geben und in die eigentlich wissenschaftliche Arbeit dadurch einzutreten, dass ich von der Geschichte auf Wesen und Entwicklung übergehe, daher notgedrungen nach den Anfängen und dem Unbekannten forschen muss.

Erhalten ist uns vom alten Holzbau Asiens ebensowenig, wie vom alten Rohziegelbau und dem Zeltbaue. Aber wir haben Verfahren, um vor allem durch Rückschluss auf die Anfänge kommen zu können nicht zuletzt von der islamischen Kunst aus. Einige Beispiele. Da sind einmal die Kurgane mit versenkten Zelten oder Häusern, in Anau Siedlungen, aus denen wir dem Rohziegelbau in seiner ursprünglichen Art werden beikommen können. Über den Holzbau habe ich die ersten Versuche dieser rückschliessenden Art für Asien bereits in meinem Armenienwerke 1918 gemacht. Mit Bezug auf Iran im besonderen wird man erst dann eine feste Forschungsgrundlage gewinnen, wenn wir endlich anfangen, die grösste bestehende Lücke der Geschichte der Baukunst auszufüllen, die Geschichte der Kuppel über dem Quadrat in Anschluss an das nordische Haus bzw. den iranischen Feuertempel. Er wurde im Osten ebenso massgebend wie im Westen die Basilika. Die längst in Iran angefertigten Aufnahmen der Feuertempelreste sollten nicht länger zurückgehalten werden.

Blut. Entscheidend in der Blutfrage ist die Einwanderung von Nordvölkern, Amerasiaten und Indogermanen, in das Vorpamirland und dass die Türkvölker doch frühestens gegen die dort ansässig gewordenen Völker in der Zeit vorgingen, die wir in Europa als La Tène bezeichnen, d. h. also etwa in der zweiten Hälfte des ersten Jahrtausends vor Christus, soweit in solchen Fragen der Kunstforscher mitreden kann. Es müsste das also etwa in der Zeit geschehen sein, als die persische Macht im Nordosten des Landes die Einfälle der Nordvölker und hochasiatischen Hirten nicht mehr aufhalten konnte und der Vorstoss Alexanders in dem geschwächten Lande vollendete, was nun für über ein halbes Jahrtausend darauf lastete: Fremdherrschaft. Den Sasaniden gelang es zwar, gegen die Parther das Persertum wieder aufzurichten, aber die Entscheidung lag doch schliesslich beim Islam und dass dieser

Glaube, die ausgesprochene Wüstenreligion, Türken und Perser friedlich zur Durchdringung brachte. Die Türken setzten sich mit ihrem Zelt nicht gegen den Rohziegel durch, sie gewannen nur Einfluss auf die farbige Ausstattung.

Wären die Makedonier statt erobernd mit Machtansprüchen als Brudervolk zu den Iranern gekommen, dann hätten sie den Zusammenschluss dieser Iranier mit den Griechen fördern können. Statt eines Helliranismus, der richtigen Kallokatagathia, entstanden gnostische Übergänge, die das Christentum wie den Islam im Gefolge hatten und statt zur Einheit zur Trennung auf Jahrtausende führten. Ob aus der heute dämmernden Erkenntnis, dass Iran sich seelisch besser mit dem Norden für die Zukunft Nutzen entstehen kann? Wenn die europäischen Nordvölker sich heute mit den alten Griechen und Iranern verwandt zu fühlen beginnen, statt immer wieder dankbar die Hand zu küssen, die sie von Rom oder Byzanz aus unterworfen hat, so kann das für die Zukunft fruchtbar werden wenn, die indogermanische Völkerwanderung jene beharrliche Kraft bewährt, die den Norden Europas immer wieder über die baltische Brücke und Osteuropa mit der Mitte Asiens in innigster Verbindung zeigt, nicht nur auf Handelswegen, sondern vor allem in seelischer Beziehung.

Machtwille. Wie man Hellas in seinem Zusammenhange mit dem Norden nicht verstehen kann und nicht verstand, solange man es mit dem kaiserlichen Rom und den altorientalischen Monarchien zusammen in einen Topf wirft, so konnte man auch nicht ahnen, was Iran für Europa und Asien bedeutet, solange man es nicht von Persien lostrennte, vielmehr glatt zum "Orient" rechnete. Iran ist aber nicht Orient, sondern Norden; die wiederholt auftauchende Nötigung, Europa bis zum Pamir reichen zu lassen, hat darin seine Begründung. Dabei handelt es sich natürlich immer nur um das ursprüngliche Europa, nicht um den von Rom und Byzanz der Macht unterworfenen Erdteil. Die Macht hat Iran niemals ganz zu überwältigen vermocht, das Land lag zu fern vom Süden und dem mittleren Machtgürtel und war dem Norden und bald auch Hochasien zu nahe, lag für beide schliesslich zu offen da. Das ostiranische Dreieck hat immer wieder jeder vordringenden Macht gespottet, nirgends ist die alte Indoarierüberlieferung so sehr im Volke entscheidend wirksam geblieben wie in dem Lande, das den Glauben ebenso wie die Sagen und Kämpfe der Arier immer wieder zum Aufflammen brachte—in Zeiten noch, in denen Hellas längst tot war, ein Opfer der Mittelmeermächte, wie bald auch ganz Europa. Iran hat am längsten widerstanden, von dort und Indien aus lässt sich vielleicht heute noch der Einstieg in die Nordfragen trotz des Islam eher finden als von Hellas aus.

Bewegung. Als Kreuzweg Asiens war Iran, ich meine seine Nordostecke, die asiatische Bewegungsmittelpunkt schlechweg. Die entscheidenden Bewegungsachsen, die sich hier gegenseitig durchsetzten, waren erstens alle jene Durchbrüche, die vom Norden Europas und Asiens her hier am Ende der Sibirien und Hochasien trennenden Gebirge vom Pamir bis zum Kaspischen Meere erfolgten und zweitens später alle die Vorstöße, die Hochasiaten nach dem Westen vollführten. Wir könnten das eine Achsenpaar kurz das amerasiatisch-indogermanische, das andere das türkisch-mongolische nennen, jedenfalls sind damit die für das geistige Wesen der bodenständigen iranischen Kunst wichtigsten Einschläge angedeutet. Auf dem der Beharrung nach ausgesprochenen Lehmziegelboden Irans gewinnt die nord-

europäische Holzbauweise, das Blockquadrat mit dem Übereckdache ebenso Boden wie in der Ausstattung die Buntfarbigkeit der nordasiatischen Zeltkunst. Die persische Macht hat dazu noch Altmesopotamisches und Aegyptisches ebenso wie Indisches in sich aufgenommen, ihr verdankt ein Luxus seine Eigenart, der sich im Handwerk und nicht zuletzt auch in der reichgemusterten Ausstattung der Pergamenthandschriften äussert. Das sind einige Beispiele der Einflüsse, die in die iranische Kunst eingedrungen waren.

Andererseits die Ausbreitung der iranischen Kunst: sie hat eine so grosse, vorläufig noch so völlig ungeahnte Bedeutung, dass man sagen kann, Feuertempel und Avesta hätten in Europa wie Asien mehr als Basilika und Bibel gewirkt in der Zeit bevor Rom, zuerst das kaiserliche und dann das päpstliche Rom sich mit dem Steinbau durchsetzten und Byzanz im Osten zuerst und dann die Russen nach dem Mongolensturm einen Wall gegen Asien aufrichteten. Dann geht der Weg freilich nicht mehr unmittelbar den Donau- oder gar den Nordweg selbst, sondern wird beschränkt auf das, was über das Mittelmeer zuströmt. Seit dieser Zeit hat sich die Meinung festgesetzt, als wenn es einen Nordweg überhaupt nie gegeben hätte. Und doch ist er in der Übertragung der Avestaausstattung auf Pergament nach dem Norden Europas ebenso greifbar, wie im Ursprung und der Ausbreitung der Leitgestalt des Feuertempels, d. h. der Kuppel auf vier Pfeilern über dem Quadrat.

Wir sind heute überzeugt davon, dass die Leitgestalten des griechischen Bauens ganz Europa für sich gewonnen habe; in ähnlicher Weise dürften wir allmählich zur Einsicht kommen, dass iranische Sinnbilder in ganz Asien übernommen wurden, am eindringlichsten kommt das wohl zur Geltung in der alchinesischen Landschaftsmalerei: was wir Philosophenlandschaft nennen, die Spiegelung des Alls in einem zumeist von einem geduldigen Diener begleiteten Beschauer, ist dafür kennzeichnend. Das alles wird noch lebendig griefbar sein, solange die Schiene und das Flugzeug die Karawane nicht ganz verdrängt haben.

Am stärksten hat Iran auf die islamische Kunst gewirkt, nachdem zuerst die Tūlūniden und später die Fātimiden in Aegypten über die syrischen und koptischen Christen als Bauhandwerker hinweg iranisches Kunstgut zur Geltung gebracht hatten. Das bewährte sich zuerst als man in Sāmarrā ausgrub und dort das Vorbild für die Ibn Tūlūn in Kairo fand und ist jetzt erst recht durch die in der grossen Moschee zu Damaskus aufgedeckten Mosaike, wie früher schon durch die in Jerusalem bestätigt worden.

IV. *Beschauer*. Es ist noch gar nicht lange her, dass ein Gelehrter sich fast um die Fähigkeit, an einer Universität vortragen zu dürfen, brachte, wenn er glaubte nachweisen zu können, dass z. B. Miltiades von Abstammung Perser gewesen sei; so minderwertig schätzt man das indoarische Brudervolk der Griechen, die Iranier ein. Die alten Griechen als westliche Indogermanen haben darin grössere Achtung aufgebracht als die Gelehrten von heute, indem sie seit Alexander mehr als man jetzt zugibt, von den östlichen Indogermanen übernahmen; ich erwähne nur Platos Wandlung und was ich Hellas in des Orients, d. h. Irans Umarmung nenne. Die Weisen von heute ahnen noch gar nicht, dass hinter Persien Iran steckt; so bleibt ihnen verschlossen, was als seelische Voraussetzung dessen, was an Persien wertvoll ist gegenüber dem alten Oriente, das nordische Indogermanentum ausschlaggebend in Betracht kommt.

LES FRAGMENTS DE TISSUS QUE NOUS PRÉSENTONS ICI, AU NOMBRE DE TROIS, ONT LE MÉRITE exceptionnel d'être d'une singulière beauté. Ils appartiennent à deux pièces différentes, dont nous essaierons de déterminer la date et la provenance.

La première est une étoffe à chaîne de lin et à trame de soie légère: la décoration est brodée en fils d'or, d'argent et de soie de différentes couleurs, verte, jaune, rouge et bleue. Elle se compose de deux fragments, l'un, mesurant 49 centimètres sur 69, qui appartient à Mme Paul Mallon (*Fig. 1*), l'autre, de 40 sur 26, qui est la propriété de M. Matossian (*Fig. 2*). Je ne saurais assez les remercier d'avoir bien voulu m'autoriser à publier ces remarquables documents d'art.

Sans connaître l'importance de la dimension du tissu, nous en comprenons le rythme général. Les bordures du haut et du bas étaient formées par une ligne d'inscription coufique, suivie d'une bande plus large, renfermant des cercles tangents, décorés d'animaux. De cette partie, à vrai dire, nous ne possédons qu'un court fragment du bas, offrant un paon dans un médaillon circulaire, ainsi que l'amorce de deux autres cercles, et enfin quelques mots de l'inscription, qui n'ont pas été déchiffrés. Ces deux bandeaux recouvrent la décoration centrale, non sans une certaine audace, puisqu'ils mordent légèrement sur les petits cercles dont nous allons parler. La partie principale présente un assemblage de grandes circonférences, rigoureusement tangentes; un petit cercle vient recouvrir le point tangentiel.¹ Ce dispositif réserve des losanges sphériques, au centre desquels se trouve un cercle inscrivant un animal, et quatre fleurs dirigeant leurs pointes vers les angles des losanges.² Sur les côtés, la décoration était brusquement arrêtée au milieu des petits cercles ponctuant les grandes circonférences, mais, au lieu de placer dans le centre un animal dont on n'aurait vu qu'une moitié, l'artiste y a situé un quadrupède dressé.

Tel est l'arrangement merveilleux des diverses parties, qui aboutit à une composition d'ensemble d'une harmonieuse ordonnance. La richesse peu banale de l'ornementation, qui témoigne d'un goût supérieur, la prodigieuse variété de la faune n'engendrent pas un encombrement fâcheux et, si l'artiste semble avoir fui les symétries trop conventionnelles, cette liberté ne crée pas le désordre. La somptuosité la plus poussée n'exclut donc pas la distinction et l'on ne trouve pas cet entassement de motifs décoratifs qui est la règle habituelle dans les tissus seldjoukides. La répartition mesurée du décor donne lieu à une singulière mise en valeur. Seul, l'encadrement général offre des répétitions de cercles et, nous allons le voir, les sujets traités diffèrent les uns des autres. On sent une volonté d'échapper à la repro-

¹ *Persian Art*, ed. by Sir E. Denison Ross, London, 1930, Pl. à p. 88; O. von Falke, *Kunstgeschichte der Seidenweberei*, Berlin, 1921, p. 9, Fig. 53, p. 11, Fig. 56, p. 26, Fig. 192; Figs. 41, 45, 46, 96, 98, 173; H. A. Elsberg et R. Guest, "Silk Fabric," *Burlington Magazine*, juin 1934, p. 270, Fig. A; A. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue of*

Muhammadan Textiles of the Medieval Period, London, 1924, Pl. IX; G. Migeon, *Manuel d'art musulman*, Paris, 1927, II, p. 326, Fig. 425; G. Migeon, *Les arts du tissu*, Paris, 1909, p. 13.

² Cf. F. Sarre, *Die Kunst des alten Persien*, Berlin, 1923, Pl. 94; Falke, *op. cit.*, p. 11, Fig. 57.



FIG. 1.—TISSU BRODÉ, MESOPOTAMIEN X^e SIÈCLE
COLLECTION MME. PAUL MALLON



FIG. 2—TISSU BRODÉ, MESOPOTAMIEN X^E SIÈCLE
COLLECTION M. MATOSSIAN

duction indéfinie du même thème et, plus encore, de fuir le médiocre. Tous ces médaillons se tiennent à un diapason élevé, sans jamais déchoir.

Nous sommes habitués à ces étoffes à roues où les mêmes dessins sont repris d'une façon constante: ici, l'artiste a bien fait un choix délibéré. S'inspirant de la décoration générale des Sassanides, il s'est déjà complu à une harmonie originale des roues. Il a voulu affirmer davantage sa personnalité: délaissant les remplissages importuns et surtout la cheville banale, appui imparfait du vers bien frappé, il a tenu à offrir des animaux nobles qui s'équivalent. Toutes ces bêtes altières sont dignes les unes des autres; leurs détails sont traités avec finesse et avec une belle passion: ce sont des bêtes de haute classe, ayant toutes leur place marquée dans la cité des poètes, sans compter qu'elles sont ici magistralement campées, avec un large esprit de compréhension et de sympathie, et, quelle que soit la tendance ornementale de l'ensemble, les animaux sont représentés avec une certaine fougue.

Nous trouvons là assemblées des bêtes qui symbolisent la force et la beauté: c'est le mode héroïque et nulle mièvrerie ne vient compromettre la vigueur des attitudes. D'autre part, le souci de reproduire avec fidélité les traits essentiels des animaux s'allie à une virtuosité pleine d'élégance, avec une minutie très poussée pour les détails. Le remarquable talent du brodeur n'est donc pas inférieur à l'inspiration du décorateur.

Les animaux sont dessinés avec l'insistance de marquer leur caractère dominant, le trait qu'on évoque d'emblée en pensant à eux, tandis qu'une recherche précise a poussé le dessinateur à figurer chacun des éléments pour leur faire jouer un rôle décoratif. Tout cet art est dérivé d'un calcul savamment étudié, avec l'utilisation de toutes les ressources, le chatolement des nuances comme le relief de la broderie.

Les bêtes qui se trouvent dans l'anneau extérieur des grandes circonférences sont traitées comme dans l'orfèvrerie: leurs corps semblent tachetés de pierres précieuses incrustées. Il s'agit, chaque fois, de quatre paires de félins affrontés: c'est là un thème assez courant.³ Les petits cercles sont entourés d'une bande de rinceaux ou de motifs en forme de cœur.

Tous ces cercles renferment donc une bête isolée, procédé ornemental mis en valeur à l'époque sassanide et consacré par les artistes de l'islam.⁴ Dans les trois grandes circonférences on voit un paon, un lion et un griffon.

Le paon était vraiment l'oiseau idéal pour la décoration d'étoffes. Si le paon du poète

³ *An Illustrated Souvenir of the Exhibition of Persian Art*, London, 1931, Pl. 68; Migeon, *op. cit.* (1927), II, p. 295, Fig. 412; Elsberg et Guest, *loc. cit.*, Fig. A; Falke, *op. cit.*, Figs. 142, 144; E. Kühnel, *Die islamische Kunst*, aus Anton Springer, *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte*, VI, Leipzig, 1929, p. 387, Fig. 574.

⁴ Sarre, *op. cit.* (1923), Pls. 94-95; *An Illustrated Souvenir of the Exhibition of Persian Art*, London, 1931, Pls. 5, 68; *Persian Art*, Pl. à p. 88; C. Orbeli et J. Trever, *Orfèvrerie sassanide*, Moscou-Leningrad, 1935, Pls. 23-25, 28-29, 35, 48-49, 68-69; Migeon, *op. cit.* (1909), p. 8;

A. U. Pope, *An Introduction to Persian Art*, London, 1930, Fig. 69; M. van Berchem et J. Strzygowski, *Amida*, Heidelberg, 1910, p. 359, Fig. 307; L. Ashton, "Textiles, Some Early Pieces," *Burlington Magazine*, janvier 1931, p. 26, Fig. B.; H. Glück, *Islamisches Kunstgewerbe*, aus H. T. Bossert, *Geschichte des Kunstgewerbes*, IV, Berlin, 1928, p. 357; H. Glück et E. Diez, *Die Kunst des Islam*, Berlin, 1925, pp. 131, 482, 491; Falke, *op. cit.*, p. 11, Fig. 57, p. 24, Fig. 171, Figs. 63-64, 66-67, 93, 173; J. Strzygowski, *Altai-Iran und Völkerwanderung*, Leipzig, 1917, p. 220, Fig. 185.

Djāmī regrette “ses bottes de chagrin noir,”⁵ il ne manque pas d’admirer “son satin broché d’or et son brocart illuminé.”⁶ Les écrivains ont donc contribué à fortifier le goût des artistes en chantant le paon “déployant son splendide éventail,”⁷ car c’est bien “à cause des dessins et des peintures qu’il étale que les hommes le louent.”⁸ La manière dont l’artiste a construit la queue du paon, formant avec le corps de la bête un cercle concentrique à la grande circonférence, lui procure une amplitude magnifique: c’est bien une reine hautaine, un vrai symbole de fastueuse richesse. C’est sans doute la partie la mieux conservée de l’ensemble du tissu, mais elle nous suffit pour mesurer le tempérament de l’artiste. Que d’ingéniosité dans le détail de la décoration! A la base du cou ce sont des imbrications; l’attache de l’aile est figurée par un motif circulaire rayonnant; l’aile est parsemée de pointes de flèche et un rang de perles la circonscrit; le corps de la queue est entouré d’une bande en dents de scie; les plumes sont reliées par un réseau en zigzag et terminées, comme l’aigrette, par des croissants, qui figurent les yeux brillants du plumage.⁹

Du lion qui ornait le cercle de gauche l’avant-corps seul a été conservé: la terminaison d’un rinceau, dans la partie supérieure, permet de croire, par comparaison avec le griffon qui se trouve au-dessous du paon, que la bête était ailée. La gueule de ce lion présente une certaine dureté, accentuée par des détails un peu puérils sans doute, mais qui affirment l’impressionnante majesté d’un grand fauve. Cette face, au nez épaté, aux yeux ronds, le tout surmonté d’épais sourcils noirs, n’est peut-être pas d’une facture parfaite, mais la gaucherie que nous invoquons ici procure à la bête un aspect d’une intense âpreté, d’une sauvagerie conventionnelle. Les larges bajoues et les griffes saillantes accentuent encore la férocité. Il rappelle vraiment les lions des poètes, “aux armes terribles, aux membres vigoureux, à l’épaisse crinière, aux ongles longs et redoutables,¹⁰ des lions altiers, dont les pieds ne reculent jamais,¹¹ qui sortent leurs griffes acérées et montrent un visage sombre, qui menacent avec leurs griffes et leurs dents pointues et lancent des regards semblables à des braises ardentes,¹²

⁵ “Il faut bien être maussade, écrit Sa’dī, pour ne remarquer dans le paon que la laideur de ses pattes” (H. Massé, *Essai sur le poète Saadi*, Paris, 1919, p. 250).

⁶ Djāmī, *Le Béharistan*, trad. H. Massé, Paris, 1925, p. 210.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

⁸ Sa’dī, *Gulistan*, trad. C. Defrémery, Paris, 1858, p. 108.

⁹ Voir d’autres représentations du paon: Migeon, *op. cit.* (1927), II, p. 214, Fig. 367, p. 313, Fig. 418, p. 315, Fig. 419; I^{ère} éd., Paris, 1907, p. 385, Fig. 334, p. 387, Fig. 335; P. Ganz, *L’œuvre d’un amateur d’art*, Genève, 1925, Pl. 18; *Collection Engel-Gros*, Paris, 1921, Fig. 63; E. Kühnel, *Islamische Stoffe aus ägyptischen Gräbern*, Berlin, 1927, Pl. 49; P. Olmer, *Les filtres de gargoulettes*, Le Caire, 1932, Pl. LXIII; *Art of Egypt*, ed. by Sir E. Denison Ross, p. 341; Glück, *op. cit.*, p. 377;

Glück et Diez, *op. cit.*, p. 359; R. Koechlin et G. Migeon, *Cent planches d’art musulman*, Paris, Pl. LXIII; Kühnel, *op. cit.* (1929), p. 413, Fig. 415; Falke, *op. cit.*, Pl. V et Fig. 158; E. Kühnel, *Miniaturmalerei im islamischen Orient*, Berlin, 1922, Pl. 2; G. Migeon, *Les arts musulmans*, Paris, 1926, Pl. LXIII; Migeon, *op. cit.* (1909), p. 42; Kendrick, *op. cit.*, Frontispice.

M. Marquet de Vasselot, qui a eu la bonté de s’intéresser à cette étude m’a communiqué ce dessin du médaillon central d’un gémellion, certainement inspiré de l’art musulman (Fig. 1: travail limousin, treizième siècle).

¹⁰ L. Machuel, *Les auteurs arabes*, Paris, 1912, pp. 56, 84.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 123.

des lions lourdauds, aux jambes robustes,¹³ dont on ne fixe pas les yeux sans les prendre pour les feux d'une troupe campée dans les ténèbres."¹⁴

Le griffon, au corps trapu, a perdu sa tête. Son aile, dont les plumes finissent en crochets, se développe en avant par une courbe harmonieuse et se termine, derrière la tête, par une double volute,¹⁵ ce qui est très rare. L'anneau de la queue se retrouve ailleurs.¹⁶

La seconde pièce, qui appartient également à Mme. Paul Mallon (*Fig. 3*), présente la même technique d'un tissu à chaîne de lin et à trame de soie, à broderies de fils d'or et d'argent; la décoration est, là aussi, brodée en fils verts, jaunes, bleus et rouges.

Elle consiste en deux bandes d'inscriptions coufiques adossées qui encadrent, entre deux étroits bandeaux fleuris, des motifs plus variés, dont il ne subsiste qu'un court fragment. Des cercles bordés de perles inscrivent un autre cercle polylobé, au milieu duquel s'affrontent deux paons qui font la roue, au-dessous d'un fleuron en forme de cœur. L'intervalle entre ces cercles est décoré d'une étoile à huit branches, ou plutôt de deux carrés qui s'entrecroisent pour former une étoile: dans le centre, on voit une pintade. Au-dessus, séparés par un fleuron, deux oiseaux sont adossés, la tête retournée.

Voici le texte et la traduction des deux lignes d'inscription:

..... سم الحمد لله رب العالمين والعاقب | بة للمتقين |
 [1 mot] وعز ودولة وغبطة [2 mots] وسلامة وامر وامن و.....

... Gloire à Dieu, Maître des mondes! La vie future sera la récompense de ceux qui craignent (*Kor'ān*, VII, 125). . . .

... Gloire, empire, béatitude, . . . salut, autorité, sécurité, . . .

Les caractères, particulièrement élégants, de cette inscription sont munis de hampes longues et grêles, ce qui est le propre des inscriptions mésopotamiennes sur étoffes. Les hampes droites sont terminées par un petit triangle. Les finales de certaines lettres, *ra*, *nūn*, *waw*, s'infléchissent harmonieusement au sommet pour se terminer en fleuron trilobé. Avant cette courbe, un petit triangle en annonce le départ: ce sont d'autres aspects de la graphie mésopotamienne.¹⁷ Le *lām-alāf* de *salāma* est traité d'une façon curieuse, en deux parties,

¹³ N. Perron, *Femmes arabes*, Paris, 1858, p. 271.

¹⁴ R. Blachère, *Un poète arabe du IV^e siècle de l'Hégire (X^e siècle de J.-C.): Abou t-Tayyib al-Motanabi*, Paris, 1935, p. 99.

Voir Orbeli et Trever, *op. cit.*, Pls. 26-27, 30, 59; Falke, *op. cit.*, p. 17, Fig. 108; Van Berchem et Strzygowski, *op. cit.*, p. 67, Fig. 25; *The Kelekian Collection*, Paris, 1910, Pl. 55.

¹⁵ Cf. *An Illustrated Souvenir . . .*, Pl. 69; C. Tattersall, "Carpets and Textiles at the Persian Exhibition," *Apollo*, février 1931, p. 87, Fig. VI; Orbeli et Trever, *op. cit.*, Pls. 22-23, 49, 59; Falke, *op. cit.*, p. 11, Fig. 57,

p. 12, Fig. 58, p. 24, Fig. 171; Figs. 23-24, 69, 163, 172, 174-75, 186; G. Wiet, *L'exposition persane de 1931*, Le Caire, 1933, Pl. XXVIII; Ashton, *loc. cit.*, Fig. B; Pope, *op. cit.*, Figs. 7, 69; R. Pfister, "Gobelins sassanides," *Revue des Arts asiatiques*, VI, Pl. II.

Sur la façon de traiter les ailes et sur les griffons, cf. Pfister, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-10, 15-16.

¹⁶ A. J. Butler, *Islamic Pottery*, London, 1926, Pl. XLI.

¹⁷ S. Flury, "Bandeaux ornementés," *Syria*, I, 1920, p. 240.

comme s'il s'agissait d'un *mim* surmonté d'une décoration de hampes, procédé connu dans la même région.¹⁸

Ces terminaisons trilobées forment un demi-cercle et les lobes sont tournés vers l'extérieur par rapport à la hampe; c'est le début d'une évolution qui tendra à diriger l'élément fleuri vers la hampe. On pourrait donc dater cette pièce du premier quart du cinquième au onzième siècle.¹⁹

S'il en est ainsi, les fragments précédents offrent une inscription plus archaïque et il convient donc de les placer, au plus tard, à la première moitié du quatrième au dixième siècle.

On ne conçoit guère que de semblables tissus, alourdis par leurs broderies, aient pu servir à l'habillement, même pour des costumes d'apparat. Nous penserions plutôt à des tentures murales, comme il s'en trouvait dans tout l'Orient musulman, et même dès l'époque du Prophète,²⁰ et ce n'est pas en vain que les poètes ont comparé les bosquets fleuris à des étoffes de soie brodées de dessins.²¹

Dans les *Mille et une Nuits*, l'esclave Zumurrud est bien qualifiée "fabricante de tentures," *suturiya*.²² Elle confectionnait en huit jours des tentures de soie, qu'elle vendait cinquante dinars.²³ Elle prenait un coupon de soie, qu'elle brodait avec des fils de soie de sept couleurs et qu'elle brochait de fils d'or; elle y dessinait un cercle, inscrivant au centre des oiseaux et dans le pourtour des fauves, en n'omettant aucune espèce connue d'animaux sauvages. Le travail achevé, elle apprêtait le tissu et le roulait.²⁴

Il ne convient pas de s'étonner de la date que nous donnons au premier tissu. On connaît ce texte fameux d'un historien arabe qui nous décrit les merveilles du palais califien de Muḫtadir, mort en 320/932. Il s'agit de tentures de soie que l'on avait suspendues au mur pour éblouir les ambassadeurs byzantins: peut-être ne faut-il pas ajouter foi à la statistique fournie par l'auteur oriental, qui aboutit au chiffre fantastique de 50.500 pièces, mais en concluons que les murs en étaient littéralement tapissés. "C'étaient, nous dit-il, des tentures de brocart à fils d'or, garnies d'épaisses broderies dorées, où étaient représentés des vases, des éléphants, des chevaux, des chameaux, des lions, des oiseaux."²⁵ Certes, ce magnifique tissu n'aurait pas été dépaycé dans cette collection royale.

Nous possédons donc très probablement avec ces fragments de tissus de très beaux

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 242.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 246-247 et Pls. XXIV-XXV, XXVII.

²⁰ Ibn Hanbal, *Musnad*, Cairo, 1893, II, pp. 305, 308; VI, p. 247; Al Bokhari, *Les traditions Islamiques*, trad. par O. Houdas et W. Marçais (*Publ. de l'école des langues orientales vivantes*, Paris, sér. IV, VI), II, pp. 133, 177; H. Lammens, *Fatima*, Rome, 1912, pp. 74-77; Lammens, *La Mecque, Mélanges de Faculté orientale de Beyrouth*, IX, pp. 317, 401; Lammens, "L'Islam et les arts figurés," *Journ. asiatique*, II, 1915, pp. 253-257.

²¹ A. Cour, *Un poète arabe d'Andalousie; Ibn Zaï-*

doun, Constantine, 1920, p. 23; cf. *Mille et une Nuits*, nuits 192, 300, 575.

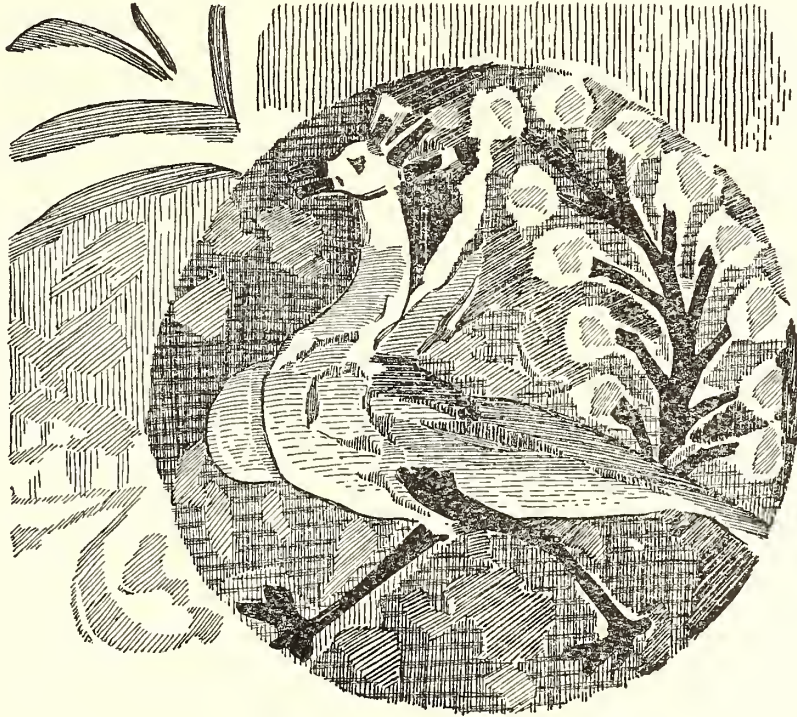
²² *Ibid.*, nuit 310.

²³ *Ibid.*, nuit 312 (environ 625 francs or).

²⁴ *Ibid.*, nuit 312.

²⁵ Cf. Khatib Baghdadi, *Tarikh Baghdad*, I, p. 102; G. Salmon, *L'introduction topographique à l'histoire de Baghdad*, Paris, 1904, p. 135; L. Hauteceœur et G. Wiet, *Les mosquées du Caire*, Paris, 1933, p. 178; A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islam*, Heidelberg, 1922, p. 437; L. Bréhier, *La chape de Pébrac*, Brioude, 1936, p. 10.

spécimens des manufactures de Baghdād. Que ces fabriques aient été réputées, on le conçoit par la tradition, selon laquelle les artisans étaient venus de Tuster, en Susiane, et ceux-ci étaient les disciples des tisseurs que les Sassanides avaient mandés de Haute-Mésopotamie.²⁶ C'étaient donc là des artisans sélectionnés, qui devaient rendre leur ville célèbre dans l'Europe du moyen âge, où l'on appréciait l'étoffe de Baghdād, le "baudekin," qui a subsisté en français sous la forme "baldaquin."²⁷



Les deux pièces étudiées ici méritent notre admiration. La décoration de la première surtout, par sa variété qui semble exclure la recherche, par un souci du détail qui cache l'apprêt, doit être antérieure à l'époque où les mécènes de l'islam se contentaient de poncifs. L'art des peuples musulmans n'a que rarement tourné le dos à la grâce, mais que d'oiseaux affrontés se répètent, monotones, en des poses figées, implacablement attendues, comme si l'artiste qui les dessinait se conformait à des directives puisées dans des manuels, avec la certitude de plaire. Les œuvres d'art islamiques sont, en effet, caractérisées par des thèmes universels et interchangeableables, à travers lesquels on ne discerne pas toujours l'apport personnel d'un créateur, mais souvent la rêverie un peu touffue, un peu obscure d'un dilettante.

²⁶ Cf. Wiet, *op. cit.* (1933), p. 24; Wiet, "Tissus et tapisseries," *Syria*, XVI, 1935, p. 280.

²⁷ Elsberg et Guest, *op. cit.*, juin 1934, p. 271.

L'artiste musulman ne semble pas avoir d'émotions ni d'angoisses à nous communiquer et ses productions sont sans doute plus subtiles que sincères et émouvantes.

Quelle que soit, en général, la qualité de luxe qui s'attache à l'art musulman, la pièce qui représente le paon, le lion et le griffon est d'une magnificence prodigieuse. L'ensemble est purement décoratif et, en ce sens, c'est une œuvre d'une réussite impeccable. Les divers motifs se complètent harmonieusement, avec une admirable mise en place, sans lourdeur, sans le souci, qui s'accroît avec les Seldjoukides, de ne laisser aucun vide. La splendeur de cette ornementation atteint la perfection du goût, témoignant d'une verve artistique, où l'équilibre du dessin, la douceur des coloris, patinés par le temps, ne compromettent pas une étrange puissance. Ce n'est pas un balbutiement naïf, ce n'est pas encore un ensemble de poncifs traités avec afféterie, c'est un chant triomphal inventé par un artiste maître de lui, dont la volonté est évidente: c'est une œuvre raffinée, faite pour la cour califienne, extrêmement vivante par la variété des animaux. Ce fragment nous paraît un des plus beaux, un des plus fastueux qu'on ait jamais découverts et nous pensons qu'il restera un des plus délicieux bijoux de l'art mesopotamien.



FIG. 3—TISSU BRODÉ, MESOPOTAMIEN XI^E SIÈCLE
COLLECTION MME. PAUL MALLON



FIG. 1—GOTHENBURG, RÖHSS MUSEUM

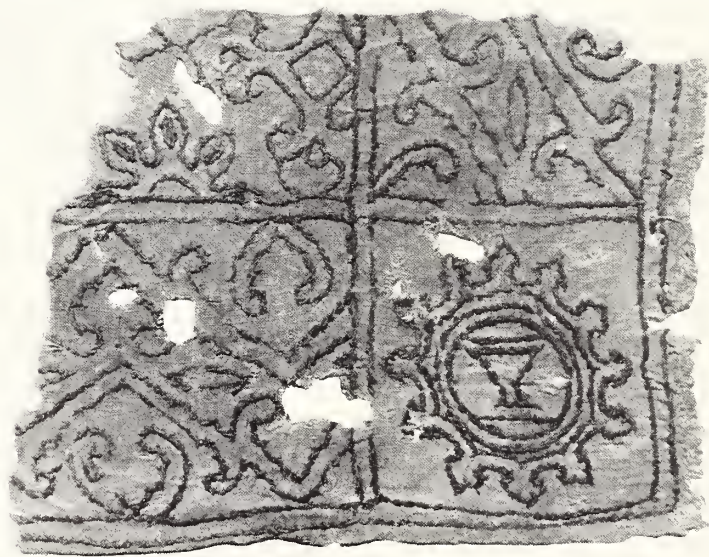


FIG. 2—GOTHENBURG, RÖHSS MUSEUM

AMONG THE DIFFERENT CLASSES OF MAMLŪK TEXTILES WHICH HAVE COME DOWN TO US, only the sumptuous silk damasks and the striped stuffs of various materials have hitherto formed the subject of adequate study; the woolen tissues do not even seem to be mentioned in literature. Furthermore the most interesting group of cotton fabrics with resist-dyed or printed decoration have only been treated incidentally, numerous types and patterns never having been published.

As to embroidery, the material preserved in the Islamic Department of the Berlin Museums has been made accessible to students of art by the chapters devoted to this class of work in E. Kühnel's catalogue of Islamic textiles belonging to the Museums at Berlin;¹ in A. F. Kendrick's *Catalogue of Muhammadan Textiles of the Medieval Period*, in the Victoria and Albert Museum (London, 1924), all textiles of Mamlūk date, other than the richly ornamented silk fabrics, have been excluded; and, of the embroideries of the same period belonging to the Arabic Museum in Cairo, not a single specimen, as far as I know, has ever been reproduced.

Until the amazing treasures of works of this kind, which, together with "printed" cottons, form the preponderating part of Professor Newberry's collection at Winkworth Hill, Hascombe, are made accessible to students in the form of a richly illustrated catalogue, it may appear rather daring to try to make some definite statements on this art in addition to those made by Kühnel. Nevertheless, encouraged by having had the opportunity of a cursory examination of Professor Newberry's collection of textiles found in Egypt, I make note of some specimens of Mamlūk embroidery, most of which have in recent years been acquired by Swedish museums.

The only proper way to classify Mamlūk embroideries is according to their technique, but this method is complicated by the fact that different kinds of stitches are sometimes combined. Kühnel divides embroideries of Islamic date found in Egypt into two main classes, one comprising those worked in silk on linen, the other, those worked in wool on linen. As a matter of fact the examples of the latter class given by that writer are not embroideries at all—they belong to the group of linen or woolen fabrics with brocaded and *lancé* ornaments which were manufactured in Upper Egypt, chiefly in the Faiyūm. Kühnel himself expresses doubt as to whether or not they are actually embroideries.

The former and more comprehensive class is divided by the same authority into the following five groups:

- 1) Work in crewel (stem) and chain stitches;
- 2) Work in so-called Holbein stitch (square stitch);
- 3) Work in weaving stitch (a term comprising several varieties);
- 4) Drawn thread and other pierced work; and finally
- 5) Work in various other techniques.

¹ *Islamische Stoffe aus ägyptischen Gräbern*, Berlin, 1927.

Considering the great number of appliqué and mosaic works of the Mamlūk period which have now come to light, it is striking that no example of this interesting class is included among the embroideries catalogued by Kühnel.

Among the examples of Groups 2 to 5 in Kühnel's catalogue, in only one case is a date prior to the thirteenth century given by him, while the works cited in Group 1 range from the ninth to the fourteenth century, most examples being dated to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. As a matter of fact, crewel and chain stitch entirely predominated in Egyptian textiles of early Islamic date, together with a kind of weaving or Gobelin stitch, which is in most cases used for inscriptions when these have not been rendered by the typically Egyptian method of tapestry weaving. Chain stitch is also sometimes used for the inscriptions on Egyptian tissues, in many cases obviously inspired by those embroidered on cotton fabrics imported from 'Irāk (Baghdād) and Persia (Marw and Bisābūr); but that this stitch had existed in Egypt before the importation of these fabrics is proved by a group of embroideries in colored wools on linen which are certainly Egyptian, while other examples found in Egypt, with similar work on cotton material, might in some cases be foreign work. At least as early as the second century the chain-stitch technique in its different varieties was in use in countries as far apart as China, Central Asia, and Syria.² The technique was used also in the Mamlūk period, but its rôle was then less important than in earlier times.

Two fragments in the Röhss Museum at Gothenburg (No. 303/1935; 22.5 x 22 and 28 x 22 cm.; *Fig. 1*), consisting of undyed cotton, have outline ornaments in red silk mainly executed in chain stitch. The design is of an extremely calligraphic character, of that impressionistic and nervous style which is a current feature of Moslem art of the fourteenth century produced under Chinese influence consequent upon the Mongol invasion. The pattern consists of large scrolls containing irregular curly lines, branches of trilobate flowers on stems bearing pairs of leaves, and a festoon consisting of a "running-dog" motif forming narrow double loops.

The two little roundels represented in Figure 4, and belonging to the Museum just mentioned (Nos. 299 and 300/1935; diam. 8.5 and 13.5 cm.), have probably been used as seal bags, drawn up with a cord. The smaller one consists of blue linen embroidered with white "cross crosslets," also linen, and executed in plaited stitch on a background strewn with small green and red crosses worked in silk in the same technique. The edge of the casing for the cord has a white line in chain stitch. The larger roundel, made of undyed linen, has obviously been cut out from an embroidery of greater size, worked in chain stitch in colored silks. The blue pattern has a buff outline and consists of three bands containing scrolls formed by trefoils flanked by involutions and turned in alternate directions. Both bags—especially the smaller one—may equally as well be of late Aiyūbid as of early Mamlūk date, and it is here opportune to insist upon the fact, too often forgotten, that the true characteristics of the Mamlūk style do not make their appearance until toward the end of the thirteenth century, about forty years after the foundation of the dynasty (1250).

Eminently Mamlūk in style and technique, and dating probably from the middle or the second half of the fourteenth century, is a fragmentary cloth in the Röhss Museum (No. 305/1935; 15.5 x 20 cm.; *Fig. 2*). The undyed linen fabric shows a linear pattern executed

² See R. Pfister, *Textiles de Palmyre*, Paris, 1934, pp. 51 ff.

in crewel stitch in blue cotton. The rectangular cloth has a broad frame forming squares at the corners, only one of which is preserved. It shows a Mamlūk blazon framed by a row of fleurets connected by festooned stems and containing a broad fess bearing a cup, the emblem of the cupbearer, or *sāḳī*. The rectangular spaces between these squares contain a zigzag design enriched by palmettes, some of which are inscribed in heart shapes. The pattern of the central square is cut off by the sides and consists of rows of floriated cross devices with large rosettes occupying the intervening spaces.

Another heraldic emblem, the crescent, forms the most important part of the decoration of a portion of a girdle or scarf of bluish green linen, also preserved in the Röhss Museum at Gothenburg (No. 304/1935; 30.5 x 21.5 cm.; *Fig. 12*).³ The crescents are distributed in alternate lines all over the surface, which is cut by two horizontal bands enclosing "bends" inscribed with the word *al-'ādi[l]* ("the just") in Naskhī letters. The pattern is turned in opposite directions, so that one of the bands and the row of crescents below it appear to be upside down. The design is rather roughly executed in couching, with some use of irregular crewel stitch, the thread used for embroidering being of white, green, yellow, and red silk; the last-mentioned color is partly replaced by cotton yarn, now faded to pink. This embroidery might be attributed to the fourteenth century.

To the fifteenth or the first part of the sixteenth century might be ascribed the two pieces illustrated in Figures 6 and 7. One of them, in the Kulturen at Lund (No. 37,709; 13 x 22.5 cm.; *Fig. 6*), consists of thin linen canvas fixed to another undyed linen tissue. The decoration, which covers the entire surface, is embroidered with colored silks in plait stitch with cross-stitch used in the two narrow borders. These have red scrolls on a cream ground, while the broad central zone shows a cream pattern on a blue background and consists of three zigzag lines, from the points of which half fleurs-de-lis emerge, forming together two undulating lines.

The other embroidery, which belongs to the National Museum in Stockholm (No. 182/1935; 7 x 15.6 cm.; *Fig. 7*), also consists of undyed linen and has an all-over pattern worked in silks in basket stitch, with crewel stitch used for the background. The design is formed by a cream-colored intermittent scroll bearing indented palmettes turned in alternate directions, and standing on a background, part of which is light blue and part lavender. The bordering bands have similar, but simplified, patterns executed in blue and lavender on a cream ground. The color scheme is distinguished by its originality and refinement.

A portion of a broad strip of undyed linen, also in the Stockholm Museum (No. 174/1935; 37 x 10 cm.; *Fig. 5*), shows three transversal bands in silk embroidery. The dark blue outlines are worked in Holbein and darning stitches, the surfaces being filled in with pierced work and with diagonal stitches in light blue and cream-colored silks. The design consists of elongated hexagons enclosing other patterns, and of medallions with eight-pointed stars. This fragment should be attributed to the fourteenth century.

A related work of the same period, belonging to the author, is a portion of a girdle or scarf of undyed linen embroidered in colored silks (40 x 26 cm.; *Fig. 14*).⁴ Between two

³ Cf. *Exposition des Tapisseries et Tissus du Musée Arabe du Caire*, Paris, 1935, No. 254, p. 65.

⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, No. 258, p. 66.

narrow transverse bands with continuous scrolls are six rows of octagons, in each of which is an eight-pointed star. This again encloses another octagon forming a blazon with the word *al-'āl[im]* ("the wise") inscribed on the fess. Just as on the last-mentioned fragment, the dark blue outlines are worked in Holbein and darning stitches, while the background of the narrow bands and the outer parts of the strewn patterns are executed in light blue silk in a diagonal filling stitch. The chiefs and bases of the shields are filled in with dark brown silk, in the same technique, and, finally, the inscriptions are worked in irregular twisted crewel stitch in light blue. The way in which the last character of the inscription has been suppressed in order to make the word appear symmetrical should be noticed. Obviously the choice of words used in Mamlūk epigraphy is to some extent dependent on the desire to obtain more or less symmetrical designs, as well as an accumulation of *alif's*, *lām's*, *tā's* and *kāf's* with their elevation above the line (cf. *Figs. 20, 21*).

A characteristic example of embroidery in Holbein stitch is a fragment of a broad band of undyed linen in the National Museum, Stockholm (No. 173/1935; 24.5 x 9 cm.; *Fig. 3*). The decoration consists of two broad transverse zones with borders enclosing a series of swastikas, between which are rich diagonal patterns. The colors are blue, green, purple, and a grayish green which might originally have been yellow. This embroidery can be assigned to the fourteenth century or thereabouts.

Having dealt with pieces corresponding to Groups 1, 2, 4, and 5 of Kühnel's classification, I shall now describe five examples of silk embroidery in weaving stitch—Kühnel's Group 3—all worked on undyed linen. The chronology of this group can only be settled when a complete study has been made of the samplers of this category, a considerable number of which are in the Newberry Collection.⁵

An example in the Röhss Museum at Gothenburg (No. 272/1935; 8.5 x 25.5 cm.; *Fig. 10*), is embroidered in blue silk with some use of red. Among the patterns, stripes with S-shapes, with looped diapers, and with conventionalized trees bearing branches in pairs stand out.

A border fragment in the same Museum (No. 275/1935; 6.5 x 9.5 cm.; *Fig. 11*) has a geometric decoration of a related kind executed in silk of a silvery tint with the edges also worked in red. The ornamentation of the central zone consists of a series of lozenges, the sides of which are crossed by angular S-shapes, and motifs of the latter kind also fill the framing bands. The background is worked in a "pigeon-eye" pattern. This border is closely related to a class of tissues with *lancé* ornaments which have sometimes a puzzling likeness to needlework. Equally similar to woven patterns are the three transverse bands in brownish black silk which decorate each end of a girdle or scarf found by Gayet at Durunka, near Asyūt, and now belong to the Malmö Museum (No. 11,567, Gayet, No. 483; 13 x 12.5 cm.; *Fig. 13*).⁶ These bands contain swastikas, straight lines, angles, rosettes, and small crosses.

⁵ Cf. Kühnel, *op. cit.*, No. 4842, p. 59, pl. 34, dated thirteenth-fifteenth cent., with reference to two more examples in the Museum of Arts and Crafts at Leipzig. A sampler of a similar kind, made of cotton and supposed to date from about the middle of the ninth century, has been excavated at Bāzāklik in the Turfan Oasis; cf. A.

Haberlandt, "Ein altes Mustertüchlein aus Turfan," *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, LIII, 1923, pp. 69 ff., Figs. 1-6.

⁶ *Utställning av senantika vävnader*, Malmö, April, 1926, No. 83.



FIG. 5—STOCKHOLM, NATIONAL MUSEUM

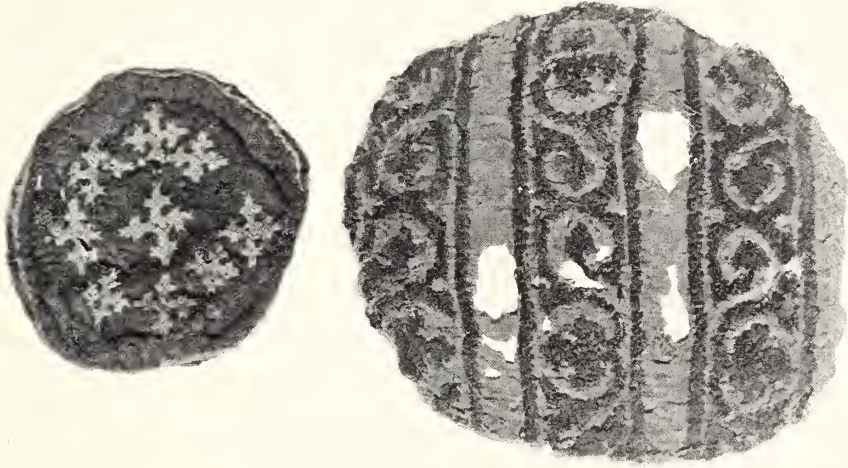


FIG. 4—GOTHEXENBURG, RÖHSS MUSEUM



FIG. 3—STOCKHOLM, NATIONAL MUSEUM



FIG. 6—LUND, KULTUREN



FIG. 7—STOCKHOLM, NATIONAL MUSEUM



FIG. 8—MALMÖ MUSEUM



FIG. 9—STOCKHOLM, NATIONAL MUSEUM



FIG. 10—GOTHENBURG, RÖHSS MUSEUM



FIG. 11—GOTHENBURG, RÖHSS MUSEUM

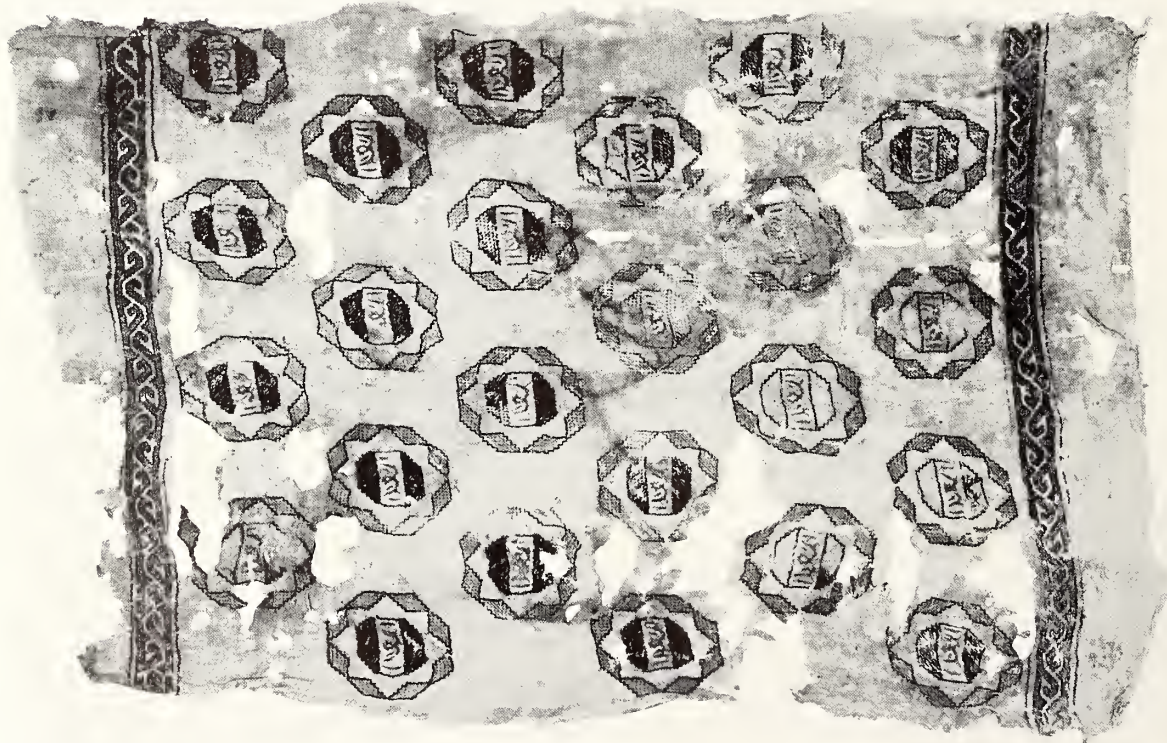


FIG. 14—CAIRO, C. J. LAMM COLLECTION

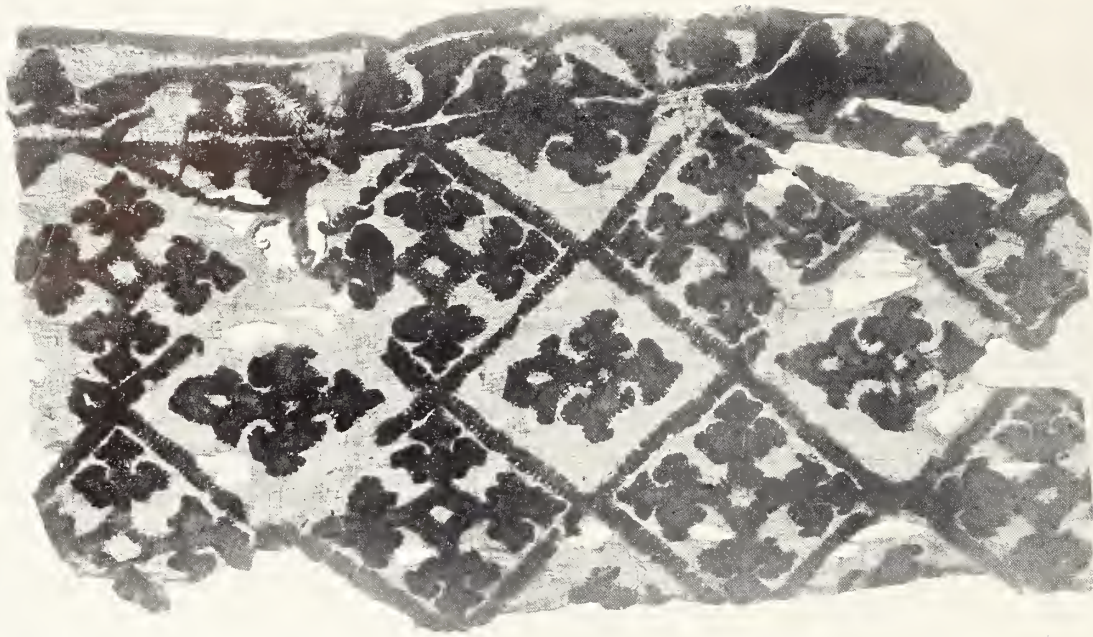


FIG. 15—CAIRO, C. J. LAMM COLLECTION

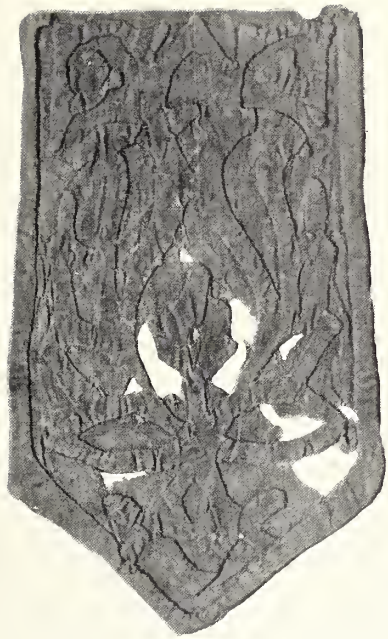


FIG. 16—GOTHENBURG, RÖHSS MUSEUM



FIG. 17—STOCKHOLM, NATIONAL MUSEUM



FIG. 18—STOCKHOLM, NATIONAL MUSEUM



FIG. 19—STOCKHOLM, NATIONAL MUSEUM

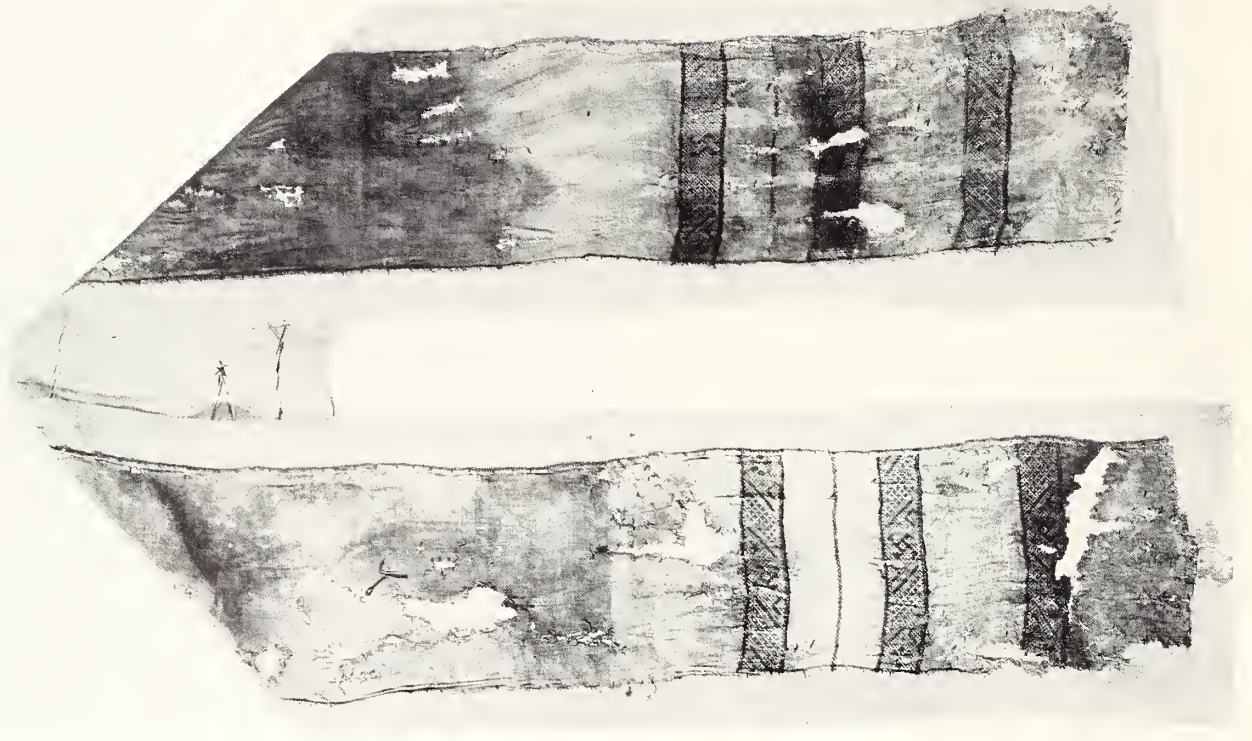


FIG. 13—MALMÖ MUSEUM

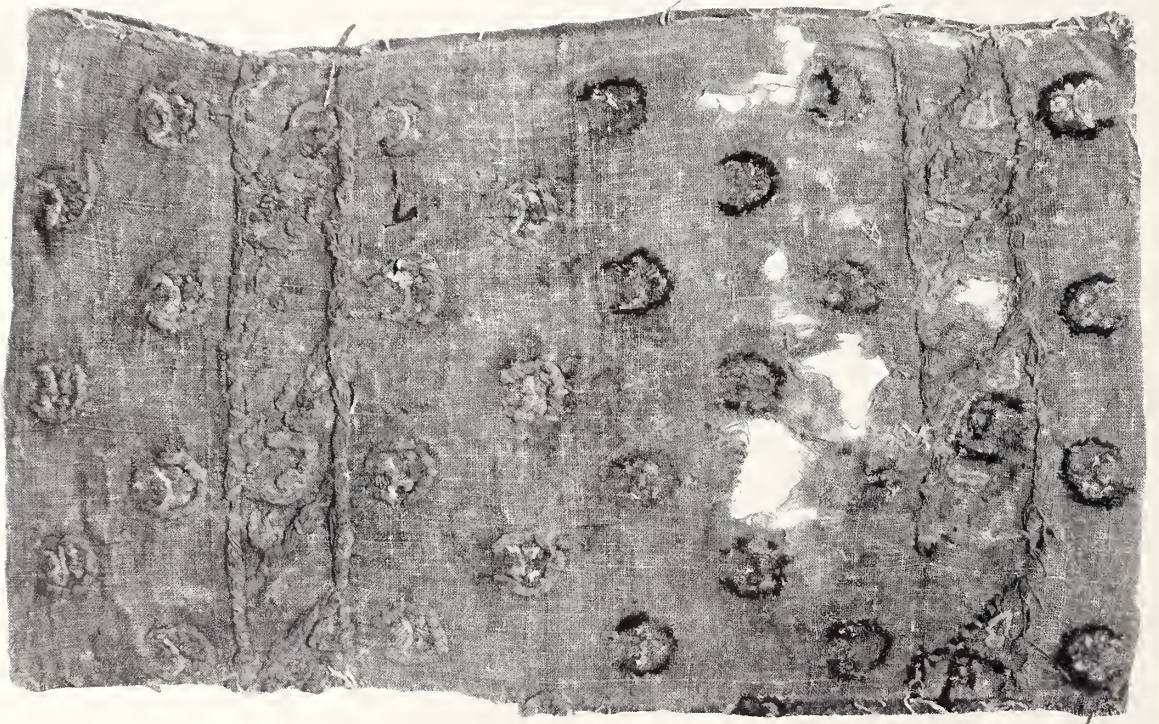


FIG. 12—GÖTHENBERG, RÖHSS MUSEUM

As Coptic work from Upper Egypt one might regard a fragment of undyed linen, with a border woven in black silk, also in the Malmö Museum (No. 18,341; 11.2 x 12 cm.; *Fig. 8*). In addition to the candelabrum motif and pairs of confronted cocks which decorate a larger embroidery of the same kind described by Kühnel,⁷ this fragment, worked in blue and red silk, has crude representations of figures in the position of *orantes* with the heads formed as lozenges. Probably also Coptic work is the fifth and last embroidery in weaving stitch here to be described, the front part of a boy's tunic, in the National Museum at Stockholm (No. 175/1935; 42 x 31 cm.; *Fig. 9*). The pattern, executed in brown silk, forms a pair of double lozenges each containing a cross motif; in the lower angle between the lozenges is a device which bears some resemblance to two confronted camels, other motifs being placed symmetrically on either side of the decorated, vertical neck slit.

As appliqué embroidery is still in current use in Egypt, especially for the decoration of ceremonial tents (*surūdīk*), it is no wonder that many fragments in this technique, chiefly of Mamlūk date, have been found in recent times. The ground fabric is undyed or colored linen, or, in rare cases, wool or cotton, while the appliqués are in the same materials or, in exceptional cases, in paper. The seven examples that will here be described are all, except one, of undyed linen with appliqués in the same material, or in undyed cotton, and may be dated to the latter half of the fourteenth and the first half of the fifteenth century.

A fragment in the author's possession (43 x 24 cm.; *Fig. 15*, from a photograph taken in transparent light), has appliqués made of cotton and fixed with blue silk worked in irregular crewel stitch from the back. The pattern consists of a border containing an intermittent scroll and of a trellis of lozenges containing floriated cross motifs of two different kinds, both with a central lozenge formed by the festooned stems; this device, as well as the blue outlines, connects this fragment with that reproduced on Figure 2.

A pattern of greater variety is displayed on a fragment in the National Museum at Stockholm (No. 178/1935; 38.5 x 45 cm.; *Fig. 22*, from a photograph taken in transparent light and showing the pattern reversed) like the following ones having appliqués in linen with hemmed edges, fixed with linen thread. Portions of the broad border remaining on two sides contain elliptical panels enclosing arabesques as well as blazons with the word *al-sultān* inscribed on the fess. By forming the final *nūn* as an *alif*, the embroiderer has achieved complete symmetry. The central field has similar blazons in polylobed frames (cf. the blazon incorrectly fixed at the corner), while other lozenges and medallions contain whirl motifs, arabesques, and palmettes. A blazon of identical kind, in a square field, is seen on another fragment in the Stockholm Museum (No. 179/1935; 15 x 12 cm.; *Fig. 18*), found with the preceding one. We meet it again, surrounded by a bold inscription repeating the word *al-malik* ("the King"), on a fragment in the Röhss Museum at Gothenburg (No. 319/1935; 32 x 34 cm.; *Figs. 20 and 21*). This fragment, which resembles designs on Mamlūk metal work, is of bluish green linen with undyed appliqués of the same material.

The rectangular laps, pointed at the lower side, which are reproduced in Figures 16, 17, and 19, are also made entirely of undyed linen. One, in the National Museum at Stockholm (No. 180/1935; 20 x 13.5 cm.; *Fig. 19*), belongs to the same lot as the embroideries reproduced in Figures 17, 18, and 22, and has a blazon of elongated hexagonal shape containing an

⁷ *Op. cit.*, No. 3248, p. 63, Pl. 37, with reference to several other pieces.

inscribed fess of the kind already described, with arabesques in the chief and the base, as well as in the upper, triangular spandrels. A second one, in the Röhss Museum (No. 316/1935; 18.5 x 11 cm; *Fig. 16*), is decorated with a Chinese lotus, while a third example, in the Stockholm Museum (No. 181/1935; 26.5 x 16 cm.; *Fig. 17*), has a whirl rosette in the upper, rectangular panel and a fleuret in the lower, triangular field. A broad, added hem, resembling drawn threadwork, connects the top with a band, where no doubt several laps of the same shape were once fixed, forming a sort of lambrequin. Textiles of a similar kind are sometimes decorated in real embroidery, but the type is still more common among the reserve-dyed cotton fabrics, which will form the subject of another article that the author is now preparing.

Regarded as a whole, Mamlūk embroidery cannot stand comparison with contemporary work executed in Byzantium and the Occident for liturgical use; the Oriental forerunners of this sumptuous art belong to a period which ends with the establishment of the Fāṭimid and Seldjūḳ dynasties. On the other hand, a more penetrating study of Mamlūk embroidery will not fail to throw new light on the origin of "Mediterranean" embroidery of the Moslem West and of that of Greece and the Greek Islands; it will afford valuable parallels for the study of embroidery in other parts of Europe, from Bulgaria to Great Britain and Scandinavia. Mamlūk needlework is rarely sumptuous, but it reveals great mastership and discrimination in the use of a considerable number of techniques, a few of which do not seem to have been known before the Aiyūbid period. The decline of tapestry weaving gave an increased importance to embroidery, which was used, together with the reserve-dyed cottons, as a cheaper substitute for silk damasks. To a considerable extent, Mamlūk embroidery follows the same evolution of style as that of the more aristocratic class of textiles; but much of it, especially in the groups worked in weaving and cross stitches, has all the traditional qualities which characterize popular art. Together with *lancé* and brocaded weaving, embroidery has been the most important means of perpetuating Coptic art traditions, which always predominated in popular and provincial art in Egypt during the Moslem period.

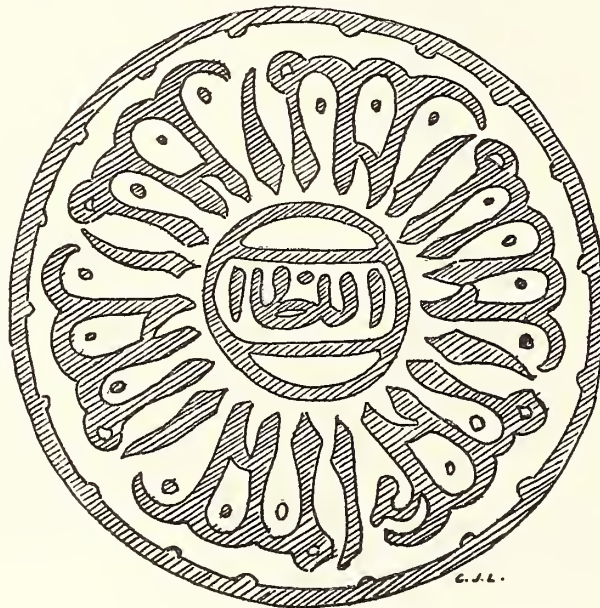


FIG. 20—RECONSTRUCTION OF FIG. 21

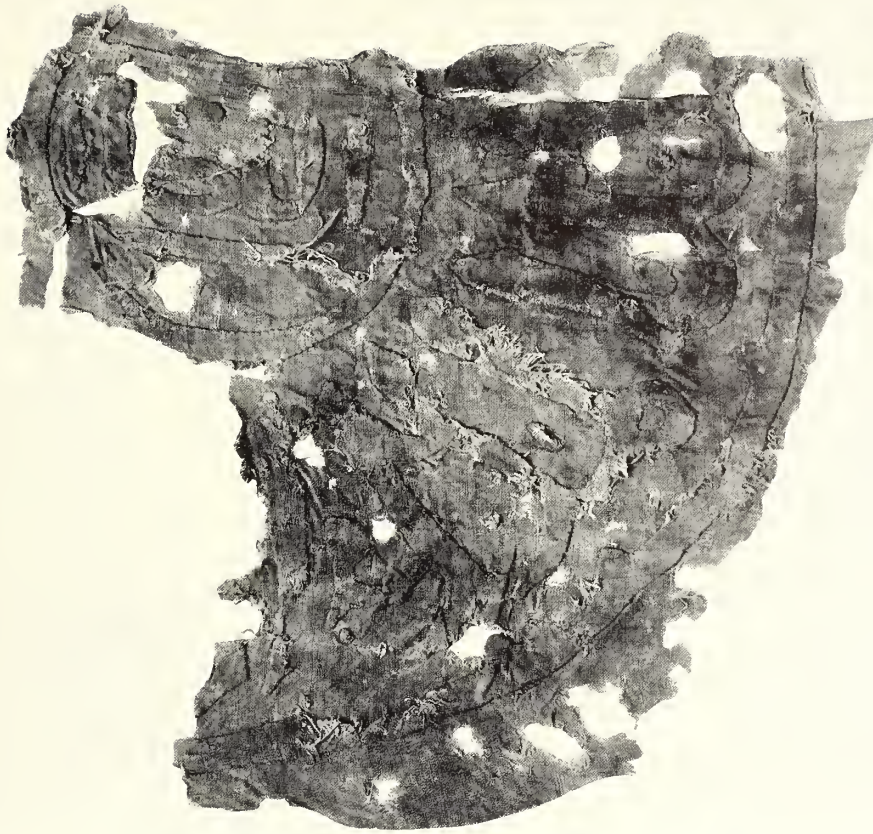


FIG. 21—GOTHENBURG, RÖHSS MUSEUM (CF. FIG. 20)

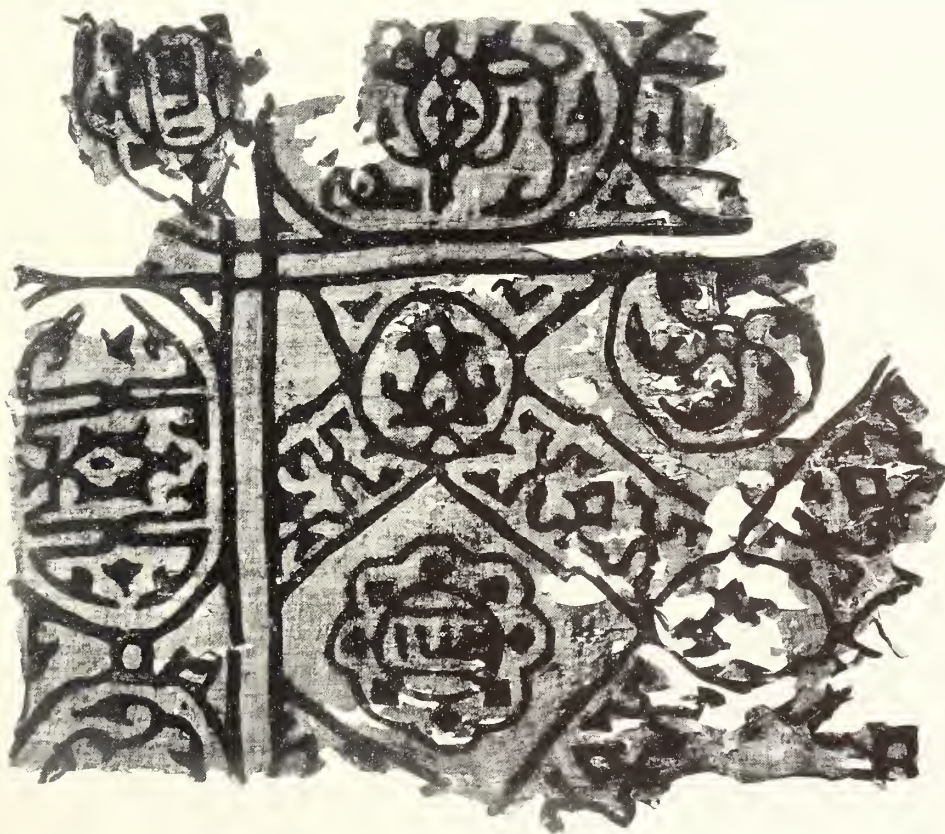


FIG. 22—STOCKHOLM, NATIONAL MUSEUM



PHOTO SARRE

FIG. 6—TĀḶ-I BUSTĀN, INVESTITUR ARDASHĪRS II



PHOTO SARRE

FIG. 7—TĀḶ-I BUSTĀN, GESAMTANSICHT

DER TĀḲ-I BUSTĀN IST OHNE ZWEIFEL DAS BEDEUTENDSTE ERHALTENE MONUMENT DER sasanidischen Kunst. Mag diese in anderen Werken einen reineren, unmittelbareren, höherwertigen Ausdruck gefunden haben, der Umfang seines Bauprogramms, der künstlerische Wert einzelner seiner Teile, seine Verbindung zur monumentalen Felsplastik wie zur intimen Raumkunst sichern dem TāḲ-i Bustān seine bevorzugte Stellung, die durch seinen Formenreichtum und die seltene Fülle von Rückschlüssen auf andere Gebiete der sasanidischen Kunst, die er bietet, in allen Fragen der Chronologie zu einer Schlüsselstellung geworden ist. Wie wenig diese anerkannte Bedeutung bisher allerdings zu einer Erkenntnis seiner Eigenart geführt hat, beweist die Gedankenlosigkeit, mit der dieser in den Felsen geschlagene Īwān immer wieder als "Felsengrotte" bezeichnet wird, beweist die Oberflächlichkeit, mit der er immer wieder als Ganzes in den Zusammenhang der Felsreliefs eingeordnet wird, beweist nicht zuletzt die Kritiklosigkeit, mit der man das überkommene Datum seit Jahrzehnten gläubig hinnimmt.

Der TāḲ-i Bustān soll unter Khosrau II. (590–628) entstanden sein. Da er unvollendet ist, würde er in die letzten Regierungsjahre dieses Herrschers, also etwa in die Zeit von 620–628 gehören. Er wäre damit ein Werk der spätesten sasanidischen Zeit; denn 636 bricht das Reich unter dem Ansturm des Islam zusammen. Dieses Datum ist *das* Datum der sasanidischen Kunst. Es ist noch niemals angezweifelt worden.

Wenn der TāḲ-i Bustān nur für monumentale Arbeiten in Stein Auskunft gäbe, wäre seine Datierung in das letzte Jahrzehnt der sasanidischen Kunst nicht von so einschneidender Bedeutung; denn er wäre völlig isoliert, rätselhafte Nachblüte einer lange verschollenen Kunst. Sein unmittelbarer Nachbar und nächster Vorgänger, das Relief des kleineren seitlichen Īwāns, wäre nur durch 250 Jahre von ihm getrennt. Aber er steht nicht allein, er bietet die Möglichkeit zu wertvollen Rückschlüssen auf andere Gebiete der sasanidischen Kunst. Die Stoffmuster seiner Reliefs geben vielfältige Anhaltspunkte für die Textilkunst,¹ die Figuren der Jagddarstellungen zeigen Beziehungen zu Silberarbeiten und haben ihre nächsten Verwandten in den Stuckdekorationen von Ktesiphon, Dāmghān und Kīsh. Ein wesentlicher Teil des reichen Materialanfalls der letzten Jahre, in denen sich die Ausgrabungstätigkeit im vorderen Orient zum ersten Mal auch den sasanidischen Fundstätten zugewandt hat, wird durch seine enge Verbundenheit mit dem TāḲ-i Bustān in die letzten Jahrzehnte dieser Kunst datiert. Die archaeologischen Untersuchungen in Ostiran,² in Turfan ergeben Anregungen durch sasanidische Formen in Jahrhunderten, in denen diese nach der vom TāḲ-i Bustān her bestimmten Chronologie in der sasanidischen Kunst selber noch nicht vorhanden gewesen sein können. Im Westen zeigen sich ähnliche Schwierigkeiten. Jede Bereicherung des Bildes, sei es durch neue Funde, sei es durch neue Forschungen, verschärft den Wider-

¹ E. Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, Berlin, 1920, S. 12–39.

Sasanian motives," *Bull. Am. Inst. Persian Art and Archaeol.*, IV, No. 1, June, 1935, S. 5–6.

² Vgl. z.B. J. Hackin, "The eastward extension of

spruch, betont, dass das überkommene Bild der sasanidischen Chronologie unzureichend ist. Auf dem Wege zu einer neuen Chronologie aber liegt ein Stein, ein Felsen das Datum des Tāk-i Bustān.

Man sollte meinen, dieses Datum müsse einwandfrei gesichert sein, um sich gegen einen solchen Ansturm widersprechender Tatsachen behaupten zu können. Aber das ist keineswegs der Fall. Keine Inschrift nennt den Erbauer, kein Historiograph berichtet bei der Beschreibung der Taten Khosrau's II. von diesem Werk. Die einzige Quelle sind arabische Schriftsteller des 9. und 10. Jahrh., die das Monument bewundernd erwähnen und sein Reiterbild mit dem sagenhaften Pferd des Khosrau, dem Shibdāz, in Verbindung bringen. Sie sind dabei zum Teil vorsichtiger als ihre heutigen Interpreten. So schreibt z. B. Muḩaddasī³ "In der Nähe von Bīsūtūn ist ein wunderbares Bildwerk, das, wie man sagt, das Ross des Kisrā darstellt" oder Iṣṭakhrī⁴ "man behauptet, es sei die Darstellung des Rosses des Kisrā, das Shibdāz hiess." Unter dem Eindruck, dass die Regierung Khosrau's II. von Jahren die höchste Macht—und, wenn man den Berichten auch darin folgen will, die höchste Prachtentfaltung des Sasaniden-Reiches bezeichnet, hat man diese Quellen erstaunlich überschätzt. Hinzu mag kommen, dass diese bereits in frühislamischer Zeit beginnende Tradition nie ganz abgerissen ist, schon von den ersten europäischen Reisenden, die das Monument sahen, übernommen und so bis auf unsere Zeit weitergeleitet wurde. Eine Tradition von mehr als tausend Jahren ist für einen Irrtum zweifellos eine gute Stütze, aber sie macht ihn nicht zur Wahrheit.

Wenn man unvoreingenommen den Wert dieser Berichte, auch der weniger vorsichtigen als die genannten, untersucht, schrumpft er zu einem Nichts zusammen. Die Verbindung eines Monumentes mit dem Namen Khosrau bedeutet nichts. Zahllos sind die Beispiele, aus denen hervorgeht, dass dieser Name bei den arabischen Schriftstellern zur generellen Bezeichnung für einen sasanidischen König schlechthin geworden ist. Es bedarf nicht einmal mehr der Angabe des Ibn Khordābeh, der bei der Aufzählung der Titel der Könige der Welt sagt⁵ "Der König von 'Irāk, gewöhnlich bekanntunter dem Namen Khosrau, wurde Shāhinshāh genannt." Aber auch der Hinweis auf Shibdāz, das Ross des Khosrau, ist nicht bindender. Das iranische Sagengut enthielt die Schilderung eines vollkommenen Pferdes, der iranische Felsen bot den Nachfahren ein Reiterbild, das ihnen in seiner lebendigen Gestaltung ungeheuren Eindruck machte. Nichts lag näher als beides zu verbinden, nichts liegt ferner, als dieser Verbindung Quellenwert zuzuerkennen. Mit dem gleichen Recht müsste die Forschung die Reliefs von Naḩsh-i Rustam, die "Bilder des Rustem," als historisch beglaubigte Darstellungen dieses sagenhaften Helden interpretieren. Daran hat man niemals gedacht, beim Tāk-i Bustān aber verführte die Vorstellung, eine Glanzzeit des Reiches mit einem überragenden Monument seiner Kunst in Verbindung bringen zu können, zu einem erstaunlichen Verzicht auf die sonst stets geübte und durchaus angebrachte Kritik.⁶

³ Zitiert nach P. Schwartz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, Leipzig, 1921, S. 484, Anm. 4.

⁴ *Ibid.*, S. 484.

⁵ Ed. de Goeje, 1889, Uebersetzung, S. 12.

⁶ Herzfeld schreibt z.B., *op. cit.*, S. 57: "Wohl ist das keine irgendwie literarische oder urkundliche Wissenschaft, aber in allen die Zeit Khosro's II. betreffenden Fällen ist die volkstümliche Ortsüberlieferung so früh und

Die Schwierigkeiten, die überkommenen Monumente der sasanidischen Kunst chronologisch zu ordnen, um ein Bild der Entwicklung zu gewinnen, sind ungewöhnlich gross. Inschriften sind kaum vorhanden und bisher durchweg nicht sehr ergiebig. Zuverlässige historische Quellen fehlen fast ganz. Der einzige Ausgangspunkt ist darin gegeben, dass jeder sasanidische König eine Krone mit nur ihm eigenen Abzeichen getragen hat, und dass diese Formen durch die zahlreichen Münzen, die seit einem Jahrhundert in sorgfältiger Einzelarbeit gesammelt und gesichtet wurden, heute bis auf geringe Unklarheiten gesichert sind.

Die sasanidische Kunst ist eine ausgesprochene Hofkunst. Jeder Darstellung des Herrschers kommt repräsentative Bedeutung zu. Repräsentation bedingt in diesen Jahrhunderten ohne Zweifel eindeutige Kennzeichnung des Dargestellten. Eine solche Individualisierung ist im iranischen Kunstkreis nicht durch Porträtähnlichkeit der Wiedergabe möglich. Für eine repräsentative Darstellung des Herrschers im Sinn dieser Kunst ist also die exakte Zeichnung der Krone das einzige Mittel. Daraus folgt, dass den Kronenformen der Monumente, soweit sie in der eigentlich sasanidischen Zeit entstanden sind, unbedingte Verbindlichkeit zukommt. Diese Feststellung ist nicht neu. Am schärfsten hat sie Herzfeld formuliert: "Von dem Gesetz der persönlichen Krone darf nie abgewichen werden, weder von der Kunst, da sie sonst ihr einziges Mittel, eine Einzelperson zu kennzeichnen, aufgeben, noch von uns, da wir sonst in völlige Willkür verfallen würden."⁷ Aber man hat nie konsequent danach gehandelt. Sonst wäre die nächstliegende Folgerung gewesen, nur von den Monumentgruppen auszugehen, in denen dieser Anhaltspunkt gegeben ist, also den Münzen, den Felsreliefs und denjenigen Silberschalen, auf denen der König dargestellt ist. Auf allen anderen Gebieten, wo dieses Hilfsmittel nur in bescheidenem Umfang zur Verfügung steht, wäre es naheliegend gewesen, die Beispiele, bei denen es gegeben ist, als Rückgrat der Anordnung zu werten. Beides ist es bisher nicht oder doch nicht ausreichend geschehen.

Auch in der Frage, die uns hier beschäftigt, bleibt nur dieser Weg. Da keine Inschriften vorhanden und die Quellen zweifelhaft sind, ist die Krone des Königs der einzige Anhaltspunkt für die Datierung des TāḲ-i Bustān.

Der Herrscher ist nicht weniger als neunmal dargestellt. Einmal im Tympanon der Īwānrückwand bei der Investitur durch Ahuramazda und Anahit, ein zweites Mal darunter in der monumentalen Reiterfigur, dreimal auf dem Relief mit der Hirschjagd an der rechten Seitenwand und zweimal auf dem Relief mit der Schwarzwildjagd an der linken Seitenwand. Ausserdem kommt er je einmal auf zwei Kapitellen vor, die in der Nähe des Īwāns gefunden worden sind. Am eingehendsten ist die Angabe der Krone verständlicherweise am Hauptrelief der Investitur. Beim Reiterbild sind die Abzeichen stärker beschädigt.⁸ Die fünf

so nah dem Ereignis selbst festgelegt worden, dass man sie einfach als ungefälschte geschichtliche Wahrheit nehmen kann" (!).

⁷ Herzfeld, *ibid.*, S. 60.

⁸ Herzfeld beschreibt (*ibid.*, S. 86–87) die Krone folgendermassen: "Am Helm flattern die breiten, schweren Schärpen, die Enden des Perlendiadems, das den Stirn-

rand des Helms umschlang, und dessen Reste noch am Hinterkopf zu sehen sind. Ebenso ist der klein gewordene, scharf abgebundene und gestielte Globus da, und die Schleifchen der Abbindung. Abgeschlagen sind die Flügel, während ich den Ansatz der Mondsichel noch erkannte." Die recht deutlichen Aufnahmen zeigen, dass die Stielung des Globus in einem kleinen Zwischenstück

Darstellungen der Jagdreliefs zeigen den König mit einer niedrigen Kappe ohne weitere Abzeichen, wie er sie tatsächlich bei dieser Gelegenheit getragen haben könnte. Seine Persönlichkeit ist durch die Figuren der Rückwand hinreichend repräsentiert, so dass hier auf diese Angaben verzichtet werden konnte. Die beiden Darstellungen der Kapitelle,⁹ auf denen wieder die Investitur gegeben ist, zeigen eine detaillierte, leider stark zerstörte Krone. Für unsere Untersuchung kommt in erster Linie die Krone der Investitur an der Īwānrückwand in Frage, für die wir die Darstellungen der Kapitelle als Kontrolle heranziehen können.

Seit Herzfeld 1920 seine Fernaufnahme der Īwānrückwand veröffentlicht hat,¹⁰ die zum ersten Mal auch den oberen, bisher immer im Dunkel verschwindenden Teil des Reliefs erkennen lässt, sind wir nicht mehr auf die summarische Zeichnung bei Flandin-Coste angewiesen.¹¹ Trotz einiger Unschärfen der an sich gut gelungenen Aufnahme und trotz einiger Beschädigungen am Original sind alle wesentlichen Einzelheiten deutlich zu sehen (*Fig. 1*). Die Krone zeigt einen mit Perlen besetzten Stirnreifen. Ueber der Stirn ist eine kleine Mondsichel angebracht. Die seitlichen Zinnen, die auf jeden Fall vorhanden gewesen sein müssen, sind nur undeutlich zu erkennen. Die Kappe ist ziemlich hoch und rund, hat also die Form einer Kugelkalotte. Auf ihrem Scheitel ruht eine grosse Mondsichel, die einen umfangreichen Globus als Füllung trägt. Nach Herzfeld soll diesem ein Stern aufgezeichnet sein,¹² den die Aufnahme aber nicht erkennen lässt, und der auch Flandin-Coste vor dem Original entgangen ist, obwohl sie die kleinen Perlen, die wir von vielen Münzbildern kennen, zeichnen. Der Aufbau ist bereichert um zwei Flügel, die seitlich und ziemlich tief an der Kappe ansetzen und breit ausladend aufsteigen.¹³ Diese Form wird von den weniger klaren Darstellungen der Kapitelle und von der bei Flandin-Coste gegebenen summarischen Zeichnung (*Fig. 2*) bestätigt, bei der zwar Stirnreifen, Zinnenkranz und untere Mondsichel nicht zu erkennen sind, die grosse mit einem Globus gefüllte Mondsichel aber ebenfalls unmittelbar auf der runden Kappe aufliegt und die Flügel tief und seitlich ansetzen.

Herzfeld deutet diese Krone als die Khosrau's II. Die von zahlreichen und meist deut-

besteht, so dass die umfassende Mondsichel, deren Ansatz Herzfeld am Original noch unterscheiden konnte, jedenfalls eng auf der Helmcappe aufgelegt haben muss. Auch die Flügel können nur seitlich, nicht auf dem Kappenscheitel angesetzt gewesen sein.

⁹ Interessant ist, dass nach der von Herzfeld gegebenen Rekonstruktion drei Kapitelle gleicher Form vorhanden gewesen sein dürften, der Herrscher also dreimal in gleicher Stellung vorkam. Eine solche Wiederholung hat also in der sasanidischen Kunst offenbar einer repräsentativen Darstellung,—es handelt sich auch an den Kapitellen um eine abgekürzte Investitur—nicht widersprochen.

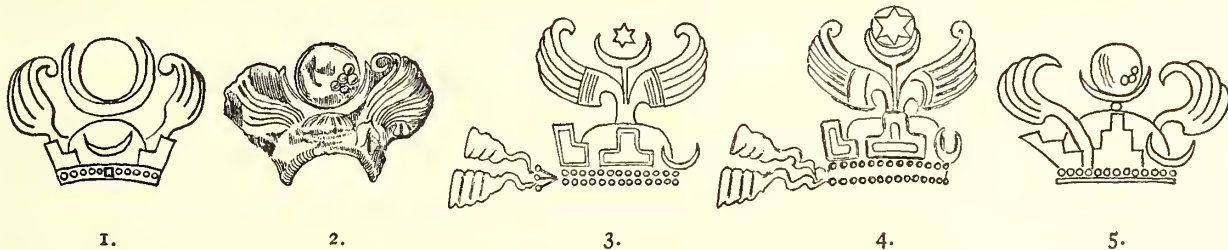
¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, Taf. XLIX unten.

¹¹ E. Flandin und P. Coste, *Voyage en Perse*, Paris, 1851, Taf. 9.

¹² *Op. cit.*, S. 89.

¹³ Herzfeld beschreibt (*ibid.*, S. 89) die Krone folgendermassen: "Genau wie auf seinen Münzen trägt Khosro II. anstatt der rundlichen Form der älteren Scheitelbedeckungen ein etwas eckiges Barett (vgl. Figs. 1, 2. d. Verf.). Daran sind hier in Vorder., auf den Münzen in Seitenansicht kleine Mauerzinnen angebracht, die mittlere ersetzt durch eine Mondsichel, die schon Shapur III. als Stirnzier trug. Den untern Rand umschlingt das doppelte Perlendiadem, dessen mächtige Schärpenenden beiderseits des Kopfes symmetrisch in die Höhe flattern. Ueber den Schläfen ist an dem Barett ein grosses Adlerflügelpaar angebracht, breit in die Höhe stehend und den Globus rahmend, der hier auf einen Stiel gesetzt (vgl. Figs. 1, 2. d. Verf.), ins Rund einer Mondsichel geschlossen und mit einem sechseckigen Stern versiert ist."

lichen Münzen bekannte Krone dieses Herrschers (*Fig. 3*) zeigt einen mit doppelter Perlenreihe besetzten Stirnreifen und einen nicht sehr hohen Zinnenkranz, der über der Stirn von einer kleinen Mondsichel unterbrochen wird. Die Kappe hat nicht mehr die Form einer reinen Kugelkalotte, sondern ist etwas eckig. Die Flügel setzen nicht mehr seitlich und weit voneinander getrennt, sondern gemeinsam auf dem Scheitel der Kappe an. Dadurch rückt die obere Mondsichel von der Kappe ab. Sie ist wesentlich kleiner gebildet, gestielt und trägt an der Stelle des Globus einen Stern als Füllung. Sie weicht also nicht nur in der Anlage des Aufbaus, sondern auch in der Wahl der Abzeichen wesentlich von der Krone des am Tāk-i Bustān dargestellten Herrschers ab. Dieser letzten Schwierigkeit versucht Herzfeld dadurch zu begegnen, dass er annimmt, der sehr klein gebildete Globus der Krone Khosrau's II. werde von dem darauf gezeichneten Stern verdeckt¹⁴ (*Fig. 4*). Keine der bei Paruck abgebildeten¹⁵ und keine von den Hunderten von Münzen dieses Herrschers im Berliner Münzkabinett zeigt auch nur eine Spur von einem solchen Globus. Bei allen ist der Stern eindeutig ein selbstständiges Motiv, das eben an die Stelle des Globus als das wesentliche Unterscheidungsmerkmal von ähnlich angelegten Kronen¹⁶ getreten ist. Uebrigens wird ja auch niemand, von allem anderen abgesehen, den Globus am Tāk-i Bustān als sehr klein gebildet bezeichnen.



Die Feststellung ist nicht zu umgehen: die Krone des am Tāk-i Bustān dargestellten Herrschers weicht in der Anlage wie in der Wahl der Abzeichen so wesentlich von der Khosrau's II. ab, dass eine Identifikation unmöglich ist. Wenn der Tāk-i Bustān aber nicht die Krone Khosrau's II. zeigt, welcher König ist dann dargestellt?

Bei dieser Suche kann uns das Flügelpaar am besten als Leitmotiv dienen. Flügel in paarweiser Verwendung kommen in zwei Gruppen von Kronen vor. Im 3. und 4. Jahrhundert

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, S. 99: "In der Tat ähneln sich Peroz und Parwez Kronen ausserordentlich, ja sie sind sich in den Abzeichen gleich (! der Verf.). . . . Nur dass die eigentliche Kopfbedeckung, die gleichsam als Basis alle Abzeichen trägt, bei Peroz noch die flache, hinter der Krone fast verschwindende, nur den Scheitel bedeckende Kappe (vgl. Fig. 5. d. Verf.), bei Parwez aber das höhere, eckig geformte Barett ist, das über Diadem und Krone hinausragt. Daher sitzen die Flügel von Peroz' Krone dicht an den Zinnen, bei Parwez ganz von ihnen getrennt und statt dessen mit dem kleinen Globus zur Einheit der geflügelten Sonnenscheibe verbunden."

¹⁵ F. Paruck gibt (*Sasanian Coins*, Bombay, 1924, Taf. XX, Nos. 445-7) allerdings drei Münzen mit einem Globus wieder, bei denen aber die Flügel fehlen. Ob diese einfachere Kronenform, die im 6. Jahrhundert geläufig ist, für Khosrau II. gesichert ist, müsste genauer untersucht werden. Unter den Münzen dieses Herrschers im Berliner Münzkabinett findet sich kein Exemplar dieser Form. Jedenfalls wäre der Globus dann typisch für die flügellose Krone und machte mit dem Auftauchen der Flügel dem Stern Platz.

¹⁶ Wie sie Peroz I., Ardashīr III., Hormizd V. und Yazdegerd III. tragen."

zeigen die Kronen Bahrāms II., Hormizds II. und Bahrāms IV. seitlich eng anliegende nach hinten gerichtete Flügel, von denen bei der Profilstellung der Köpfe im Bilde der Münzen nur der vordere erscheint. Im späten 6. und frühen 7. Jahrhundert zeigen die Kronen Khosrau's II., Ardashīrs III., Hormizds V. und Yezdegerds III. ein auf dem Kappenscheitel sich erhebendes, weit über den Unterbau der Krone emporragendes Flügelpaar, in das die gestielte Mondsichel mit Globus oder Stern mehr oder minder eng eingebettet ist. Zwischen diesen beiden Gruppen vermittelt eine Krone des reifen 5. Jahrhunderts, die des Peroz (*Fig. 5*), bei der die Flügel seitlich kurz hinter den Zinnen ansetzen, aber nicht nach hinten, sondern nach oben gerichtet sind und die grosse Mondsichel flankieren, also dieselbe Stellung wie bei der Krone des am Tāk-i Bustān dargestellten Herrschers haben. Die Uebereinstimmung geht aber noch weiter. Die Krone des Peroz zeigt Stirnreifen, Zinnenkranz und Mondsichel über der Stirn in der gleichen Form, und auch die obere grössere Mondsichel ruht in entsprechender Weise eng auf der als Kugelkalotte gebildeten Kappe und trägt einen Globus als Füllung. Die beiden Kronen stimmen mithin in den Abzeichen und in der Anordnung der Abzeichen so eng überein, wie es in der sasanidischen Kunst selten der Fall ist. Die einzigartige Form, die die Krone des Peroz zeigt, erleichtert die Entscheidung. Zweifel sind ausgeschlossen: mit dem am Tāk-i Bustān dargestellten Herrscher kann nur Peroz (457/9–483) gemeint sein.

Wie verhalten sich die Reliefs des Tāk-i Bustān zu dieser Bestimmung?

Es ist hier nicht der Platz für eine Analyse, die ausserdem den Ausführungen Herzfelds kaum etwas hinzuzufügen vermöchte. Wir dürfen voraussetzen, dass diese grundlegende, ebenso umfassende wie eingehende Besprechung des Monumentes (*Am Tor von Asien*, Berlin, 1920, S. 71–144) jedem Leser bekannt ist, und können uns darauf beschränken, von ihren Ergebnissen ausgehend eine kurze Skizze zu geben, bei der das Gewicht auf dem Ablauf der Arbeiten liegt.

Ardashīr II. (379–383) hatte die Landschaft Fārs verlassen und im Norden, am Kūh-i Parūh in der Nähe von Kirmānshāhān, sein Belehungsrelief anbringen lassen (*Fig. 6*). Shāpūr III. (383–388) wählt eine nur wenige Meter entfernte Stelle, wandte sich aber sonst neuen Formen zu. Anstatt der üblichen Belehung durch eine oder zwei Gottheiten lässt er sich mit seinem grossen Vater Shāpūr II. zusammen darstellen,¹⁷ und er verlegt diese Darstellung von der freien Felswand auf die Rückwand eines in den Stein geschlagenen Īwāns. Beides dürften Nova sein. Anregung durch Formen der Architektur ist wahrscheinlich, nichts dagegen spricht dafür, dass er bereits einen über den einzelnen Īwān hinausgehenden Plan hatte. Die Erweiterung dieser Anlage zu einer DreiĪwāngruppe mit überhöhtem Mittelraum blieb einem späteren Herrscher vorbehalten (*Fig. 7*). Die Verwendung von Genien

¹⁷ Herzfeld gibt (*op. cit.*, S. 69) für diese ungewöhnliche Darstellung folgende einleuchtende Interpretation: "Ardashir II. war nicht ein älterer Bruder seines Vorgängers, sondern seine Herrschaft unterbricht die streng rechtmässige Thronfolge. Eben darum stellt er sich auf seinem Bilde von zwei Gottheiten belehnt dar, und eben

darum wählt er gerade Krone und Thronnamen des Reichsgründers Ardashir. Durch seine Abdankung wird die rechtmässige Folge wiederhergestellt, und Shapur III. drückt eben dies aus, indem er sich neben seinem Vater abbilden lässt und die Zwischenherrschaft Ardashirs gleichsam im Bilde auslöscht."

in den Bogenzwickeln lässt dabei an Beeinflussung durch den römischen Triumphbogen denken,¹⁸ doch ist die Raumanordnung an sich iranisch. Dieser spätere Herrscher hat den Bau Shāpūrs III. als rechten Seitenīwān einbezogen, den Mittelīwān fast vollendet, den linken Seitenīwān projektiert. Der Abbruch der Arbeiten, der auch an den Reliefs des Hauptīwāns deutlich zu erkennen ist, hat eine Ausführung dieses Teils der Anlage verhindert.

Wir haben es bei unserer Betrachtung nur mit dem mittleren Īwān (*Fig. 8*) zu tun, dessen reicher Figurenschmuck sich auf vier Gruppen verteilt: 1. die Tympanongruppe der Rückwand, 2. die Reiterfigur der Rückwand, 3. die Jagdreliefs der Seitenwände, 4. das äussere Rahmenwerk des Bogens, wobei wir die Freistatue und die Kapitelle in unserer summarischen Darstellung ausser Acht lassen können.

Das Hauptrelief und zugleich die früheste Arbeit ist die Tympanongruppe, bei der gewissermassen ein Ausgleich zwischen den beiden an Ort und Stelle vorhandenen älteren Reliefs gefunden wird. Die Anbringung der Figuren ist dem Īwān Shāpūrs III. angeglichen, was sich bei seiner Einbeziehung in die neue Anlage ja als naheliegend ergab. Die Darstellung einer Investitur mit dem zwischen zwei Göttern stehenden König ist dagegen dem Relief Ardashīrs II. entnommen. Zu beiden älteren Arbeiten bestehen darüber hinaus auch stilistische Beziehungen. Das Relief Ardashīrs II. zeigt im Vergleich mit seinem letzten Vorgänger, dem allerdings fast hundert Jahre älteren Investiturelief Bahrāms III. in Naḳsh-i Rūstam,¹⁹ einen starken Verfall. Der Handlung fehlt jede Spannung, dem Relief jede Plastik. Trotz der fast freien Stellung der Figuren vor dem Grund ist ihr Stil rein zeichnerisch. Die Körper sind Blöcke, auf deren Vorderseite die Einzelheiten eingezeichnet werden. Nichts ist aus der Masse heraus entwickelt, jeder Uebergang zwischen der Oberfläche der Figur und dem Grund fehlt. Am deutlichsten wird das bei dem am Boden liegenden "Feind," dessen in den Stein geritzter Leib wie ein ausgenommener Balg heruntergeklappt ist. Das Monument Shāpūrs III. geht über diese Stufe noch hinaus. Die beiden beziehungslos neben einander stehenden Figuren sind bis auf die Kronen gleich. Das Relief ist flacher geworden, die Körper zeigen die Blockform zur Scheibenform reduziert. Am Ende des 4. Jahrhunderts hat die Monumentalplastik also einen absoluten Tiefpunkt erreicht. Die Investitur des Mittelīwāns zeigt nun kein wesentlich höheres Niveau. Der letzte Rest von Handlungszusammenhang ist den gleich Statuen auf Sockeln gestellten Figuren verloren gegangen. Das fast vollrunde Relief entbehrt jeder plastischen Durcharbeitung. Die Freude am Detail hat sich bis zur barocken Ueberladung der Figuren mit Schmuckstücken gesteigert. "Wenn der unbildnerische, malerische Charakter des Ardashir-Denkmals noch übertroffen werden konnte, so hat sich hier ereignet. Diese Plastik ist überhaupt keine Plastik mehr, ist Pseudoplastik. . . ." (Herzfeld, S. 93). Ein Unterschied gegenüber den Arbeiten des ausgehenden 4. Jahrhunderts liegt darin, dass die Körper nicht Block- oder Scheiben-, sondern eher Klumpenform haben, und dass die Einzelheiten weniger eingeritzt, als plastisch aufgelegt werden. Ein erhebendes Werk sasanidischer Monumentalplastik ist dies Investiturelief sicher nicht. Wenn es allein den Īwān schmückte, oder wenn die anderen Reliefs von derselben Hand

¹⁸ Herzfeld, *ibid.*, S. 73.

¹⁹ F. Sarre, *Die Kunst des alten Persien*, Berlin, 1923, Taf. 81 (noch als Narseh).

wären, würde der Tāk-i Bustān genau so unberühmt sein wie das Relief Shāpūrs III. im seitlichen Īwān.

Die anderen Reliefs sind aber von ungleich höherer Qualität und rechtfertigen den Ruf des Monumentes durchaus. Sie scheinen aus einer anderen Welt zu stammen. Es ist kaum ein schärferer Gegensatz denkbar, als der zwischen der Strukturlosigkeit der Tympanongruppe und dem hohen plastischen Wert der Reiterfigur darunter (*Fig. 9*), deren monumentale Wucht auch durch die minutiöse Sorgfalt, mit der alle Einzelheiten von Rüstung und Stoffmusterung wiedergegeben sind,²⁰ nicht beeinträchtigt wird, ja die weit über alles hinausgeht, was die sasanidische Kunst in dieser Richtung je geschaffen hat. Der Befund beweist dabei, dass dies Reiterbild nach der Investitur entstanden sein muss, bei der ja schon das Thema für die Priorität spricht. Es scheint sogar, dass sie ursprünglich nicht vorgesehen war; dem sonst hätte man wohl eine glücklichere Lösung gefunden als die gegenwärtige, bei der die Tympanongruppe schwer auf dem unteren Feld lastet und der Kopf des Reiters mit der zum oberen Feld überleitenden Hohlkehle in Konflikt kommt.²¹

Als Letztes wurden offenbar die Jagdreliefs der Seitenwände in Angriff genommen; denn beide sind unvollendet. Beim linken Relief mit der Schwarzwildjagd (*Fig. 10*) sind in der Mitte oben und unten zwei Bossen, die sich wohl aus der Anbringung eines Gerüstes erklären, nicht mehr ausgearbeitet, bei dem rechten mit der Hirschjagd (*Fig. 11*) ist alles bis auf den ausreitenden König oben rechts nur angelegt. Mit diesen figurenreichen Darstellungen wird ein neuer und noch nie gehörter Ton angeschlagen. An die Stelle der feierlichen Repraesentation aller anderen Felsreliefs tritt hier eine lebendige, fast genrehafte Erzählung. Dem entspricht ihre Anordnung. Sie wenden sich nicht mehr nach aussen, sondern nach innen, dem Raum zu. Auf ihn sind sie bezogen, aus ihm erklärt sich ihre Eigenart. Ein Anschluss an die Felsreliefs ergibt falsche Maßstäbe; die Vergleichsstücke sind in der Kunst des Innenraums zu suchen und zwar nach den Funden von Ktesiphon, Dāmghān und Kish weniger in der Wandmalerei, an die Herzfeld in erster Linie dachte, als in den Stuckdekorationen. Es handelt sich um eine, vielleicht einmalige, Uebertragung dieser Stuckkunst auf den Stein, wobei in der bildhaften Komposition Anregungen der Malerei mitgewirkt haben mögen. Wenn unsere Kenntnis der sasanidischen Innenraumkunst nicht bisher so gering gewesen wäre, würde niemand auf den Gedanken gekommen sein, diese Jagddarstellungen zu den Felsreliefs in Beziehung zu bringen, mit denen sie weder ihrer Stellung nach, noch ihrem künstlerischen Gehalt nach verbunden sind. Ihre Schilderung ist bildhaft, will aber sukzessive gesehen sein. So erscheint der König auf der Hirschjagd oben rechts beim feierlichen Ausritt, in der Mitte, umgeben von berittenen Treibern, im fliegenden Galopp der Jagd, unten endlich im Trab, den Bogen umgehängt, befriedigt heimkehrend. Auf der Schwarzwildjagd ist er nur zweimal, beim Schuss und nach dem Schuss, dargestellt. Dem

²⁰ "Selbst die Seidenfäden der Stoffe sind dargestellt" rühmen die arabischen Beschreibungen.

²¹ Diese Ueberschneidung des oberen Rahmens durch den Kronenaufbau kommt zwar bei vielen Felsreliefs

seit 260 n. Chr. vor und hat wohl den Sinn, die Figur des Königs hervorzuheben, doch ist sie hier offenbar unfreiwillig.

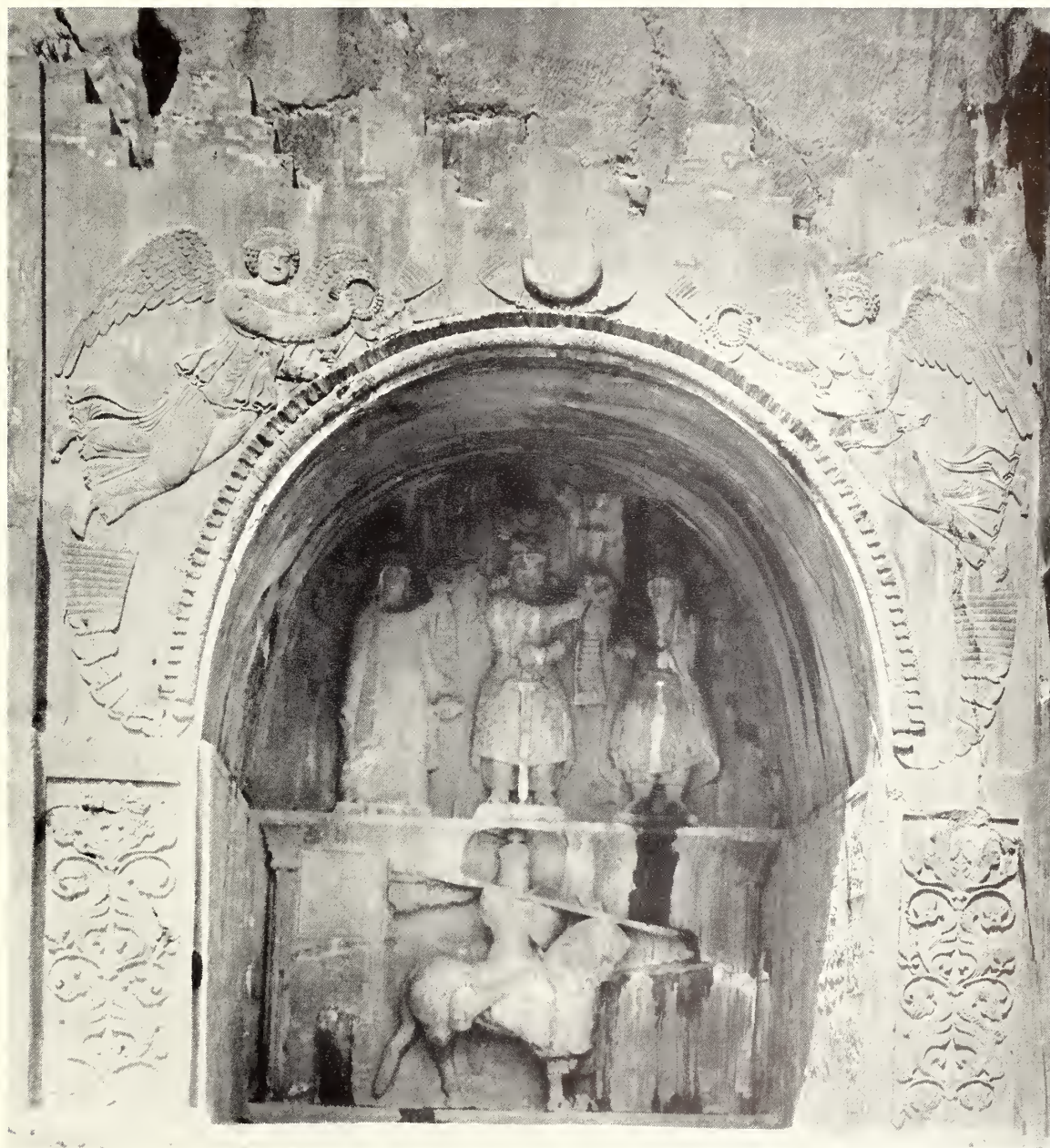


PHOTO POPP.

FIG. 8—TĀQ-I BUSTĀN, MITTELĪWĀN



PHOTO SARRE

FIG. 9—TĀḶ-I BUSTĀN, REITERFIGUR VON DER RÜCKWAND DES MITTELĪWĀNS

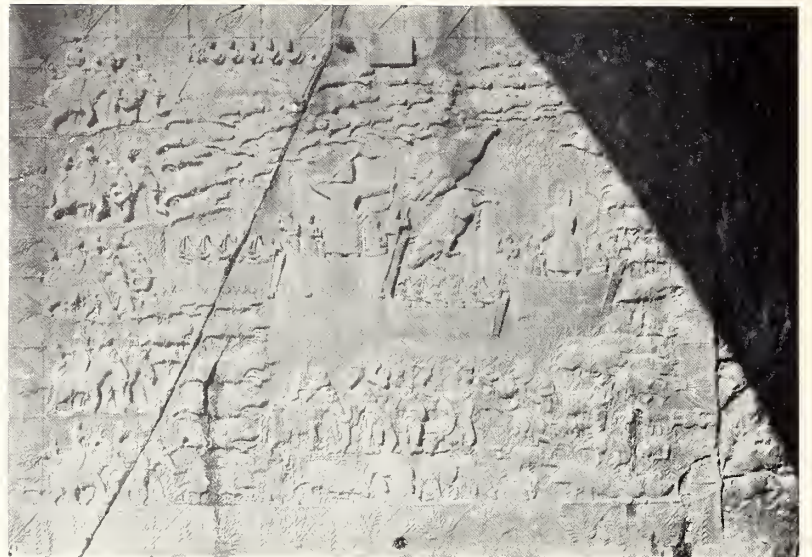


PHOTO SARRE

FIG. 10—TĀḶ-I BUSTĀN, MITTELĪWĀN, LINKES SEITENRELIEF, DETAIL



PHOTO SARRE

FIG. 11—TĀḶ-I BUSTĀN, MITTELĪWĀN, RECHTES SEITENRELIEF



PHOTO POPP

FIG. 12—TĀQ-I BUSTĀN, MITTELĪWĀN, LINKES SEITENRELIEF, DETAIL



FIG. 13—VERGOLDETE SILBERSCHALE MIT DEM KÖNIG PEROZ AUF DER JAGD,
PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE



COURTESY OF THE PENNSYLVANIA MUSEUM OF ART
FIG. 14—STUCKPLATTEN MIT DEM KÖNIG PEROZ AUF DER JAGD,
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA MUSEUM OF ART

entspricht die auffallend ungleichmässige Verteilung der Figuren. Auf der Hirschjagd sind die oberen beiden Drittel des Feldes eng gefüllt mit dem Aufmarsch des Gefolges und dem Getümmel der Jagd, während das untere Drittel fast leer ist und darin das Ausklingen der königlichen Belustigung überraschend zum Ausdruck bringt. Aehnlich ist bei der Schwarzwildjagd das obere Drittel eng mit den durch das Schilf brechenden Sauen, das untere mit dem Gewühl der beutebeladenen Elefanten gefüllt, während die Mitte, gleichsam in atemloser Spannung den Schuss des Königs erwartend, nur locker besetzt ist. Dass der Herrscher nicht nur durch diese Anordnung der Komposition, sondern auch durch seine Grösse über seine Begleitung herausgehoben wird, versteht sich von selbst. Ein Urteil über den stilistischen Befund der Arbeiten im Einzelnen wird sich auf das fast vollendete linke Relief beschränken müssen. Wir verweisen hier nochmals auf Herzfeld, der auf die auffallenden Unterschiede in der Behandlung der Figur von Mensch und Tier aufmerksam macht. Während z.B. der zielende König nur sehr grob modelliert ist und in der Vermengung von Frontalansicht des Körpers, leichter Dreiviertelansicht des Kopfes und Profilstellung des Bogens "eine völlig tote, den Geist nicht auszudrücken vermögende Gebärde" (Herzfeld, S. 97) zeigt, sind die Elefanten von vollendeter Lebendigkeit der Wiedergabe (*Fig. 12*).

Beim äusseren Rahmenwerk, das vielleicht zeitlich parallel laufend mit den Jagdreliefs entstanden ist, besteht eine entsprechende Spannung zwischen den schematisch starren "Genien" in den Zwickeln und den lebensstrotzenden "Bäumen" an den Pfeilern.

"Diese Widersprüche zwingen zu dem Schluss, dass die Grotte nicht das Werk eines einzelnen Meisters, ja nicht einmal von Künstlern ein und derselben Art ist" (Herzfeld, S. 101). Er denkt dabei an indische Künstler bei den Elefanten, und auch beim Reiterbild "verbietet das nicht sasanidische Raumgefühl die Annahme eines Iraniers und verlangt einen Griechen oder Inder."²²

Der Tāk-i Bustān ist also stilistisch ein ausserordentlich kompliziertes Monument. Neben Geringem steht Hochwertiges, Altes mischt sich mit Neuem, Eigenes mit Fremdem. Irgendwelche sicheren Anhaltspunkte für die zeitliche Einordnung sind dabei nicht gegeben. Der Anschluss an den Īwān Shāpūrs III. ergibt das Jahr 388 als *terminus post quem*. Der Stil des Investitureliefes legt es nahe, den Abstand zu den beiden verwandten Arbeiten des ausgehenden 4. Jahrhunderts nicht zu weit zu wählen, enthält aber auch keinen bindenden Hinweis. Die von fremden Künstlern gearbeiteten Teile endlich können nach unserer bisherigen Denkmälerkenntnis ebenso gut im 5. wie im 7. Jahrhundert entstanden sein. Letzten Endes lässt uns die stilistische Untersuchung genau so im Stich wie die epigraphische und historische. Die Krone bleibt das einzige Auskunftsmittel. Ihre Aussage ist eindeutig: der Bauherr ist Peroz. Der stilistische Befund kann, da Vergleichsmaterial zunächst fehlt, den damit gegebenen Ansatz in das dritte Viertel des 5. Jahrhunderts zwar nicht bestätigen, aber er widerspricht ihm auch nicht.

Peroz gehört zu den weniger bekannten Königen der sasanidischen Dynastie. Als sein

²² Aḥmad b. al-Faqīh al-Hamadhānī nennt einen Künstler mit Namen Qattus b. Sinimmar als Schöpfer

des Reiterbildes, in dem Herzfeld (*op. cit.*, S. 103) einem Griechen vermutet.

Vater Yezdegerd II. 457 starb, war er Gouverneur in Sīstān. Sein Bruder Hormizd übernahm die Regierung. Peroz konnte erst 459 den Thron erobern. Die Anfangsjahre seiner Regierung scheinen ruhig gewesen zu sein. 464/5 kommt es zu kriegerischen Verwicklungen mit den im Osten des Reiches auftauchenden Hephtaliten, die 469/70 mit einer Niederlage der Perser enden. Andere Sorgen lassen Peroz erst 481 zu einem Rachefeldzug rüsten, bei dem er 483 den Tod findet. Das Bild dieses Herrschers schwankt in den Darstellungen der Geschichtsschreiber. Auf der einen Seite steht ein so schroffes Urteil wie das des Ibn al-Mukāffa': "Peroz war ein Mann des Unglücks und Missgeschicks für sein Volk, und das Meiste, was er sprach und tat, gereichte ihm und seinen Untertanen zum Schaden und Nachteil,"²³ auf der andern Seite ergehen sie sich in ausführlichen und lobenden Schilderungen seiner klugen Massnahmen bei der erfolgreichen Bekämpfung der Hungersnot, die das Land während der ersten Jahre seiner Regierung heimsuchte. Die Notiz, dass die 12000 Beutel, die Khosrau II. in sein Schatzhaus in Ktesiphon bringen lässt, Münzen des Peroz und Kobād enthielten,²⁴ spricht auch nicht gerade für einen Niedergang während seiner Herrschaft. Aber diese Angaben sind alles in allem so ungenau, dass es gewagt erscheinen muss, aus ihnen Rückschlüsse auf die künstlerische Tätigkeit des jeweiligen Herrschers zu ziehen. Zahlreiche Kriege, an denen der König doch nur in Ausnahmefällen persönlich teilnahm, sind, selbst wenn sie nicht immer glücklich ausgehen, noch kein Beweis gegen eine blühende Kunsttätigkeit in den Residenzen, ebenso wenig wie politische Erfolge und Prachtentfaltung der Hofhaltung notwendig ein besonders hohes Niveau der künstlerischen Leistung bedingen.

Man wird gut tun, die Kunstwerke für sich sprechen zu lassen und zu untersuchen, ob der Tāk-i Bustān wirklich so isoliert steht, wie es zunächst den Anschein hat, oder ob unter dem erhaltenen Material Werke vorhanden sind, die sich zum Vergleich heranziehen lassen.

In erster Linie kommt dabei die berühmte Silberschale der Sammlung des Duc de Luynes in der Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris²⁵ in Frage, deren Verwandtschaft mit den Jagdreliefs des Tāk-i Bustān seit langem erkannt ist (*Fig. 13*). In der Tat bestehen, trotz mancher grundlegender stilistischer Abweichungen, die sich nicht nur aus dem anderen Material erklären lassen,²⁶ zwischen diesen beiden Werken so enge Beziehungen, dass man geneigt sein wird, sie derselben Periode der sasanidischen Kunst zuzuschreiben. Der auf der Pariser Schale dargestellte König ist nun von allen älteren Forschern, seit A. de Longpérier sie 1843 in seinem grundlegenden Aufsatz "Explication d'une coupe sassanide inédite" ver-

²³ Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sassaniden nach al-Tabari*, Leyden, 1879, S. 121.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, S. 353.

²⁵ Die Schale befand sich, wie auch zwei andere heute noch erhaltene, vor 1830 im Besitz der Emire von Badakhschan und kam über Russland in die Sammlung des Duc de Luynes, der sie 1862 der Bibliothèque

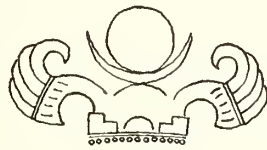
Nationale schenkte. Sie misst 30,5 cm. im Durchmesser und ist damit die Grösste unter den sasanidischen "Jagdschalen."

²⁶ Im Gegensatz zu der souverainen Verteilung der Figuren auf den Jagdreliefs könnte man bei der engen Flächenfüllung der Schale von einem *horror vacui* sprechen.

öffentliche,²⁷ als Peroz bestimmt worden.²⁸ Erst in jüngerer Zeit sind Sarre und Herzfeld zu der Benennung Khosrau II. übergegangen, wozu offenbar die Verbindung mit dem Tāk-i Bustān Anlass gab.²⁹ Gegen ihre verschiedentlich geäußerte Zuschreibung ist Bachhofer kürzlich mit Entschiedenheit für die alte Benennung Peroz eingetreten.³⁰ Der Verfasser hat sich an anderer Stelle eingehend mit dieser Frage beschäftigt und ist aus Gründen, die hier noch einmal in extenso anzuführen zu weit gehen würde, zu dem Ergebnis gekommen, dass die Pariser Schale, obwohl sie in der Anordnung der Flügel eher die für Khosrau II. typische Form zeigt, nach der Stellung der oberen Mondsichel, der Form der Kappe und vor allem der Verwendung eines Globus statt des Sterns, nur auf Peroz bestimmt werden kann (*Fig. 14*). Die abweichende Stellung der Flügel erklärt sich aus der Tendenz des Künstlers, alle Formen möglichst deutlich in der Fläche auszubreiten, und spricht in Verbindung mit eindeutigen "Missverständnissen" dafür, dass diese Schale ausserhalb des eigentlich sasanidischen Kreises entstanden ist und unter Umständen als Geschenk für Peroz bestimmt war. Vielleicht steht sie in Zusammenhang mit der Berufung der fremden Künstler, deren Wirken wir am Tāk-i Bustān beobachten können und deren Stil ihr so verwandt ist.



14.



16.

Den Jagdreliefs ähnliche Formen zeigen auch eine ganze Anzahl von Stuckfiguren, die in den letzten Jahren bei Grabungen und im Handel aufgetaucht sind. Leider geben sie keine festen Anhaltspunkte, können also nur ihrerseits vom Tāk-i Bustān aus datiert werden. Eine glückliche Ausnahme bildet ein Panneau im Pennsylvania Museum, dessen Hauptplatten einen König auf der Schwarzwildjagd darstellen (*Fig. 15*).³¹ Der Zusammenhang mit den Jagdreliefs wird hier durch die bildhafte Darstellung deutlicher als bei irgendeinem anderen Beispiel. Die Krone des Königs (*Fig. 16*) ist die gleiche wie am Tāk-i Bustān. Wenn sie auch nicht in allen Einzelheiten genau zu erkennen ist, der niedrige Ansatz der

²⁷ *Ann. Inst. Archéol. de Rome*, XV, 1843, S. 98–114 (*Oeuvres I*, S. 71–87). Vgl. auch *Monumenti inediti pubblicati dall' Istituto di Corrispondenza Archaeologica*, Roma–Parigi, III, 1839–43, Taf. LI.

²⁸ Z. B. A. de Longpérier, "Extrait d'un mémoire sur les coupes sassanides," *Mém. Acad. des Sciences et Belles-Lettres*, XXVI, 1868; G. Rawlinson, *The Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy*, I, New York, 1875, S. 329–30; J. Smirnof, *Argenterie orientale*, St. Petersburg,

1909, Taf. XXXI, No. 59, u.a.m.

²⁹ F. Sarre und E. Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, Berlin, 1910, S. 210; Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, S. 99; F. Sarre, *op. cit.*, S. 70; E. Herzfeld, *Die Malereien von Samarra*, Berlin, 1927, S. 30.

³⁰ L. Bachhofer, "Sasanidische Jagdschalen," *Pantheon*, XI, 1933, S. 62–6.

³¹ Vgl. H. F. C. Jayne, "The Art of Persia," *Bull. Pennsylvania Museum*, XXVIII, 1933, S. 48.

seitlich weit ausladenden Flügel und das unmittelbare Aufliegen der grossen, mit einem Globus gefüllten oberen Mondsichel auf der Kappe lassen keinen Zweifel zu.

Das Vergleichsmaterial ist also nicht so gering, wie es zunächst schien. Wir sind in der Lage, zwei Kunstwerke anzuführen, die stilistisch dem Tāk-i Bustān nahestehen und ihrerseits durch die Angabe einer Krone datiert sind. Bei beiden ist die Krone die des Königs Peroz. Das ist für sasanidische Verhältnisse eine ungewöhnliche Gunst des Denkmalfonds.

Es bleibt zu untersuchen, wie sich das neue Datum des Tāk-i Bustān mit dem Bild, das wir heute von der Entwicklung der sasanidischen Kunst haben, vereinigen lässt.

Die Monumentalplastik hat ihren Höhepunkt im 3. Jahrhundert. Zweiundzwanzig der neunundzwanzig bekannten Felsreliefs gehören in die Zeit von Ardashīr I. bis Bahrām III. Aus den ersten sieben Jahrzehnten des 4. Jahrhunderts, d.h. aus der Regierungszeit Shāpūr II. (309–379), ist nichts erhalten, doch ist der Schluss vielleicht voreilig, dass nichts in ihnen entstanden sei. Da es sich um einen einzelnen Herrscher handelt, muss mit der Möglichkeit gerechnet werden, dass er sein oder seine Reliefs an einem neuen Ort anbringen liess, wo sie unter Umständen noch nicht entdeckt oder durch ein Naturereignis vernichtet sind.³² Es ist jedoch auch denkbar, dass der im 3. Jahrhundert von fast jedem König geübte Brauch, zumindest seinen Regierungsantritt in einem monumentalen Relief zu dokumentieren, unter Shāpūr II. durch andere Formen (Herzfeld denkt in erster Linie an Wandmalerei) ersetzt wurde, und dass Ardashīr II., dessen bewusstes Zurückgreifen auf die frühere Zeit sich schon in der Wahl seines Namens und seiner Krone zeigt, diese Sitte wieder aufnahm.³³ Seine Investitur liess er bei Kirmānshāhān an der heute nach dem späteren Monument Tāk-i Bustān genannten Stelle, also weit von den alten Zentren entfernt, anbringen, während er für ein zweites Relief, das ihn in einem Reiterkampf zeigt, Fīrūzābād, den Ort der ältesten sasanidischen Tradition, wählte, wo er es in unmittelbarer Nachbarschaft eines Reliefs seines Namensherrn Ardashīr I. in den Felsen schlagen lässt.³⁴ Sein Nachfolger Shāpūr III. wählte auch den Tāk-i Bustān, führt aber im Thema wie in der Anordnung Neuerungen ein, die an sich schon zeigen, wie weit man sich von der ursprünglichen Form entfernt hat. Man wird gut tun, die Reliefs Ardashīrs II. als die letzten Felsreliefs und den Tāk-i Bustān als ein eigenes, anderen Bedingungen unterstehendes Kunstwerk zu behandeln. Stilistisch zeigen

³² So wie etwa Shāpūr I. die bekannten Stellen Naksh-i Radjab und Naksh-i Rostam verlässt und—offenbar nach seinem Sieg über Valerian—Bishapur wählt.

³³ Vgl. Anm. 17.

³⁴ E. Herzfeld, "La sculpture rupestre de la Perse," *Rev. des Arts Asiatiques*, V, 1928, S. 131–2, Taf. XXXVI, Fig. 4, hält es für eine Darstellung Ardashīrs I., mit dessen drei anderen Reliefs es aber stilistisch nichts zu tun hat. Die Kronen der beiden Könige dieses Namens sind schwer zu unterscheiden. Immerhin trägt Ardashīr I. auf allen Reliefs einen Globus, Ardashīr II. am Tāk-i Bustān einen Lockenbusch, der auch in

Fīrūzābād vorkommt. Das flache, kastenartige Relief mit seiner reichen Detailritzung der Oberfläche entspricht der Behandlung der Figuren am Relief Ardashīrs II. am Tāk-i Bustān, hat aber gar keine Ähnlichkeit mit den plastisch hochwertigen, detailarmen Arbeiten Ardashīrs I. Das Sujet, ein Reiterkampf, tritt erstmalig unter Bahrām II. auf und ist in seiner wilden Bewegtheit wenig wahrscheinlich für die frühe Zeit. Ebenso ist die Ueberschneidung der Krone mit dem oberen Rand in der Zeit Ardashīrs I. unbekannt. Sie findet sich zum ersten Mal bei Reliefs Shāpürs I., die durch die Darstellung nach 260 datiert sind.

diese beiden Arbeiten des ausgehenden 4. Jahrhunderts die Monumentalplastik auf einem Tiefpunkt angelangt, der es verständlich erscheinen lässt, dass die Entwicklung mit ihnen abbricht. Erst fast ein Jahrhundert später wird sie wieder aufgenommen. Es ist offenbar, dass der neue Bauherr, Peroz, durch das Vorhandene angeregt wurde. Der Īwān Shāpūrs III. liess in ihm den Plan einer grossartigen Dreiwānanlage reifen, ein Projekt, das mit den eigentlichen Felsreliefs nichts mehr zu tun hat, sondern vorwiegend aus dem Bereich der Architektur stammt, ja dort vielleicht auch in der Art der Ausstattung Vorstufen hatte. Er benutzt, auch das ein eigenartiger Zug, das ältere Werk und richtet sich in der Anbringung und Komposition seiner Investiturdarstellung nach den vorhandenen Formen. Eine lebendige Tradition bestand also keinesfalls mehr. Die künstlerische Qualität seines Reliefs liegt noch unter dem Niveau der Arbeiten des ausgehenden 4. Jahrhunderts. Offenbar später, vermutlich im ersten Plan nicht vorgesehen, entstehen die Reiterfigur und die Jagdreliefs, bei denen die Mitwirkung fremder Künstler angenommen werden muss. Mit ihnen findet die in der Repraesentation erstarrte Hofkunst des sasanidischen Reiches Anschluss an den weiteren Kreis der iranischen Kunst. Es entsteht ein Werk, das in seiner Monumentalität wie in seiner Lebendigkeit alles übertrifft, was diese Kunst bisher geschaffen hat. In der Steinplastik hatten diese neuen Kräfte allerdings nicht mehr die Möglichkeit zu wesentlichen Anregungen. Der TāḲ-i Bustān bleibt unvollendet, keiner der späteren Herrscher hat die Arbeit weitergeführt, keiner etwas Aehnliches unternommen. Die Kunst der Felsreliefs ist tot. Im Grunde gehört sie ganz der frühen Zeit an. Schon am Ende des 4. Jahrhunderts wird sie mit anderen Formen durchsetzt. Im TāḲ-i Bustān lebt sie in einer Zwitterstellung zwischen Monumentalplastik und Innenraumkunst fort. Wenn die neuen Kräfte, die hier am Werke waren, ihre gegebene Aufgabe einer Bereicherung der sasanidischen Kunst erfüllen konnten, so dürften sie anderen Zweigen derselben, in erster Linie wohl der Stuckplastik, vielleicht auch der Wandmalerei und der Kleinkunst, zugutegekommen sein.

In der Stuckplastik ist es bis heute noch nicht gelungen, ein Bild der Entwicklung zu gewinnen. Das Material hat sich in den letzten Jahren erstaunlich vermehrt, aber die Zahl der Anhaltspunkte für eine Datierung ist gering geblieben. Erschwerend kommt hinzu, dass auf diesem Gebiet stärker mit lokalen Sonderentwicklungen gerechnet werden muss, als bei den in ihrer ausgesprochen repräsentativen Haltung sehr einheitlichen Felsreliefs. Endlich wirkte sich hier das bisherige Datum des TāḲ-i Bustān insofern besonders unglücklich aus, als ein grosser Teil der figürlichen Funde durch ihre enge Verwandtschaft mit den Jagdreliefs in das 7. Jahrhundert gerückt wurden. Das neue Datum bietet wesentlich günstigere Arbeitsbedingungen. Allem Anschein nach ist der Stuck vielfach und in steigendem Maasse an die Stelle der Monumentalplastik getreten. Zieht man die wenigen weiteren Anhaltspunkte hinzu, wie sie mit den auf Peroz bestimmten Jagdreliefs in Philadelphia, den auf Bahrām V. bestimmten Funden in Kish³⁵ und dem mit Kobād I. (?) identifizierten Kopf in Chicago³⁶ gegeben sind, so besteht berechtigte Hoffnung, dass es in absehbarer Zeit gelingen

³⁵ Vgl. *Illustrated London News* vom 25. April und 15. Aug., 1931.

³⁶ Vgl. N. C. Debevoise, "A portrait of Kobad I. (488-531)," *Bull. Art Inst. Chicago*, XXIV, 1930, S. 10.

wird, auch auf diesem Gebiet das heute noch unübersichtliche Material sinnvoll zu gliedern.

Auf einem anderen Gebiet sind die Arbeitsbedingungen günstiger, und es ist ein erster Versuch einer solchen Gliederung kürzlich gemacht worden: bei den Arbeiten in edlem Metall.³⁷ Eine ganze Anzahl von Silberschalen zeigt Darstellungen des Herrschers. Der Verfasser hat diejenigen von ihnen, auf denen der König auf der Jagd wiedergegeben ist, zum Gegenstand einer Untersuchung gemacht, bei der er von der Voraussetzung ausgegangen ist, dass die Aussagen der Kronen und der stilistische Befund der Schalen, miteinander in Uebereinstimmung gebracht, ein richtiges Bild der Entwicklung ergeben müssen, dessen Ergebnisse bei der bevorzugten Stellung dieser Schalen innerhalb der sasanidischen Toreutik einen geeigneten Rahmen für die Gliederung der Edelmetallarbeiten im allgemeinen bieten wird. Die Untersuchung ergab für die Jagdschalen das folgende Bild: Die Blütezeit bilden das 3. und 4. Jahrhundert. Mit dem ausgehenden 4. Jahrhundert entwickelt sich ein freier Stil, der sich von den strengen Formen löst und im 5. Jahrhundert bis zu einem gewissen Manierismus vorgetrieben wird. Unter Peroz setzt eine Gegenbewegung ein, der von aussen Kräfte zur Hilfe kommen, die enge Beziehungen zu den gleichfalls fremden Künstlern zuzuschreibenden Jagdreliefs des Tāk-i Bustān zeigen. Ihr wesentlicher Beitrag beruht anscheinend in der Vermittlung einer neuen Technik (Metallschnitt anstelle des bis dahin üblichen Auflötverfahrens). Der Höhepunkt ist aber überschritten. Die Arbeiten des 6. Jahrhunderts bringen nur den Abgesang. Die eigene Schaffenskraft erlahmt. Man geht nicht mehr, wie in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten, Schritt für Schritt, einen festen Typus entwickelnd, vorwärts, sondern greift auf ältere Vorlagen zurück, deren Elemente man neu zusammenstellt. Von diesen Kompilationen der spätsasanidischen Zeit gleitet die Entwicklung unmerklich über zu den bekannten Kopien der nachsasanidischen Zeit, die ebenfalls durchweg Vorbilder des 3. und 4. Jahrhunderts wiedergeben.

In der Numismatik, wo das Material am reichsten vorhanden und am sichersten datierbar ist, fehlen leider alle Vorarbeiten für eine stilistische Auswertung. Grob gesehen, kann man feststellen, dass die Münzen der früheren Zeit in zum Teil kräftigen Relief, die der späteren Zeit flach und meist in reiner Umrisszeichnung geprägt sind. Der Wendepunkt liegt am Ende des 5. Jahrhunderts. Die Münzen des Peroz gehören noch zur ersten Gruppe, zeigen eine starke Auflockerung der plastischen Form und sind dadurch besonders undeutlich. Mit dem zeichnerischen Stil nimmt die Deutlichkeit des Bildes zunächst wieder zu, bis unter den letzten Herrschern ein völliger Formenzerfall einsetzt. In grossen Zügen bestätigen die Münzen also das Bild, das die "Jagdschalen" für die Toreutik ergaben, in der auch auf einen plastischen Stil (Auflötverfahren) im 3. und 4. Jahrhundert, über eine starke Auflockerung der Form im 5. Jahrhundert, ein zeichnerischer Stil (Metallschnitt bis zur Metallritzung) im 6. und 7. Jahrhundert folgt.

In der Glyptik sind so wenige Anhaltspunkte gegeben, dass eine entwicklungsgeschichtliche Ordnung des reichen Materials bisher nicht versucht wurde. Immerhin steht der Siegel-

³⁷ K. Erdmann, "Die Sasanidischen Jagdschalen," *Jhrb. d. Pr. Kunstsaml.*, LVII, 1936, S. 193-232.

stein mit Bahrām IV. (388–399) im British Museum³⁸ den “Jagdschalen” des 4. Jahrhunderts nahe, während die Pariser Edelsteinschale,³⁹ die nach der Krone einen König des 6. Jahrhunderts darstellt und gern mit Khosrau I. (531–578) in Verbindung gebracht wird, thematisch, kompositionell und stilistisch ihre nächste Parallele in einer Silberschale der Ermitage hat, die nach der Entwicklung der “Jagdschalen” gleichfalls im 6. Jahrhundert entstanden sein muss und sehr wohl Khosrau I. darstellen kann.⁴⁰

So dürftig diese Anhaltspunkte sind—für Wandmalerei, Stoffe, Glas, Bronze fehlen sie ganz—so ergibt sich aus der Uebereinstimmung ihrer Aussagen doch mit hinreichender Sicherheit, dass für die sasanidische Kunst das 3. und 4. Jahrhundert die hohe Zeit, das 5. Jahrhundert den Wendepunkt, das 6. und 7. Jahrhundert die Zeit des allmählichen Niedergangs bedeuten.

Diese in wenigen Strichen gegebene Skizze zur Studie und endlich zum Bild der Entwicklung auszuarbeiten, wird die Aufgabe von Einzeluntersuchungen sein, denen aber erst dann Erfolg beschieden sein kann, wenn man sich entschliesst, den Irrtum in der Datierung des TāḲ-i Bustān aufzugeben und dies wichtigste Monument der sasanidischen Kunst an die Stelle zu setzen, an die es nach dem einzigen zuverlässigen Anhaltspunkt, nach der Kronenform des dargestellten Herrschers, eindeutig gehört: in das dritte Viertel des 5. Jahrhunderts, in die Regierungszeit des Königs Peroz.

³⁸ Brit. Mus. No. 119352.

³⁹ F. Sarre, *op. cit.*, Taf. 144.

⁴⁰ C. Orbeli und J. Trever, *Orfèvrerie sasanide*, Moscou-Leningrad, 1935, Taf. 13.

LES CARAVANSERAILS SYRIENS DU ḤADJDI DE CONSTANTINOPLE PAR J. SAUVAGET

ON SAIT QUEL RÔLE CONSIDÉRABLE LE PÈLERINAGE À LA MECQUE, LE “ḤADJDI,” A JOUÉ durant des siècles dans la vie des pays d’Islam. D’importantes études ont été consacrées à ces cérémonies, mais l’on s’est moins attaché jusqu’ici aux côtés purement matériels de la question, notamment au problème du transport des pèlerins jusqu’aux villes saintes du Hedjāz. Ce problème, totalement étranger à l’histoire religieuse, présente cependant un intérêt réel pour l’histoire politique et économique du monde musulman.

En simplifiant, on peut considérer que les pèlerins arrivaient à la Mecque, avant que les faits traditionnels de circulation aient été bouleversés par l’introduction récente du chemin de fer et du bateau à vapeur, par quatre voies différentes:

- 1°—par voie de mer, en provenance de l’Inde, de l’Insulinde et de l’Extrême Orient,
- 2°—à travers le Nefūd, en provenance de l’Irāk, de la Perse et de l’Asie Centrale,¹
- 3°—par le Sinaï, en provenance de l’Égypte, du Maghreb et de l’Afrique Occidentale,²
- 4°—par la Syrie.

Cette dernière voie, infiniment moins fréquentée que les précédentes aussi longtemps que Baghdād et le Caire demeurèrent les capitales du monde musulman, ne cesse de gagner en importance à partir du milieu du seizième siècle.

A cette date, grâce à l’extension considérable que prend l’empire des sultans de Constantinople, elle s’ouvre à tout un groupe de pays auxquels leur assujettissement à des dynasties ennemies de l’État mamlūk (Mongols et Ottomans) interdisait jusque là l’accès de la Syrie; elle attire d’autre part les pèlerins des régions nouvellement acquises à l’Islam. Elle devient ainsi la voie normale d’accès au Hedjāz pour les musulmans de la Haute-Mésopotamie, du Kurdistan, de l’Azerbeïdjan, du Caucase, de l’Anatolie, des Balkans, de la Hongrie et de la Crimée (*Fig. 1*).

Par ailleurs, les sultans ottomans ont trouvé dans l’héritage des Mamlūks d’Égypte sinon le califat, du moins le protectorat du Hedjāz qui leur vaut, joint à leur caractère de “ghāzī,” un prestige considérable aux yeux de l’Islam sunnite tout entier. Et c’est encore cette même route qui, par la Syrie, réunit directement à la Mecque la capitale de l’empire qu’empruntent chaque année le “şurre-emīnī” portant aux lieux saints du Hedjāz le don impérial, et l’émir du ḥadjdj, emmenant avec lui le “maḥmal” symbolique destiné à mettre en évidence la qualité de “serviteur des deux augustes sanctuaires” dont s’enorgueillit le souverain.

Cette route connaît ainsi, depuis le seizième siècle, un trafic intense³ accompagné d’un

¹ Sur cette route, v. A. Musil, *Northern Neğd*, New York, 1928, pp. 205 et suiv.

² A. Musil, *The Northern Heğāz*, New York, 1926, pp. 321 et suiv.

³ On en trouverait le souvenir dans la littérature populaire. Cf. E. Saussey, *Littérature populaire turque*, Paris, 1936, p. 32.

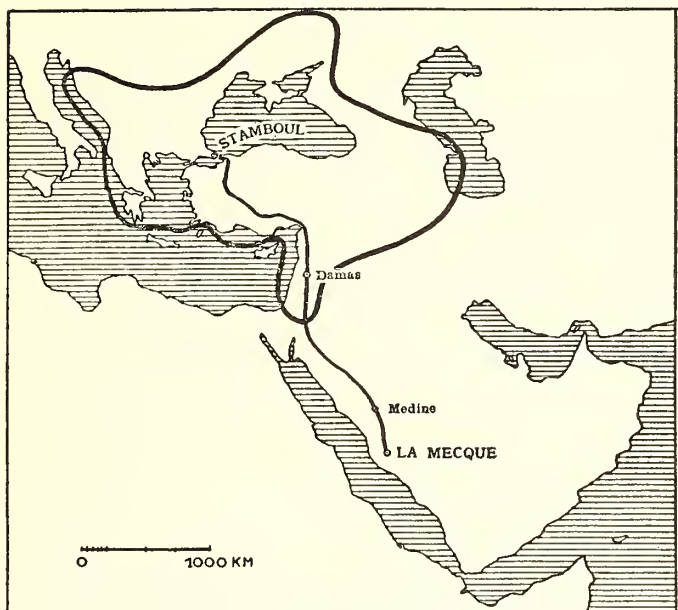


FIG. 1—LA ROUTE DU HADJJI DE CONSTANTINOPLE

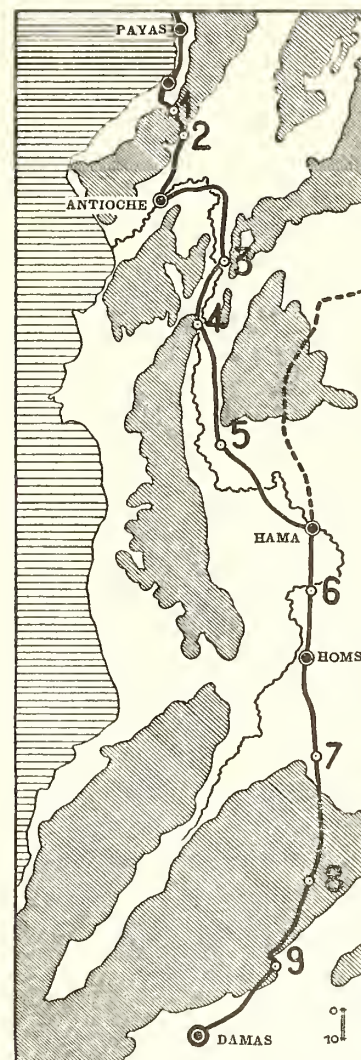


FIG. 2—SECTION SYRIENNE DE LA ROUTE DU HADJJI DE CONSTANTINOPLE

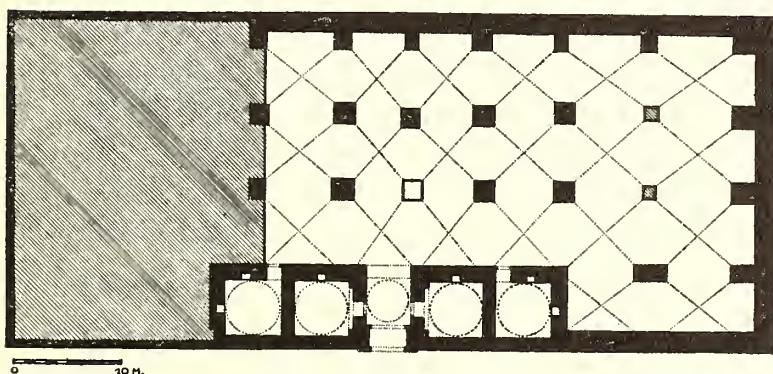


FIG. 3—KHAN DE BEILAN (N° 1)

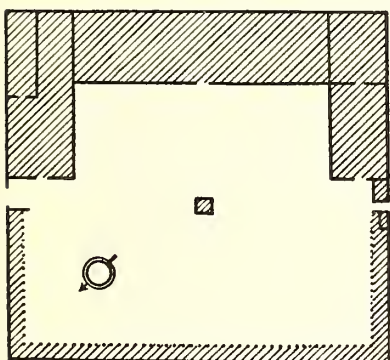


FIG. 4—KHAN DE KARA-MUGHURT (N° 2), SCHÉMA

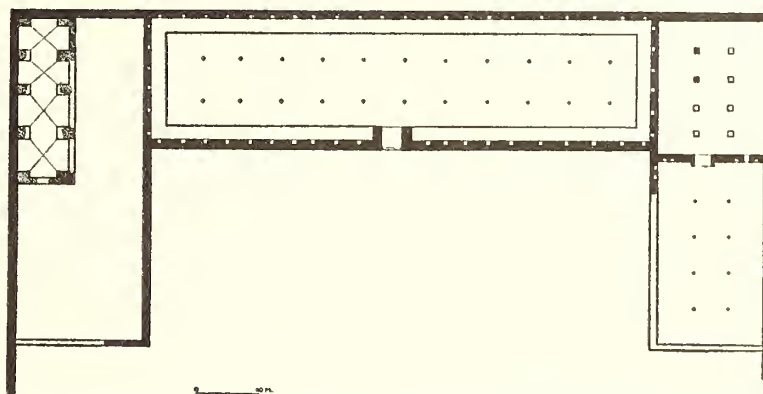


FIG. 5—KHAN DE KARA-MUGHURT (N° 2), PLAN DE LA PARTIE COUVERTE

large mouvement commercial,⁴ en même temps qu'elle devient une artère politique d'une importance capitale.

Son organisation a été modelée sur la nature des régions traversées. De Stamboul à Damas, sur le parcours anatolien et syrien, on circule dans des contrées abondamment peuplées, cultivées et soumises à un gouvernement régulier. A partir de Damas, au contraire, la route s'enfonce dans les steppes, puis dans des pays franchement désertiques, dépourvus de la moindre ressource, où pèse perpétuellement sur elle la menace des tribus nomades en quête de pillage. Dans toute cette seconde partie du trajet, chaque étape est marquée par une petite forteresse (*Ḳal'a*) abritant un puits et à l'intérieur de laquelle on emmagasinait des vivres.⁵ En région sédentaire, en deçà de Damas, l'organisation est analogue à celle des grandes voies commerciales.

C'est cette organisation dont on donnera ici un aperçu en décrivant les caravansérails qui jalonnent la route du ḥadjj de Constantinople en territoire syrien, laissant à d'autres le soin de compléter ce travail par l'étude de la partie anatolienne de l'itinéraire.

La route (*Fig. 2*)⁶ pénètre en territoire syrien dans la plaine d'Issus, immédiatement au sud de Payas, traverse la bourgade d'Alexandrette, puis franchit l'Amanus en empruntant le col de Beilân,⁷ passage fort difficile encore que d'une altitude modérée.⁸ Elle atteint l'Oronte, dont elle suivra désormais le cours jusqu'au delà de Hama, ne le franchissant pas moins de six fois;⁹ c'est à travers les rocs dénudés de sa basse vallée et les collines marneuses du Ḳoşeyr, puis en longeant les marécages fétides du Ghâb¹⁰ qu'elle atteindra la plaine de la Syrie Centrale, où les obstacles se font plus rares et le relief moins mouvementé. Mais au delà de Homs les pèlerins doivent à nouveau traverser un terrain tourmenté et peu hospitalier—solitudes poudreuses du versant oriental de l'Antiliban, où ils sont à la merci des brigands nomades,¹¹ défilés du Ḳalamūn, sans vie et sans eau—avant de pouvoir goûter quelques jours de détente sous les ombrages de Damas.

⁴ Cf. mon "Esquisse d'une histoire de la ville de Damas," *Rev. Et. Islam.*, 1934, pp. 468-471.

⁵ Sur la route des pèlerins entre Damas et la Mecque, v. Musil, *op. cit.*, pp. 326-331. Les fortins ont été décrits par R. E. Brünnow et A. von Domaszewski, *Provincia Arabia*, Strassburg, 1904-09, II, pp. 74-76 (Ḳ. eḏ-Daba'a), 85 (el-Ḳaṭrāne), 17-18 (Ḳ. el-Ḥesā), 1-3 (Ma'ān), et par A. Jaussen et R. Savignac, *Mission Archéologique en Arabie*, Paris, 1909, p. 33 (el-Ḳaṭrāne), 32 (Ḳ. el-Ḥesā), 33 (Ḳ. 'Aneze), 35-36 (Ma'ān), 54 (Dhāt el Ḥadjj), 59 (Tebūk), 75-76 (Ḳ. el-Akhḍar), 88 (Ḳ. el-Mu'azzam), 95 (Dār el-Ḥamrā), 108-110 (Ḳ. el-Ḥedjer), 292-298 (inscriptions).

⁶ La description détaillée de la route est donnée par M. Bianchi, *Itinéraire de Constantinople à la Mecque*, *Rec. de Voyages et Mém. de la Soc. de Géogr. de Paris*, 1825, traduction abrégée d'un "guide" turc du pèlerinage (K. Manāsik al-Ḥadjj) composé en 1682.

⁷ Pour l'histoire des routes et la topographie on ren-

voie une fois pour toutes à R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris, 1927.

⁸ Cf. A. Parsons, *Travels in Asia and Africa . . .*, Londres, 1802, p. 21: "It is said that more of those useful animals (*i.e.*, les chameaux) fall dead between Bylan and Karamut than in any other place whatever."—C'est la difficulté du passage qui explique la brièveté de l'étape entre Beilân (No. 1) et Ḳaramughurṭ (No. 2).

⁹ A Antioche, Djisr el-Ḥadīd, Derkūsh Djisr esh-Shughūr, Shaizar et er-Resten.

¹⁰ La route antique d'Antioche à Apamée se développait suivant le même tracé que la piste moderne, en lisière du marécage et au pied du plateau; le fait est attesté par des milliaires (anépigraphes, m'a-t-il semblé) demeurés en place au bord de la route (un groupe de trois à hauteur du village d'el-Ḥuweiz et deux autres à quelques kilomètres au sud).

¹¹ Cf. H. Sauvaire, "Description de Damas," *J. As.*, nov. déc. 1894, p. 492, l. 11 d'en bas.

Au total, une route pénible, et qui ne traverse que quelques véritables villes: Antioche, Hama,¹² et Homs. Mais tout le long de l'itinéraire des agglomérations rurales plus ou moins denses pouvaient fournir des vivres aux voyageurs: aussi est-ce dans ces agglomérations ou à proximité immédiate qu'on a bâti de préférence les caravansérails qui vont être décrits ci-dessous.¹³

I. BEÏLÂN

Le khan est situé dans le village, sur le côté nord de la route: il a été en partie aliéné et envahi par des constructions parasites, mais l'ordonnance originelle s'en laisse aisément restituer (*Fig. 3*).

C'est une grande bâtisse rectangulaire de 70 x 31 m., enveloppée d'un mur d'enceinte épais, en pierre de taille, et couverte en terrasse. L'entrée, large et droite pour permettre facilement le passage des bêtes de somme, est couverte par une calotte surbaissée en brique reposant sur quatre glacis brisés en pierre d'appareil. De part et d'autre du couloir se distribuent quatre petites pièces carrées (5 m. de côté env.) couvertes chacune par une coupole surbaissée en brique sur pendentifs; chacune d'elle possède une cheminée ménagée dans une de ses parois, et une fenêtre haute à ébrasement qui en assure l'éclairage. Les deux pièces les plus rapprochées de la porte du khan communiquent directement avec le couloir d'entrée et servaient sans doute au logement du personnel; les deux autres ouvrent sur le caravansérail proprement dit et devaient être destinées à héberger les voyageurs de marque. Tout le reste de l'édifice est occupé par une vaste halle, dont les voûtes d'arêtes (haut. sous clef: 5 m. 50) en blocage de moellons sont reçues par des piliers massifs et par le mur d'enceinte. Tout cet ensemble est de la plus grande simplicité et on y chercherait en vain d'autre recherche que la distribution en façade, dans l'axe de l'édifice, des 5 coupolettes signalées plus haut.

La date de la construction est indiquée par une inscription, aujourd'hui brisée et re-placée tant bien que mal, qui surmontait la porte d'entrée:

(1) [*Bismi Allāhi*] *r-Raḥmāni r-Ra[hīmi. — 1 mot] hādhā l-khāna l-mu'azzama s-Sulṭānu l-'azamu l-khākānu l-mu'azzam, zillu Allāhi [fī l-'ard, sul]ṭā[nu] sa[lā]ṭīni l-'umam, sayyidu salāṭīni l-'Arabi wa l-'Adjam, nāṣiru l-Ḥaramayni sh-sharīfayn,*

(2) *Sulṭān Sulaimān-Khān ibnu Sulṭān Salīm-Shāh, Khallada Allāhu mulkahu wa salṭanatahu, bita'rīkhi Shāhri Sha'bani l-mu'azzam, fī sanati sab'in wa khamsīna wa tis'imi[atin mina] l-hidjrati n-nabawiya, 'alā ṣāhibihā 'afḍalu ṣ-ṣalāti wa s-salām.*

“Au nom de Dieu le Clément, le Miséricordieux. Ce khan digne de respect a été [fondé, ou construit] par le plus considérable des sultans, l'empereur respecté, ombre de Dieu [sur la terre], le sultan des sultans des peuples, le seigneur des sultans des Arabes et des Persans, le protecteur des deux augustes sanctuaires (du Hedjāz), le sultan Sulaimān-Khān, fils du

¹² C'est à Hama que les pèlerins venus par Alep du Diarbeker, du Caucase et de l'Azerbeïdjan rejoignaient la route Stamboul-Damas.

¹³ Nous laissons de côté les caravansérails urbains,

dont la fonction et le type sont différents.—Mon ami Cl. Le Cœur, architecte D.P.L.G., a bien voulu m'accorder une aide précieuse dans la relevé des khans Nos. 1, 2, 4, et 5.

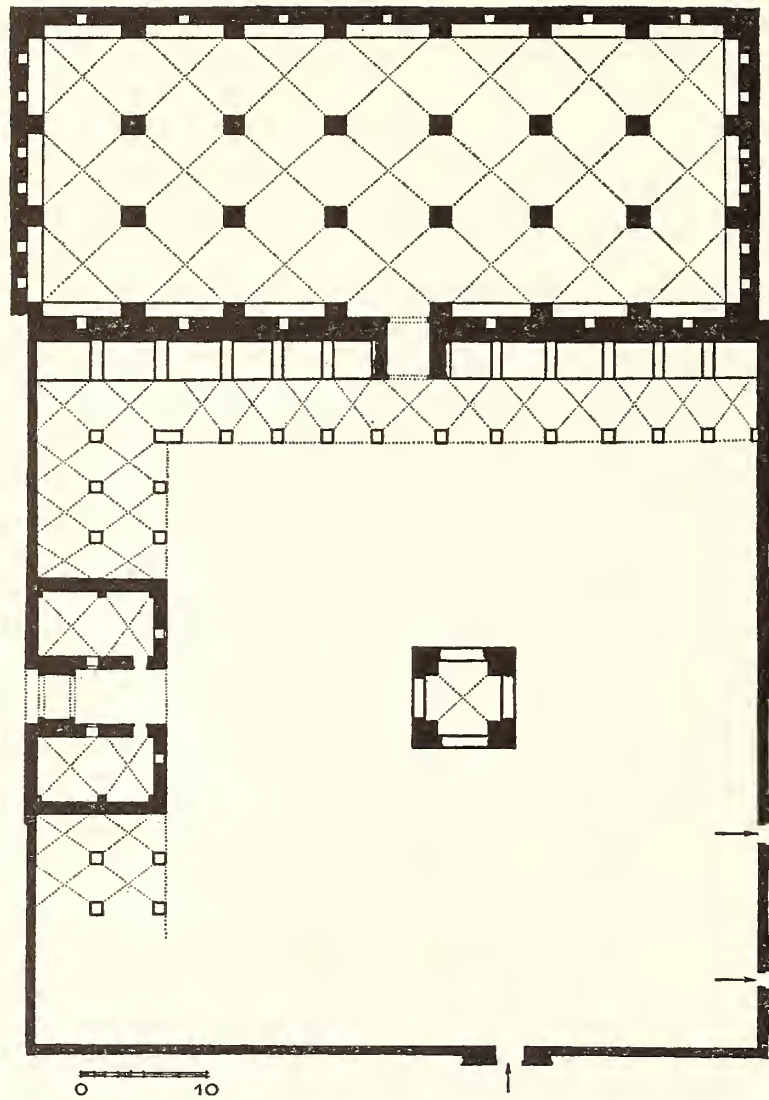


FIG. 6—KHAN DE DJISR ESH-SHUGHŪR (N° 4)

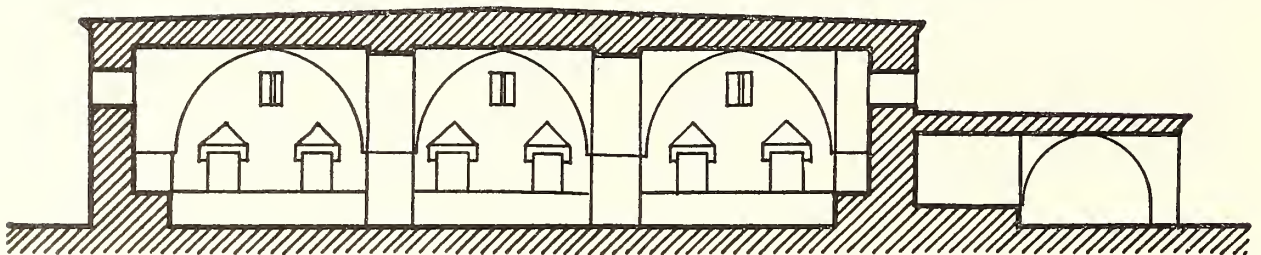


FIG. 7—KHAN DE DJISR ESH-SHUGHŪR, COUPE SUR LA HALLE ET LE PORTIQUE

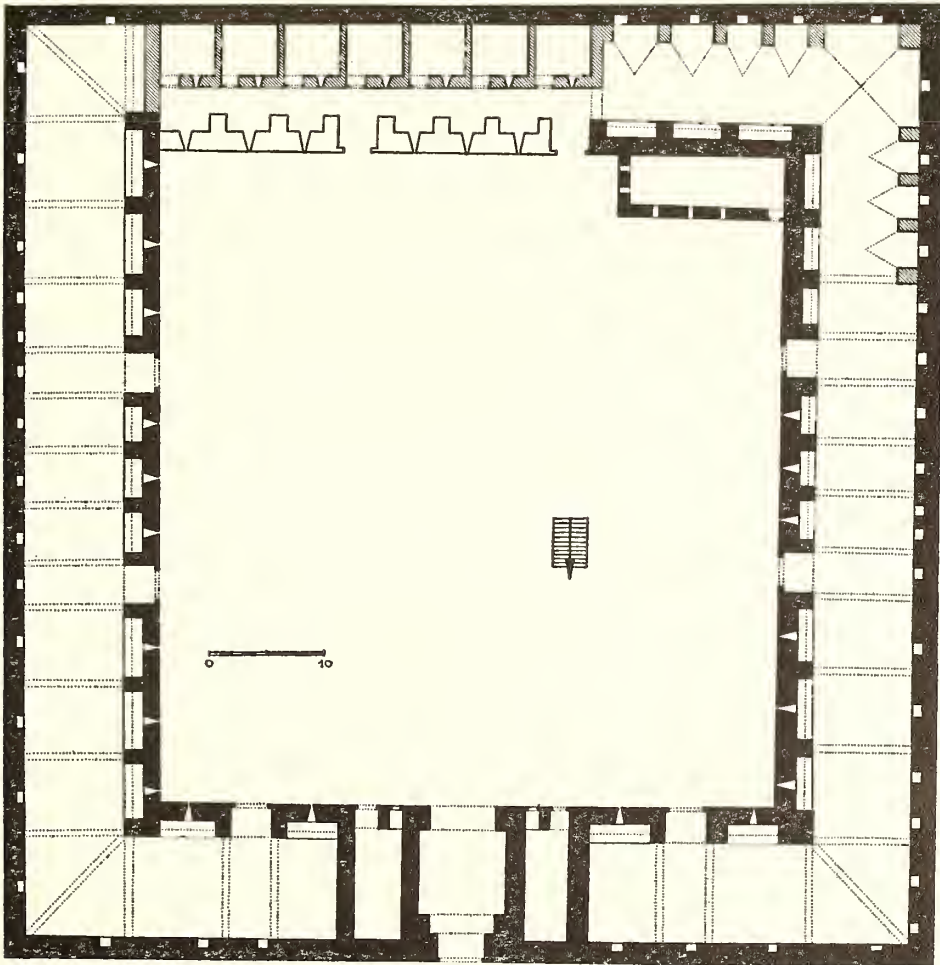


FIG. 10—KHAN DE ÇAL'AT EL-MUḌÎK (N° 5)

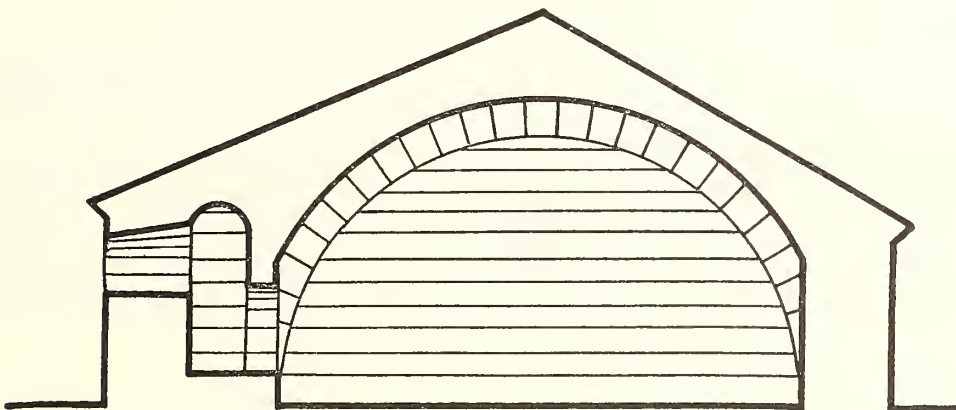


FIG. 11—KHAN DE ÇAL'AT EL-MUḌÎK, COUPE SUR LA GALERIE

sultan Selīm-Shāh—Dieu veuille faire durer sa souveraineté et son sultanat!—à la date du mois respecté de Shā'bān en l'année 957 (*août-septembre 1550*)¹⁴ de l'Hégire du Prophète, que Dieu bénisse!"

De l'autre côté de la route, en face du khan et évidemment en relation avec lui, s'élève une petite mosquée de type turc, d'aspect rustique, dont l'érection serait dûe au sultan Selīm II (974-982 H.—1566-1574 A.D.).¹⁵

2. ḲARA-MUGHURṬ¹⁶

Le caravansérail est isolé dans la campagne à proximité immédiate du village de Baghrās, au bord d'un ruisseau qui assurait son alimentation en eau; il est abandonné et depuis longtemps en ruines.¹⁷

L'édifice (*Fig. 4*) couvre une superficie nettement supérieure à celles de tous les autres khans de la route (il ne mesure pas moins de 161 x 122 m. hors œuvre) mais cette surface considérable est occupée presque entièrement par un enclos à ciel ouvert et la partie couverte de la construction ne comporte que trois salles (*Fig. 5*), accolées à la face est du mur d'enceinte: leur superficie totale n'excède pas 2.800 m.

La salle médiane constitue une grande halle (80 m. 60 x 20 m. 85): tout autour règne une banquette surélevée (*maṣṭaba*), large de 2 m. 30, au dessus de laquelle des cheminées sont ménagées dans les murs; entre ces cheminées, de petites niches s'ouvrent dans les piédroits, à 1 m. 45 du sol de la maṣṭaba. La faible épaisseur des parois par rapport à la largeur du vaisseau d'une part, l'absence de toute trace de points d'appui d'autre part ne permettent pas de restituer là un système de voûtes: plus probablement la salle était-elle couverte par un toit à charpente, reposant sur des poteaux de bois posés sur des dés de pierre: les forêts de l'Amanus, toutes proches, pouvaient fournir aisément le bois d'œuvre.

Les deux salles latérales sont placées en retour d'équerre par rapport à la salle médiane. Celle du sud a conservé deux des piliers de maçonnerie qui portaient la couverture;¹⁸ devant elle s'étendait une autre salle, aujourd'hui ruinée, dont les murs comportent des niches servant de placards. La salle nord englobe un petit corps de bâtiment couvert par trois travées de voûtes d'arêtes, accolé à l'angle nord-est du mur d'enceinte de l'édifice.

Ces deux salles me paraissent constituer chacune en soi un petit caravansérail—comprenant une écurie (bâtiment voûté au nord, salle à piliers au sud) et une pièce réservée aux voyageurs (local pourvu de placards devant la salle sud)—que l'on utilisait chaque fois que le nombre des hommes et des bêtes à héberger ne justifiait pas l'ouverture de la salle principale.

Le caravansérail avait deux portes, ménagées à peu près au milieu de chacun des grands

¹⁴ J. Otter, *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse*, Paris, 1748, I, p. 78, indique la date 959 H.—1551 A.D.

¹⁵ Telle est l'indication de l'*Itinéraire* par Bianchi, *op. cit.*, p. 24; Otter, *loc. cit.*, attribue au seul Sulṭān Sulaimān la fondation du village (cf. "Beilān," *Encycl. Islam*), de la mosquée et du caravansérail.

¹⁶ Croquis du site dans P. Jacquot, *Antioche centre de tourisme*, Antioche, 1931, II, p. 193.

¹⁷ Déjà complètement en ruines en 1848, d'après E. Smith (cité par K. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, Berlin, 1861, XVII, p. 1609).

¹⁸ La faible section de ces piliers s'oppose, là encore, à la restitution d'une voûte.



FIG. 8—QAL'AT EL-MUḌĪQ, LE KHAN, LE "LAC D'APAMÉE" ET LA PLAINE DU GHAB



FIG. 9—KHAN DE QAL'AT EL-MUḌĪQ, L'ENTRÉE VUE DE LA COUR



FIG. 13—KHAN D'ER-RESTEN, LE FOND DE LA COUR



FIG. 14—KHAN D'EN-NEBK, LA HALLE

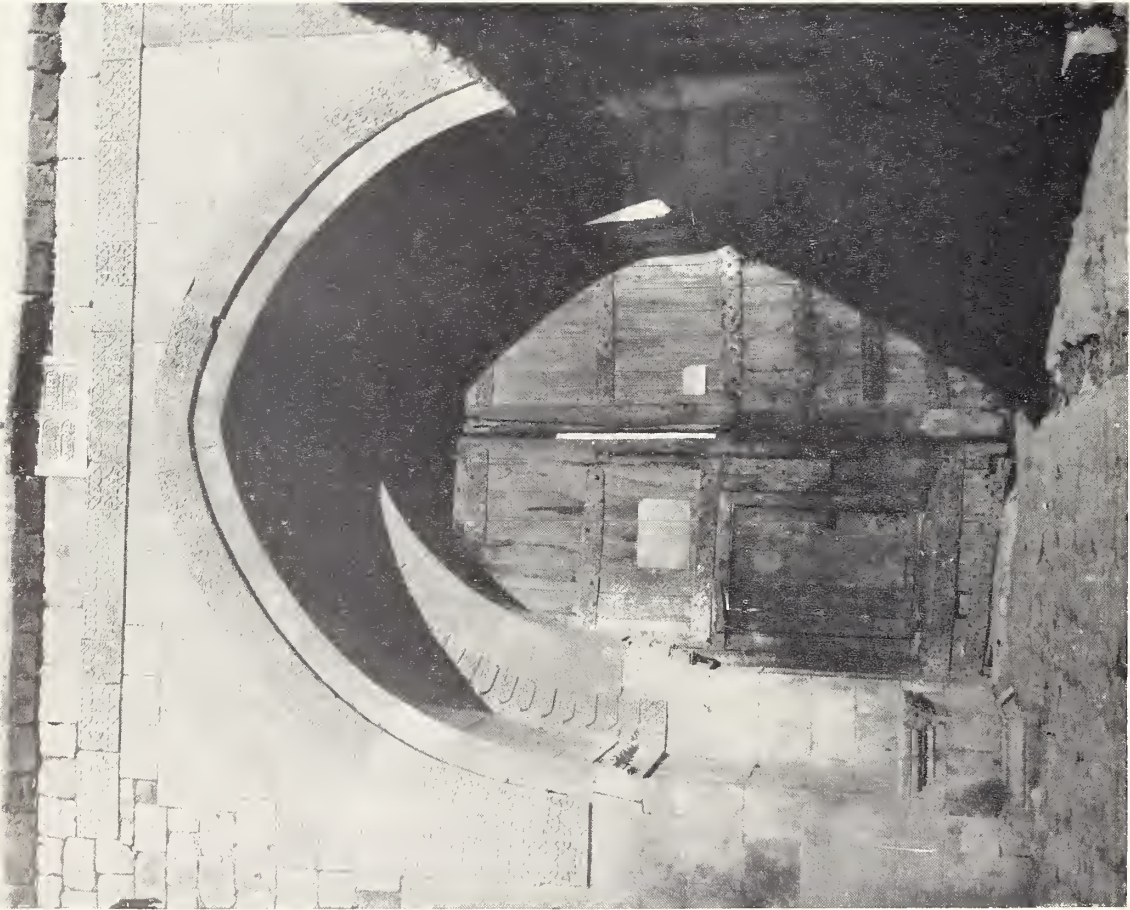


FIG. 12—KHAN DE D^USR ESH-SHUGHÜR, L'ENTRÉE

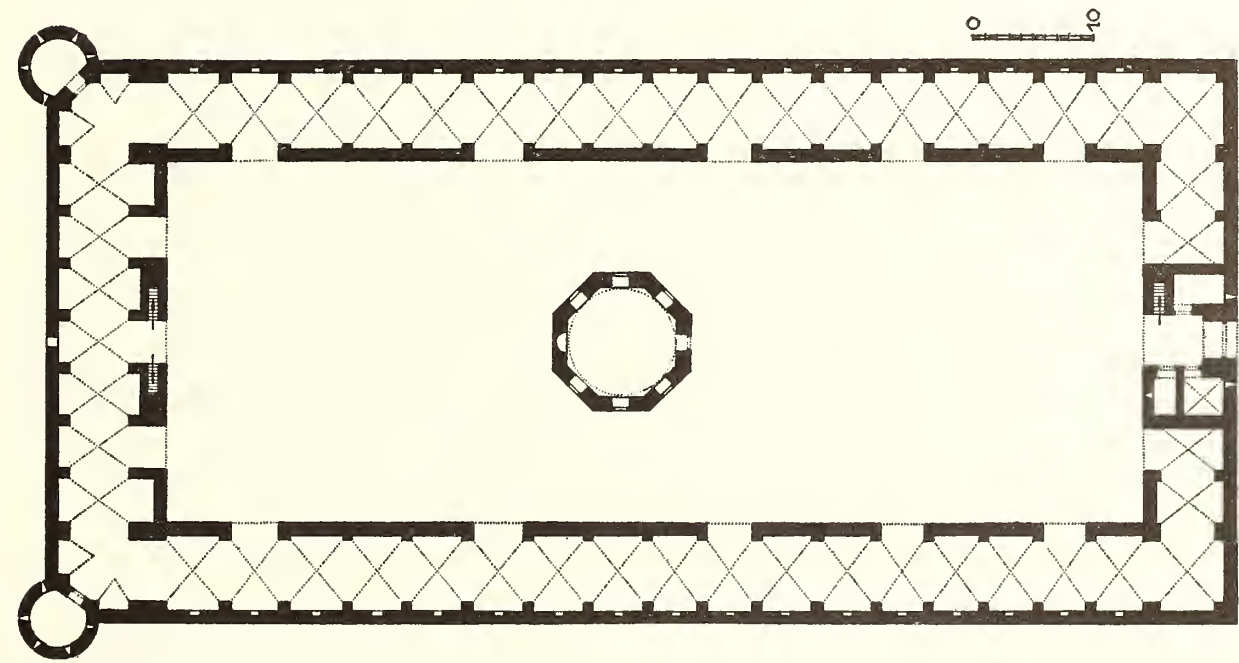


FIG. 15—Khan d'ER-RESTEN (N° 6)

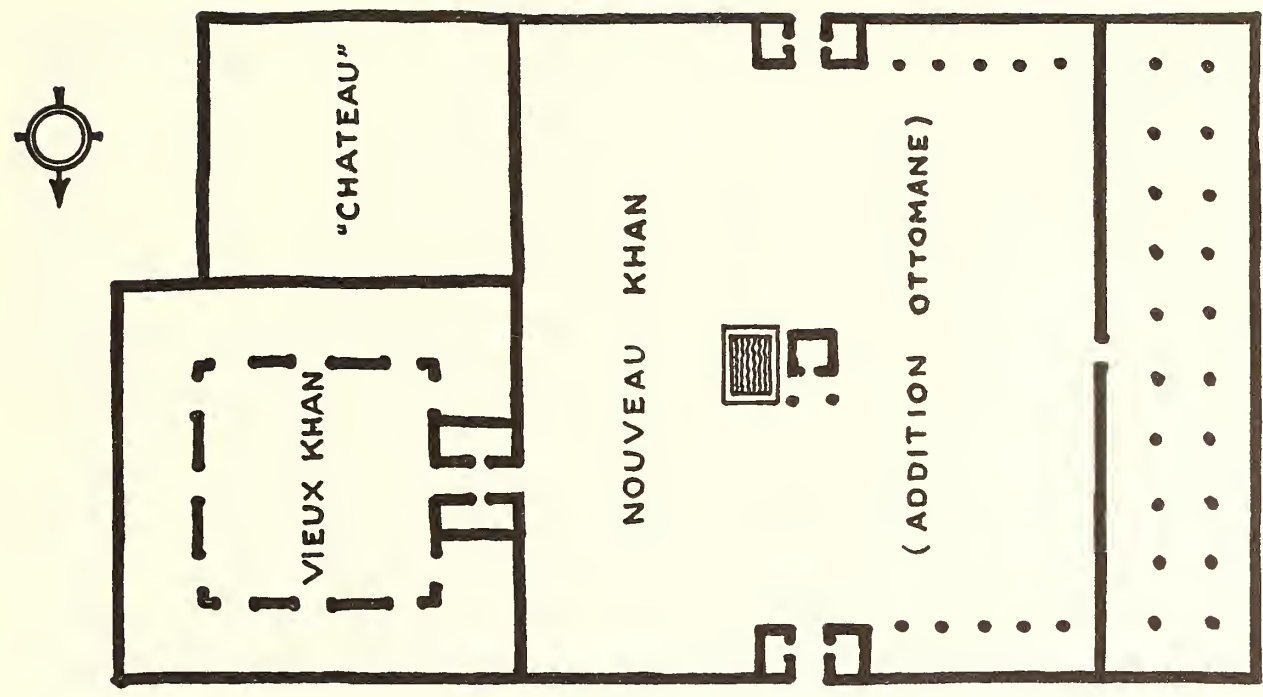


FIG. 16—Khan de HASYÉ, SCHÉMA DE RESTITUTION

côtés du mur d'enceinte: il semble qu'elles aient affecté un aspect monumental. Chacune d'elles est flanquée de deux petites pièces dont l'agencement se laisse aujourd'hui difficilement discerner.

Au centre de l'édifice se voient les restes informes d'un édicule ayant sans aucun doute servi de mosquée.¹⁹

Signalons encore qu'un portique couvert se développait peut-être d'une porte à l'autre, dans la partie occidentale de l'enclos. On remarque en effet, à l'angle nord de la cour, à 3 m. du sol, les vestiges de l'arc de tête d'une petite trompe qui constituait là un pan coupé; ailleurs des corbeaux sont encastrés dans la paroi. Sans doute recevaient-ils une extrémité des poutres d'une charpente, dont l'autre extrémité aurait reposé sur des poteaux de bois. Les broussailles et les herbes folles qui ont envahi l'enclos, en dérobant le sol aux regards, ne permettent pas d'observer si les points d'appui ont laissé des traces.

La construction est défectueuse et n'est pas étrangère à l'état de ruine de l'édifice: les maçonneries, faites des matériaux variés que livre le terrain avoisinant (en majorité "roche verte") tous impropres à la taille, manquent d'homogénéité, et comportent une part trop considérable d'un mortier inconsistant, d'une teneur en chaux très insuffisante.

Au témoignage d'un voyageur, le khan aurait été construit en 1048 H.—1638 A.D. par le sultan Murād IV;²⁰ rien ne permet aujourd'hui de confirmer cette attribution, mais la date proposée est vraisemblable.

3. EZ-ZANBAŪIYE

Le caravansérail a disparu.²¹

4. DJISR ESH-SHUGHŪR

Le caravansérail est situé dans l'agglomération: presque partout des maisons sont venues s'établir contre son mur d'enceinte, le rendant inaccessible sur presque tout son périmètre. En outre, une partie de la fondation a été aliénée et son aspect originel modifié (*Fig. 6*).

La partie antérieure de l'édifice est occupée par une grande cour à ciel ouvert, au fond de laquelle s'ouvre une halle voûtée, qui constitue l'élément essentiel du khan. Des piliers massifs reçoivent ses voûtes; des cheminées sont ménagées dans ses murs, à une hauteur au dessus du sol (1 m. 10) qui suppose l'existence primitive à cette place d'une maṣṭaba disparue sans laisser de traces. L'éclairage de la halle est assuré par des fenêtres hautes, ébrasées vers l'intérieur, distribuées à raison de une par travée.

La disposition originelle de la cour est conjecturale sur bien des points. Sur une de ses faces latérales s'ouvre l'entrée, flanquée de deux pièces voûtées; deux petites portes sont placées dans la face opposée, une troisième, de dimensions plus considérables, dans la face antérieure du mur d'enceinte. Au milieu de la cour, enfin, sont les vestiges d'un édicule où l'on reconnaît la mosquée du khan. Tel est l'état actuel des lieux.

La disposition primitive était beaucoup plus complexe. Dans la façade de la halle on

¹⁹ Cf. Nos. 4, 6, et 7.

²⁰ C. Niebuhr, *Reisen durch Syrien und Palästina nach Cypern*, Hamburg, 1837, III, p. 12.

²¹ Les pierres ont été récemment arrachées par les paysans des alentours en quête de matériaux de construction.

remarque une série d'arrachements de voûtes, à demi cachés par un tas de décombres qui dissimule en ce point la base de la maçonnerie. Il y a donc lieu de restituer là un corps de bâtiment voûté d'arêtes, accolé à la façade de la halle et d'une hauteur moindre que celle-ci. D'autre part, les cotes prises donnent au mur de la halle une épaisseur de 1 m. 50 au dessus des arrachements de voûtes et de 4 m. 50 à sa base: la différence entre ces deux chiffres indique la profondeur du bâtiment en question, profondeur trop minime (3 m.) pour convenir à des locaux d'habitation. L'hypothèse la plus plausible est de restituer là, par analogie avec d'autres caravanserais contemporains,²² les boutiques d'un petit souk destiné à fournir aux voyageurs les objets de première nécessité (*Fig. 7*). Devant lui s'étendait sans doute un portique couvert, pour protéger des intempéries les marchandises et les clients. Il est possible, sans plus, que ce portique se soit développé sur les quatre faces de la cour.

D'après la tradition locale, le caravanseraïl aurait également comporté un bain: on m'en a indiqué l'emplacement dans la partie antérieure de la cour contre la pièce qui flanque l'entrée (là où j'ai indiqué sur le plan l'amorce du portique périphérique) mais je n'en ai pas remarqué en ce point la moindre trace. Peut-être ce bain, dont l'existence n'a rien de paradoxal,²³ était-il situé en réalité dans les annexes du caravanseraïl, aujourd'hui disparus.

C'est sur ces annexes qu'ouvriraient les deux portes ménagées dans une des faces latérales du mur d'enceinte, l'une donnant accès à la cantine que mentionnent les voyageurs²⁴ et dont la population conserve encore le souvenir, l'autre donnant accès à l'hôpital, signalé par les anciens textes, dans lequel le bain aurait trouvé sa place logique.

L'édifice a été construit avec beaucoup de soin, en belle pierre d'appareil pour les parois, en moellons pour les voûtes. Le portail principal (*Fig. 12*) et l'entrée de la halle ont reçu un décor sculpté discret qui relève de l'ornementation des monuments ottomans d'Alep.

Au dessus du portail est encastrée une petite inscription arabe:

(1) *Djaddada hādḥā l-khān*
bi-l'amri l-'ālī ser-i barwābīn

(2) *al-ḥādjdju Ismā'il-Aghā Sherīf-zāde, sanat 1242.*

"Sur l'ordre auguste, le ḥādjdj Ismā'il-Aghā Sherīf-zāde, chef des portiers (de la Sublime Porte) a restauré ce khan en l'année 1242 (1826-27)."

La fondation elle-même est évidemment bien antérieure: un voyageur²⁵ l'attribue au grand vizir Köprülü Aḥmed-Paḥa, et il n'est aucune raison de suspecter ce témoignage, contemporain de l'évènement. Le khan aurait donc été construit entre rabī' 1 1071 (nov. 1660) et sha'bān 1087 (oct. 1676).

²² Caravanserais de Malatya (v. A. Gabriel, *Voyages archéologiques dans la Turquie Orientale*; sous presse), de Ma'arrat an-Nu'mān, d'el-Ḳṭaifé (infra, No. 9), de Yeni Khān (A. Gabriel, *Monuments turcs d'Anatolie*, Paris, 1931, II, p. 167).

²³ Un bain existe de même dans le grand caravanseraïl de Ma'arrat an-Nu'mān, comme dans celui de

Khān Shaykhūn; cf. infra No. 9.

²⁴ De la Roque, *Voyage de Syrie*, Paris, 1722, I, p. 245: "Tous les voyageurs sont logés et bien nourris dans ce khan et un certain nombre de pauvres ou d'invalides le sont dans l'hôpital."

²⁵ Bianchi, *op. cit.*, p. 27; De la Roque, *loc. cit.*

5. ẸAL'AT EL-MUĐİK

Le village est groupé sur une colline, à l'abri des murailles de la citadelle antique; le khan, lui, est situé en contre-bas, au bord de la plaine marécageuse du Ghāb, non loin de la grosse source dont le bassin portait autrefois le nom de "lac d'Apamée" (*Fig. 8*); il est dans un état de conservation parfait.

C'est un carré de 40 m. de côté (*Fig. 10*) dont le centre est occupé par une cour. Tout autour règne une galerie périphérique (*Fig. 23*), accolée au mur d'enceinte, couverte par un berceau de brique en plein cintre, porté par des doubleaux de pierre, également en plein cintre.²⁶ Dans le mur d'enceinte sont ménagées des cheminées; dans le mur opposé, entre les grandes baies en arc surbaissé qui donnent accès de la cour à la galerie, s'ouvrent des petits réduits surélevés, voûtés, éclairés chacun par une fenêtre à ébrasement; le plan et la coupe (*Fig. 11*) en feront comprendre l'agencement. Ils correspondent, avec un souci plus grand du confort, à la "maṣṭaba" sur laquelle s'installent d'ordinaire les voyageurs: chacun d'eux offre assez de place pour que deux hommes puissent y coucher à l'aise.

Cette galerie est interrompue dans l'axe de la façade par l'entrée, que flanquent, comme toujours, deux pièces voûtées. Au centre de la cour est une citerne souterraine et dans un de ses angles un petit local pourvu de nombreuses fenêtres, qui semble avoir servi de latrines.²⁷

La mosquée, par exception, n'est pas comprise dans l'enceinte du caravansérail: on l'a établie à une centaine de mètres de là, sur la pente de la colline de Ẹal'at el-Muđik, de telle sorte qu'elle pût servir non seulement aux caravanes mais aussi à la population du village; c'est également dans ce but qu'on lui a donné des dimensions plus considérables qu'à l'ordinaire.²⁸

La date de la construction, que rien n'indique précisément, doit être cherchée dans les premiers temps de la domination ottomane en Syrie (fin seizième—début dix-septième siècle) si l'on en juge d'après la perfection des techniques et l'emploi systématique de formules appartenant à l'architecture de Constantinople: les arcs en plein cintre, les voûtes en brique, enfin—détail éminemment significatif—les toits de tuiles creuses qui couvrent tout le monument (*Fig. 9*, à droite).

6. ER-RESTEN

Le caravansérail est situé au pied de l'escarpement qui porte le village, au bord même du fleuve (*Fig. 17*), tout contre le pont auquel la localité doit son importance historique; il était jusqu'à ces dernières années dans un excellent état de conservation.²⁹

Le plan (*Fig. 15*) se ramène au type des khans à cour centrale et galerie périphérique,

²⁶ Une restauration a modifié l'aspect de la galerie au fond de la cour (voûtes d'arêtes sur piliers et petites chambres).

²⁷ Noter la ventilation énergique du local et l'absence de lucarnes dans les six niches de la galerie qui en sont voisines.

²⁸ Croquis dans M. van Berchem, *Voyage en Syrie*,

Le Caire, 1914, I, fasc. 2, p. 194, Fig. 119.

²⁹ Toute l'aile orientale en a été récemment démolie par le Service des Travaux Publics et ses matériaux ont été utilisés pour la construction d'un poste de gendarmerie: émouvant témoignage de l'intérêt et du respect que nos ingénieurs modernes attachent à l'œuvre et aux efforts de leurs devanciers.

mais les proportions habituelles ont été ici modifiées en raison de la disposition des lieux: pour faire cadrer l'édifice avec l'étroite bande de terrain resserrée entre la rive du fleuve et l'escarpement, le constructeur a dû lui donner l'aspect d'un rectangle très allongé. Ce dispositif anormal n'a d'ailleurs eu aucun effet sur l'agencement des locaux, qui demeure conforme à la tradition des caravanserais aiyūbides et mamlūks: entrée droite avec logement du personnel et escalier d'accès aux terrasses, galerie voûtée d'arêtes à contreforts intérieurs, ouvrant sur la cour par de larges baies en arc brisé; il n'est pas jusqu'aux murs de basalte ornés de combinaisons ornementales en pierre calcaire (*Fig. 13*) dont on ne retrouve des exemples dans les édifices élevés dans la région aux siècles antérieurs.³⁰ L'époque ottomane se traduit cependant par un certain nombre d'innovations, qui s'expliquent toutes par le souci de procurer aux usagers plus de confort et de réaliser plus pleinement le programme: mosquée centrale (en calcaire avec coupole de brique sur glacis (*Fig. 19*), surélevée au dessus du terrain avoisinant pour que le sol n'en soit pas souillé par le passage des animaux), cheminées de la galerie (*Fig. 22*), second escalier d'accès aux terrasses ménagé au fond de la cour (sa présence se justifie par la longueur inusitée de la bâtisse), latrines dans deux tours d'angle énergiquement ventilées. Signalons encore qu'un auvent en charpente régnait jadis le long de la face de la cour sur laquelle s'ouvre l'entrée³¹ et que des gouttières en forme de botte évacuent des terrasses les eaux pluviales.

Je n'ai pu découvrir aucun document fixant la date de construction de ce caravansérail: on restera dans les limites de la vraisemblance en l'attribuant à la fin du seizième siècle ou au début du dix-septième siècle.

7. HASYÉ

Le khan a disparu sans laisser de vestiges explicites, mais une description ancienne permet d'en reconnaître l'agencement. Un voyageur du dix-septième siècle³² a vu là un "grand Han en pierre de taille, sous la porte duquel se tient le marché, comme à celui de Cteïfa.³³ Au long d'un de ses côtés, à savoir celui qui est opposé au couchant, il règne un relais couvert de plusieurs voûtes en arcades pour loger les personnes; il en est de même dans la moitié des deux côtés opposés au nord et au levant.³⁴ Les deux autres demi-côtés sont occupés de portes, de boutiques et de caves. Au milieu du quatrième côté, qui est opposé au levant, est une porte, par où l'on entre dans une cour, où sont encore plusieurs appartements, relevés de terre de deux ou trois pieds, pour que les hommes soient séparés d'avec les bêtes, et chacun a sa cheminée, et il y en a ainsi tout autour, derrière les arcades de la première cour, enfin il est presque comme celui de Cteïfa, mais pas si beau. Dans le milieu de la cour, il y a une petite Mosquée carrée, couverte d'un dôme revêtu de chaux, et tout proche il y a un petit abreuvoir

³⁰ Cf. J. Sauvaget, "L'Architecture musulmane en Syrie," *Rev. Arts Asiatiques*, 1934, p. 28.

³¹ Son existence est attestée par des consoles demeurées en place dans les parois (*Fig. 18*).

³² J. Thévenot, *Suite du voyage de Mr. de Th. au*

Levant (3^e édition), Amsterdam, 1727, pp. 85-87.

³³ C'est à dire que les boutiques d'un petit souk étaient ménagées dans le couloir d'entrée (cf. No. 9).

³⁴ Lire: "au sud."

que trois évieres remplissent continuellement d'une belle eau qui court assez proche de ce Han. De la seconde cour l'on entre en un lieu que l'on dit être le château."

De toute cette ordonnance on ne voit plus aujourd'hui que trois éléments demeurés sur place:

1°—La mosquée, quelque peu remaniée pour l'usage de la modeste bourgade de Ḥasyé,³⁵ et le bassin qui s'étend devant elle (*Fig. 24*).

2°—Une porte d'un type inusité dans les caravansérails et qu'une inscription permet d'identifier à celle du "château":

(1) 'Amara bi-'imārat *hadh*[*ihi*] *al-ḵ*[*al'a*] . . . [*as-sult*]ān Sulaimān

(2) *Khān ibn as-sul*[*tān Salīm-Shāh*] . . . [*sanat*] . . . *īn wa tis'imī'a*.

"[Le sult]an Sulaimān-*Khān*, fils du sul[tan Salīm-*Shāh*] . . . a ordonné de restaurer ce[tte] fo[rteresse] . . . [en l'année] 9 . . ." (entre 926 et 974 H.—1520 à 1566 A.D.).

3°—Un grand arc brisé analogue à ceux qui constituent d'ordinaire les baies donnant accès à la galerie des caravansérails syriens: son appareillage caractéristique conduit à l'attribuer au sixième siècle ou au septième siècle H., soit au douzième siècle ou au treizième siècle.

La façon dont ces divers vestiges se distribuent les uns par rapport aux autres éclaire pleinement la description que nous avons citée plus haut. On est ainsi amené à restituer là un ensemble architectural (*Fig. 16*) groupant trois édifices distincts:

a) Un khan antérieur à l'époque ottomane, dont il ne reste plus qu'une baie.

b) Un fortin (porte à inscription) où résidait, avec un agha dont l'autorité s'étendait jusqu'à Palmyre, une petite garnison chargée de protéger la route et les pèlerins contre les incursions des nomades.³⁶

c) Un second khan, construit à l'époque ottomane, devant la façade du premier, de manière à offrir aux voyageurs un abri plus vaste, en rapport avec l'importance plus grande du trafic caravanier; d'autres khans syriens ont été l'objet d'un semblable accommodement.³⁷

³⁵ Le bâtiment primitif semble n'avoir comporté qu'une salle de prière à coupole précédée d'une estrade voûtée ouverte sur trois côtés.

³⁶ La région, largement ouverte sur la Palmyrène est propice aux coups de main des Nomades (cf. supra Note 10). De même à quelques kilomètres de là, à el-Breydj, un "fortin" (ancien khan) était occupé, lors du passage du *ḥadjdj* par les soldats de la garnison de Damas "afin qu'ils soient à portée de protéger et de défendre les pèlerins" (Bianchi, *op. cit.*, p. 30, où "Pe-rendj" est à corriger en Buraydj).

³⁷ *Khān Shaykhūn* (Van Berchem, *op. cit.*, p. 206, note 4);—*Khān Ṭumān* (K. A. C. Creswell, "Two Khans at Khan Ṭuman," *Syria*, 1923, pp. 134 et suiv.). Le premier, construit à l'époque aiyūbide (fin douzième s. ou début du treizième s.), a été restauré au quatorzième s.

par l'émir *Shaykhūn*, puis agrandi à l'époque ottomane par l'adjonction d'une seconde cour pourvue d'un bain (à une date inconnue: par *Sinān Paṣha*, à la fin du seizième s. d'après U. Seetzen, *Reisen durch Syrien*, Berlin, 1854-59, I, p. 26) par "*Arsad Paṣha*" au milieu du dix-huitième s. au dire de F. Walpole, *Ansaryii*, Londres, 1851, I, p. 190; une inscription métrique turque de 1241 H.—1815-16 A.D., qui surmonte le portail, ne fait que commémorer une restauration; cf. Thévenot, *op. cit.*, p. 96). Le second, construit à la fin du douzième s., a été doublé en 883 H.—1478 A.D. (inscription inédite) par un second caravansérail qui a fait l'objet d'importantes restaurations de la part d'*Ebshīr Muṣṭafā Paṣha*, vali d'Alep, en 1062 H.—1652 A.D. (Creswell, *op. cit.*, p. 137, où il n'est pas fait état des travaux du temps de *Ḳāyt-bāy*, et K. al-*Ghazzī*, *Nahr adh-Dhahab*, Alep, 1342 H., II, p. 498).



FIG. 17—KHAN D'ER-RESTEN, VUE GÉNÉRALE



FIG. 18—KHAN D'ER-RESTEN, L'ENTRÉE VUE DE LA COUR



FIG. 19—KHAN D'ER-RESTEN, LA MOSQUÉE



FIG. 20—KHAN D'EN-NEBK, LA MOSQUÉE



FIG. 21—KHAN D'EN-NEBK, L'ENTRÉE DE LA HALLE



FIG. 22—KHAN D'ER-RESTEN,
UNE CHEMINÉE

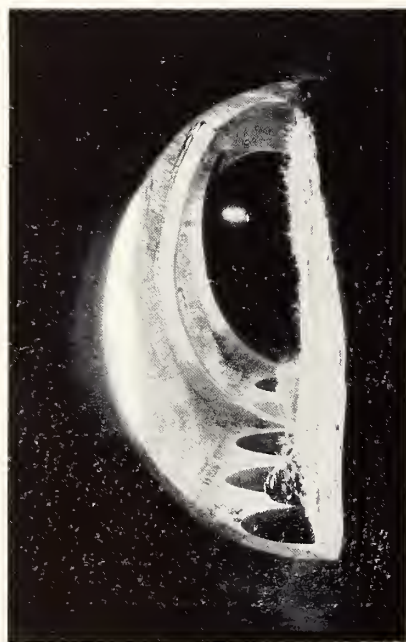


FIG. 23—KHAN DE KAL'AT EL-MUḌİK, LA GALERIE



FIG. 24—KHAN DE HASVÉ, LA MOSQUÉE



FIG. 28—KHAN D'EL-KTAIFÉ, LA COUR



FIG. 29—KHAN D'EL-KTAIFÉ, LA COUR VUE DES TERRASSES



FIG. 30—LA MOSQUÉE



FIG. 31—LA COUR VUE DE L'ENTRÉE



FIG. 32—CHEMINÉES DE LA CUISINE



FIG. 33—LE HAMMAM

La mosquée marque sans aucun doute le centre de ce second caravansérail, dont il serait naturellement vain de vouloir restituer l'aspect avec quelque précision.

8. EN-NEBK

Le khan, situé dans le village, est occupé par des écuries militaires. Il se compose essentiellement (*Fig. 27*) d'une grande halle voûtée (*Fig. 14*), pourvue de maṣṭabas et de cheminées, devant laquelle s'étend une cour. Le parti est en somme le même que celui qui a été adopté à Djisir esh-Shughūr.

On notera cependant que la mosquée a été rejetée à une des extrémités de la cour au lieu d'en occuper le centre. Elle a aussi reçu un caractère monumental: une salle carrée, couverte par une coupole, est flanquée de deux petites pièces et d'un minaret, et précédée d'un portique à coupoles (*Fig. 20*). C'est là un des types élémentaires de la mosquée turque, fréquent à Constantinople,³⁸ mais assez surprenant dans un caravansérail. Son adoption s'explique, comme dans les cas analogues,³⁹ par le fait que l'édifice servait à la fois d'oratoire aux voyageurs et de mosquée à la population du village: c'est donc, en fait, à proprement parler un djāmi' de type urbain, pourvu d'un minbar. De même, le bâtiment en ruines qui s'étendait entre la mosquée et l'angle sud-ouest du mur d'enceinte (hammam?).

D'autre part, la nécessité de laisser libre l'accès de la mosquée et de ce bâtiment, même lorsque le khan proprement dit était fermé, a entraîné une localisation anormale des deux pièces servant au logement du personnel et à la garde de la porte: elles ne flanquent pas, comme à l'ordinaire, l'entrée même du caravansérail, mais bien celle de la halle (*Fig. 21*). L'état actuel des lieux ne permet pas de discerner si des portiques se développaient le long des murs latéraux de la cour.

D'après un renseignement ancien digne de foi, le khan ne serait pas antérieur au milieu du dix-septième siècle.⁴⁰

9. EL-ḲṬAIFÉ

Le khan est situé sur la lisière nord du village.

C'est une immense construction (*Fig. 25*) aujourd'hui partiellement ruinée, groupant divers bâtiments de fonctions très distinctes qui vont être décrits successivement.

L'ensemble, rectangulaire, était enveloppé par un léger mur d'enceinte couronné de merlons décoratifs qui a disparu presque entièrement. Chacune de ses grandes faces était percée d'un portail; deux portes plus petites s'ouvraient dans les petites faces. La seule porte qui subsiste aujourd'hui (A), d'aspect très simple, était l'entrée principale. Elle donne accès à un passage voûté (B) le long duquel se développent deux rangées de boutiques. De part et d'autre de l'entrée elle-même se trouvent un hammam (C), réduit aux organes strictement

³⁸ A. Gabriel, "Les Mosquées de Constantinople," *Syria*, 1926, p. 362 (type A).

³⁹ Cf. No. 9 et le grand khan de Sa'sa' sur la route de Damas au pont de Banāt Ya'kūb.

⁴⁰ Thévenot, *op. cit.*, p. 88, l'a vu en construction lors de son passage en 1664. Seetzen, *op. cit.*, I, p. 26, l'attribue à Sinān Paṣhā, ce qui ne saurait se concilier avec l'indication précédente.

indispensables (*Fig. 33*), et un four (D). Plus loin, des ruines informes (E) marquent l'emplacement d'une longue salle voûtée qu'occupait un café.

Le couloir débouche dans une vaste cour à ciel ouvert (F), carrée, autrefois pourvue d'une maṣṭaba à la base du mur d'enceinte:⁴¹ elle donne accès à la mosquée (G), du même type que celle du khan d'en-Nebk (*Fig. 30*), et au caravansérail proprement dit (H).

Celui-ci forme un rectangle de 75 m. x 65 m., aux murs massifs raidis par des contreforts. Au centre s'étend une cour soigneusement dallée, avec un grand bassin; tout autour règne un étroit portique voûté, qui donne accès à une galerie périphérique (*Figs. 28 et 29*). Cette galerie, large et bien éclairée grâce aux grandes baies qui y donnent accès, est pourvue d'une large maṣṭaba divisée par les piliers qui reçoivent la voûte en compartiments qui ont chacun sa cheminée. Dans le mur de la galerie opposé à la maṣṭaba sont encastrés, à 0 m. 90 du sol, des anneaux de pierre qui servaient à attacher les montures.

Cette galerie ne se développe pas sur tout le périmètre du caravansérail: elle s'interrompt suivant les deux axes de la construction. Au milieu de la face ouest s'ouvre le couloir d'entrée, flanqué comme à l'ordinaire de pièces voûtées et de l'escalier d'accès aux terrasses. Au milieu de la face nord, un couloir ménagé entre deux pièces donne accès à un corps de bâtiment (K), en saillie sur le mur d'enceinte, qui constitue un petit appartement séparé (une pièce et deux iwans ouvrant sur une courette). Sur la face est, formant aussi un avant corps, sont les latrines (L). Celles-ci ne sont pas la partie la moins soignée de la construction: des fenêtres hautes et des regards percés dans la voûte leur assurent une bonne aération, cependant qu'une rigole placée à la base du mur déverse continuellement de l'eau dans les deux cuves, servant d'urinoir, qui occupent la paroi antérieure et, au moyen de saignées pratiquées à l'intérieur des parois des logettes, dans les vasques à ablutions et les conduits d'évacuation (*Fig. 26*). Sur la face sud, enfin, un couloir sur lequel ouvrent quatre pièces donne accès à la cuisine (M) où se préparait la nourriture que l'on distribuait gratuitement aux voyageurs.⁴²

Tout cet ensemble est abondamment approvisionné en eau: captée à une grande distance, elle est amenée par une canalisation souterraine qui la distribue au bain, au bassin à ablutions de la mosquée, au bassin de la cour, à la cuisine, et aux latrines. Les eaux usées sont évacuées par la façade postérieure du caravansérail; il semble qu'elles aient irrigué là autrefois un jardin réservé au khan (N), avant de se perdre dans les cultures maraîchères des villageois.

On notera le caractère monumental de cette composition en même temps que l'ingénieuse distribution des annexes qui groupe, en dehors du khan proprement dit, comme une ville en miniature (mosquée, souk, bain, café) où les pèlerins, citadins en voyage, trouvaient dans le cadre de leur vie habituelle un délassement aux fatigues de la route.

⁴¹ La restitution de toute cette partie de l'édifice, aujourd'hui en ruines, a été faite d'après les renseignements, concordants et également précis, que nous ont fourni Thévenot, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 85-87, et la population du village.

⁴² [J. Green], *Journey from Aleppo to Damascus*, Londres, 1736, p. 37: "In this khan travellers are furnished gratis with meat for themselves, and provender for their cattle, at the founder's charge."

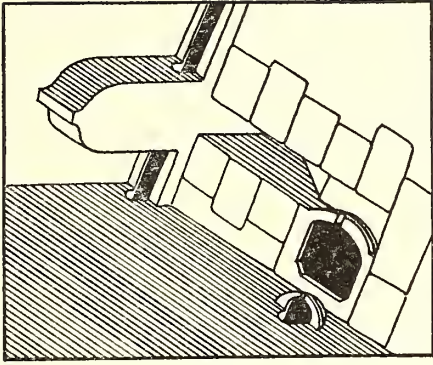


FIG. 26—KHAN D'EL-K̄TAIFÉ, DÉTAIL DES LATRINES

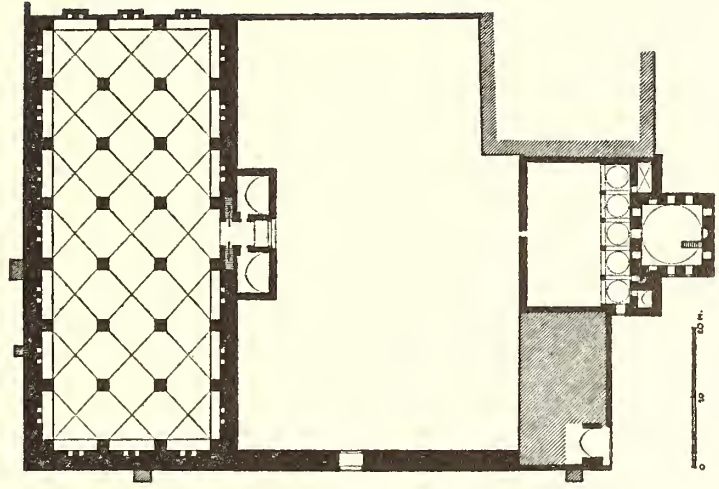


FIG. 27—KHAN D'EN-NEBK (N° 8)

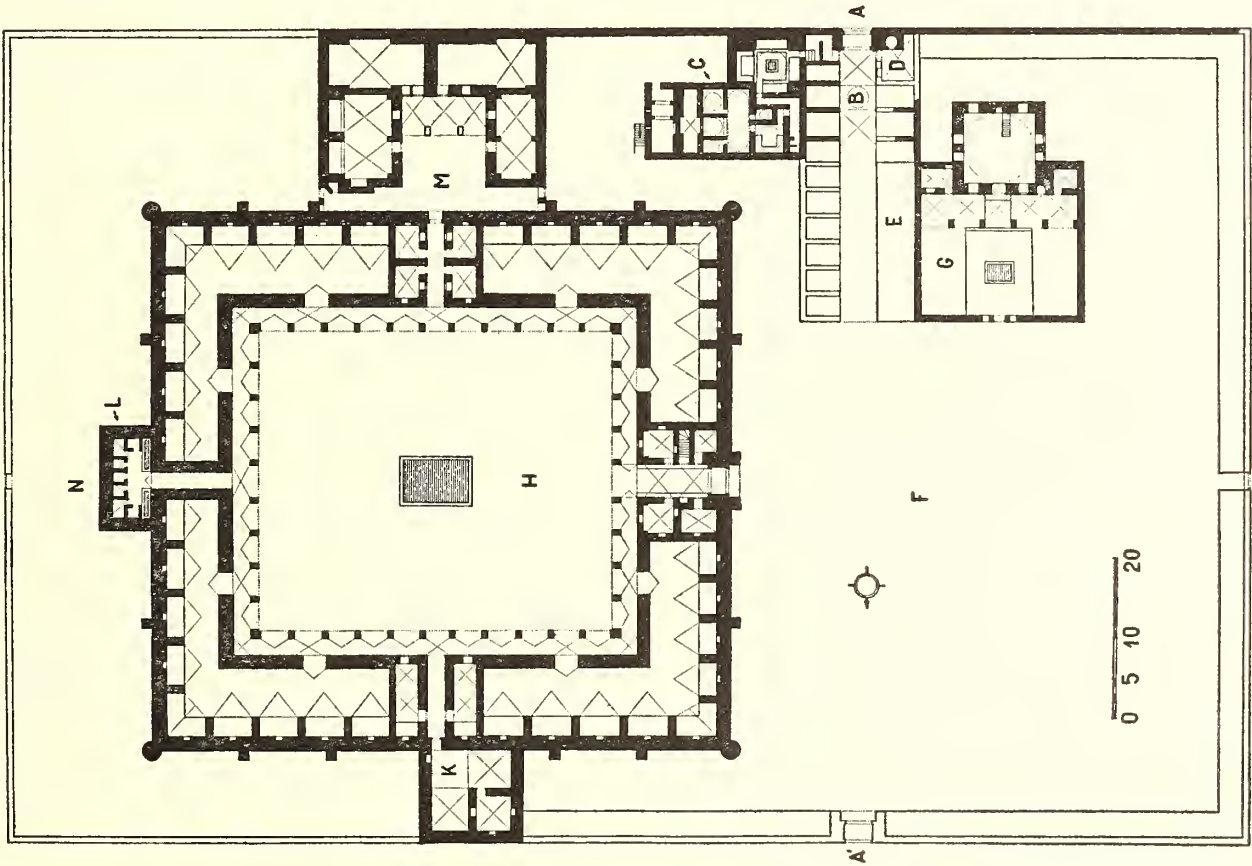


FIG. 25—KHAN D'EL-K̄TAIFÉ (N° 9)

La construction est extrêmement soignée (pierre d'appareil pour les murs, blocage de moellons pour les voûtes) aussi le khan proprement dit est-il dans un état de conservation parfait: il n'a perdu que la partie du conduit des cheminées qui s'élevait au-dessus des terrasses.

Aucune inscription n'indique la date de la fondation, mais divers témoignages indépendants les uns des autres⁴³ sont unanimes à attribuer ce khan au fameux **Ḳodja Sinān Pasha**, le conquérant du Yemen;⁴⁴ on peut donc le considérer comme contemporain de la mosquée (achevée en 1000 H.—1591 A.D.) bâtie par lui à Damas lorsqu'il était gouverneur de cette ville.⁴⁵

De cette étude se dégagent deux faits principaux.

En premier lieu, le caractère profondément turc de ces édifices. Sur les huit caravansérails que nous avons décrits, cinq (Nos. 1, 2, 4, 7, et 8) se composent essentiellement d'une grande halle couverte, accolée ou non à une cour; c'est là par excellence la formule, totalement étrangère à la Syrie, qu'impose au khan turc la rigueur de l'hiver sur les hauts plateaux de l'Anatolie, et c'est dans les caravansérails seldjoukides de l'Asie Mineure qu'il faut en chercher le prototype.⁴⁶ Là où la disposition traditionnelle du khan syrien à galerie périphérique a été retenue (Nos. 5 et 6), l'ampleur de la composition, et le souci du confort qui a dicté l'aménagement font que ces œuvres n'ont pour ainsi dire plus rien de commun avec les productions des siècles antérieurs.⁴⁷ Parfois même nous trouvons une combinaison des deux formules (No. 9). Enfin, partout les détails de la construction évoquent les monuments ottomans: les arcs surbaissés, en carène ou en plein cintre, les coupoles sur pendentifs, les salles couvertes par des charpentes,⁴⁸ les toits de tuiles, le type des mosquées, les cheminées, la mouluration sont autant de témoins de cet "art d'empire" dont le domaine s'étend, à la suite de la conquête ottomane, de Baghdād à Bude et à Tunis.⁴⁹

C'est aussi, et on ne saurait trop le souligner, la souplesse et la vitalité de cette architecture. Là où les époques antérieures nous offraient des édifices robustes et simples sans doute, mais rudimentaires et reproduisant inlassablement le facies monotone d'une œuvre de série, l'école ottomane nous offre des compositions savantes, élaborées, jamais semblables entre elles et s'adaptant autant que possible aux conditions locales. Loin d'être, comme les

⁴³ Bianchi, *op. cit.*, p. 31; Green, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-37; Seetzen, *op. cit.*, I, p. 26; A. von Kremer, *Mittelsyrien und Damascus*, Vienne, 1853, p. 192; Muḥammad Kibrīt, *Rihla*, Le Caire, 1923, p. 118.

⁴⁴ Sur ce personnage, v. Fr. Babinger, *Encycl. Islam*, s.v.

⁴⁵ C. Watzinger und K. Wulzinger, *Damaskus, die islamische Stadt*, Berlin, 1924, p. 78; J. Sauvaget, *Monuments de Damas*, Beyrouth, 1932, No. 79.

⁴⁶ Cf. Gabriel, *Monuments turcs d'Anatolie*, I, pp. 93 et suiv.; II, pp. 68 et 167; G. de Jerphanion, *Mélanges d'Archéologie anatolienne*, Beyrouth, 1928, pp. 56 et suiv.

et 92 et suiv.; Halil Edhem, "Einige islamische Denkmäler Kleinasien," *Studien zur Kunst des Ostens*; J. Strzygowski zum sechzigsten Geburtstage, Vienne, 1923, pp. 244 et suiv.; F. W. K. Müller, *Die Karawanseraï im vorderen Orient*, Vienne, 1923, pp. 30 et suiv.

⁴⁷ Le khan syrien n'a pas encore fait l'objet d'études poussées; je ne peux que renvoyer sur cette question à mon travail *Routes et monuments du Barid mamelouk dans les provinces syriennes* (en préparation).

⁴⁸ Cf. Gabriel, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 167 et la n. 3.

⁴⁹ Cf. Sauvaget, "Architecture musulmane en Syrie," p. 48.

khans aiyūbides et mamlūks, des constructions strictement utilitaires, les caravansérails ottomans du ḥadīdj témoignent toujours d'une recherche architecturale, et certains, comme le khan d'el-Ḳṭaifé, peuvent même être classées à bon droit parmi les œuvres maîtresses de l'école turque.

Ce sont-là croyons nous, autant de témoignages de la grandeur d'un empire qu'on a trop longtemps jugé d'après le temps de sa décadence et du point de vue, fatalement dépourvu de sérénité, des communautés minoritaires.

BEHZĀD. LE GULISTĀN ROTHSCHILD* PAR EUSTACHE DE LOREY

EN QUITTANT LES QUATRE MINIATURES DU *BUSTĀN* DU CAIRE, NOUS AVONS QUITTÉ, AU SUJET des œuvres de Behzād, ce qui se rapproche le plus de la certitude. Nous sommes entrés dans la voie périlleuse des conjectures, des vraisemblances et, peut-être, des énigmes. La double miniature du Musée du Gulistān à Téhéran¹ nous a semblé presque sûrement de l'école de Behzād et l'une de ses parties, presque sûrement de la main de Behzād. A défaut de signature et de preuves matérielles, une certaine identité de style, l'évidente similitude de certains détails, la qualité même de l'art nous ont paru des raisons valables aussi dignes de considération qu'une calligraphie sans doute. Cela nous fait donc un document de plus pour avancer dans l'étude behzādienne.

Les œuvres que nous avons examinées jusqu'ici sont connues. Celles que nous allons entreprendre de regarder ensemble aujourd'hui sont inédites. Elles n'ont fait l'objet d'aucune publication, d'aucune analyse critique, d'aucun effort d'identification. Nous verrons pourtant qu'elles constituent une des pièces les plus importantes du problème le plus important de la peinture persane, le problème de Behzād.

Le seul archéologue qui, à ma connaissance, ait fait allusion à ces miniatures est M. Gaston Wiet qui écrit dans sa notice sur le *Bustān* du Caire: "Un manuscrit du *Gulistān*, de la collection Maurice de Rothschild, doit être signalé à côté du *Bustān* du Caire: daté de 891-1486, calligraphié par Sultān 'Alī Mashhadī, il renferme trois miniatures de Behzād, dont une datée. Le colophon porte la mention suivante: Le livre a été terminé, avec l'aide du Roi Généreux, par la main de l'esclave pécheur, Sultān 'Alī al-Kātib,—que Dieu pardonne son péché!—dans le mois magnifié de muḥarram de l'année 891 de l'hégirè (Janvier, 1486). Une première miniature représente une scène rustique; une seconde montre une séance de lutte. La troisième, en bas de laquelle on lit '*amal al-'abd Behzād* = œuvre de l'esclave Behzād,' nous procure la correction d'un élève dans une école. Une inscription, en lettres blanches sur fond bleu, encadre la salle du fond et se termine ainsi: 'En l'année 891.'"²

Il y a plusieurs inexactitudes dans ces rapides remarques. Les inscriptions marginales qu'on peut relever sur les miniatures de ce manuscrit sont, en effet, les suivantes: dans la

* Les pages qui suivent sont la publication de conférences prononcées à l'École du Louvre pendant le mois de Décembre, 1935, et au Metropolitan Museum en Mars, 1936. Depuis cette date, M. Ivan Stchoukine a consacré *Gulistān* de la collection du baron Maurice de Rothschild un intéressant article paru dans la *Revue des Arts asiatiques*, X, numéro II, Juin, 1936. Les conclusions auxquelles il aboutit sont un peu différentes des nôtres. M. Stchoukine reconnaît que dans la miniature des *Deux lutteurs*, l'exécution et les types des personnages, la facture et la palette relèvent de l'art de Behzād, mais que la composition, de moindre intérêt, ne permet

pas de lui attribuer cette œuvre. Par contre M. Stchoukine estime que la miniature figurant *Sa'dī et l'adolescent de Kāshghar* est, par sa composition, le charme vivant des personnages digne de l'art behzādien.

On trouvera, longuement développés dans les pages suivantes, les arguments de M. Stchoukine dont l'examen s'était déjà imposé à nous-même. Ils ne nous semblent pas de nature à modifier nos conclusions.

¹ L. Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson, and B. Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting*, London, 1933, Pl. LXVII.

² G. Wiet, *L'Exposition persane de 1931*, Le Caire, 1933, p. 79 en note.

marge de gauche de la première miniature, folio 21 recto, *kār ustād Behzād*, œuvre du maître Behzād; dans la marge de gauche de la seconde miniature, folio 31 verso, *kār ustād ‘Abd al-Hayy*, œuvre du maître ‘Abd al-Hayy; dans la marge de droite de la troisième miniature, folio 55 recto, *kār ustād Behzād*, et dans la marge du bas, *‘amal ustād Behzād*. Les trois premières inscriptions sont en persan, d’une calligraphie assez mauvaise et dépourvue de points diacritiques. La quatrième, en arabe et d’une belle calligraphie pourvue de points diacritiques.

Que faut-il retenir, au moins provisoirement, de ces inscriptions? C’est d’abord que nous nous trouvons en présence, non pas de trois, mais de deux miniatures attribuées à Behzād. L’une d’elles nous est présentée comme étant l’œuvre du peintre ‘Abd al-Hayy. C’est, d’autre part, qu’aucune de ces signatures n’a un caractère quelconque d’authenticité. Ni les unes, ni les autres ne sont de la main du peintre qui a composé les miniatures. Elles ne sont pas davantage de la main du calligraphe ni de l’enlumineur. Elles sont très probablement postérieures à la composition. Enfin, en ce qui concerne Behzād, elles ne répondent pas à la formule que les miniatures du Caire ont fait considérer—un peu rapidement peut-être—comme traditionnelle. Dans la troisième miniature, en bas de laquelle, dit M. Wiet, on lit “œuvre de l’esclave Bihzād,” on ne trouve aucune signature analogue. La seule signature, en arabe, se trouve, en effet dans la marge du bas de la page, sous la miniature et est (nous l’avons déjà dit) ainsi rédigée: *‘amal ustād Behzād*, œuvre du Maître Behzād. Le qualificatif de modestie, *al-‘abd*, manque donc.

Dans ces conditions, quelles indications nous donne l’examen matériel de ce manuscrit et de ces miniatures et quelles raisons de l’attribuer à Behzād? Le *Gulistān* Rothschild est un ouvrage très précieux qui a requis les soins des artistes les plus célèbres de l’époque. Comme le *Bustān* du Caire, il a été calligraphié par Sulṭān ‘Alī Mashhadī dont la réputation fut fort supérieure à celle de tous les autres calligraphes de son temps et à qui le Sulṭān Husain Mīrzā confia l’instruction de ses enfants. De plus l’inscription qui se trouve en marge du folio 2 verso (*Fig. 1*) et la comparaison avec les frontispice du *Bustān* du Caire donnent à penser que le manuscrit a été enluminé par le célèbre Yārī au sujet duquel Mīrzā Muḥammad Haidar Dūghlāt écrit: “Yārī fut un maître dans l’enluminure et pourtant son écriture est meilleure encore que son enluminure. Elève de Mulla Wālī, il dépassa son maître.” Haidar ne lui trouve qu’un rival, Mawlānā Maḥmūd qui ébaucha une préface d’une exquise délicatesse pour un manuscrit du Sulṭān Husain et qu’il laissa inachevée, après y avoir travaillé pendant sept ans.

Ainsi, produit du meilleur calligraphe et d’un des meilleurs enlumineurs, il est vraisemblable que le manuscrit a été aussi illustré par des artistes renommés. C’est une présomption en faveur de Behzād. Elle n’est pas sans importance. Il faut retenir d’autre part que le *Gulistān* Rothschild a appartenu aux bibliothèques des sultans mongols de l’Inde,³ comme le *Zafar-Nāme* de la collection Garrett que Sir Thomas Arnold attribuait avec décision à Behzād. Arnold, pour confirmer son attribution, croyait pouvoir rappeler que l’empereur mongol

³ Sur la page colophon, se lit, en cursive très négligée l’inscription suivant, “Ce livre compte parmi les tout

premiers des miens; celui qui écrit ceci est Nūr al-Dīn Djanhāngīr fils de l’empereur Akbar.”

Djahāngīr fut le meilleur connaisseur de la peinture musulmane au début du dix-septième siècle. Djahāngīr se vantait même de pouvoir, quand on lui montrait une miniature, discerner de qui elle était l'œuvre et, quand la miniature était le fruit d'une collaboration, de reconnaître la part de chaque artiste, attribuant, par exemple, dans un portrait les yeux à un peintre et les sourcils à un autre. Si le fait est exact, il faut avouer avec mélancolie que l'archéologie et la critique d'art n'ont pas fait de progrès depuis les Mongols. En tout cas, même s'il y a de l'exagération dans ces louanges que Djahāngīr se décerne, on peut en retenir que souvent plusieurs miniaturistes collaboraient à une même miniature et que la division du travail y était minutieuse. Retenons aussi, puisque Sir Thomas Roe, ambassadeur de Jacques I^{er} à la cour de Djahāngīr, le confirme que les empereurs mongols montraient dans l'art de peindre un jugement éclairé et désintéressé. Leur témoignage n'est sans doute pas décisif, mais c'est encore une présomption.

Ce qui est remarquable en outre, c'est que sur les trois miniatures qui composent l'illustration de notre manuscrit, l'une est attribuée à un autre peintre que Behzād. Il est impossible de ne point penser qu'il y a là un souci de discernement qui manquerait à coup sûr si les signatures étaient le fait d'un collectionneur intéressé résolu à attribuer au plus grand artiste les œuvres qu'il possède. Les différences de style entre les trois miniatures ne sont pas si évidentes pour un amateur qu'elles aient pu l'empêcher de les donner toutes les trois à Behzād. Par conséquent, du moment que les attributions ne correspondent pas au désir de vanité ou de lucre qui suffit généralement à les expliquer, il faut reconnaître que les signatures représentent quelque tradition, un jugement critique ou le caprice pur.

Quel est cet 'Abd al-Hayy dont le nom est mis en parallèle avec celui de Behzād? C'est là où notre examen s'obscurcit. Nous connaissons fort bien, en effet, un peintre du nom de 'Abd al-Hayy. Il est mentionné notamment dans l'ouvrage consacré par Dūst Muḥammad, en 1544, aux peintres passés et présents. Khwādja 'Abd al-Hayy, nous dit cet auteur, était l'élève de Shams al-Dīn, élève lui-même d'Ustād Aḥmad Mūsā à qui nous devons l'art de peindre qui est en honneur aujourd'hui. Son maître le tira de la misère où il s'épuisait et surveilla son instruction. Bientôt, sous le règne du Sulṭān Aḥmad de Baghdād qui, de 1382 à 1410, favorisa les arts, il s'éleva au dessus de tous les autres peintres. Il eut même pour élève le sultan qui contribua à l'illustration d'un Abū Sa'īd-Nāme. Et, quand Tīmūr eut détruit Baghdad en 1393, il emmena 'Abd al-Hayy à Samarḳand. C'est là que ce maître mourut.

D'après ces renseignements, 'Abd al-Hayy appartiendrait à l'école mongole ou au début de l'école tīmūride. C'est ce que confirme Haidar qui écrit que 'Abd al-Hayy vécut sous le Khazar de la maison de Hūlāgū, alors le maître de l'Irāk. "C'était," ajoute Haidar, "un homme pieux qui se repentit sur la fin de ses jours d'avoir enfreint l'interdiction religieuse et détruisit un grand nombre de ses œuvres. La pureté et la délicatesse de son dessin n'avait d'égale que sa vigueur de touche."

Ces indications nous laissent peu d'espoir au sujet de l'authenticité de la signature qui nous est donnée. Il va de soi que 'Abd al-Hayy, peintre du quatorzième siècle finissant, ne peut être l'auteur d'une miniature qui appartient à un art manifestement plus tardif et qui fait

partie d'un manuscrit daté de 1486. Y eut-il à cette époque un autre artiste du même nom dont l'histoire ne parle pas? C'est possible, mais c'est peu probable. C'est en tout cas une hypothèse que nous ne pouvons envisager qu'avec méfiance. Il est plus plausible de penser que le collectionneur, se référant à une tradition honorable qui faisait de 'Abd al-Hayy un peintre illustre et rare, n'a pu résister au plaisir de lui attribuer l'une des œuvres qu'il possédait. Si cette supposition est exacte, qu'en conclure? Elle est évidemment défavorable à l'attribution des deux autres miniatures à Behzād. Et on ne peut guère considérer comme valables les jugements d'un critique qui montrait tant de fantaisie dans ses conclusions. Notons toutefois que la troisième miniature porte une signature de Behzād qui n'est point de la même écriture que les autres signatures. Elle est écrite en arabe, comme je vois l'ai dit, et dans une calligraphie plus soignée. Elle émane donc d'une autre personne qu'il ne faut point rendre responsable des bévues du rédacteur persan. Ajoutons que, puisque l'attribution de la deuxième miniature à 'Abd al-Hayy est presque certainement fautive, nous n'avons plus de raison de ne pas examiner si celle-là aussi pourrait être attribuée à Behzād. C'est encore une hypothèse qu'on peut faire.

Résumons-nous. La critique des textes et l'examen matériel du manuscrit nous apportent quelques faibles présomptions. C'est d'abord le fait que l'ouvrage a été calligraphié par 'Alī Mashhadī et peut-être enluminé par Yārī. C'est ensuite le fait qu'il a, dans la bibliothèque des sultans mongols, été signalé comme une œuvre particulièrement précieuse. C'est enfin le fait que l'une des miniatures a été signée d'une main dont rien n'accuse la maladresse critique. Alors donc que les deux premières miniatures ne nous paraissent que peu confirmées dans leur attribution à Behzād par cette étude extérieure, il y a un léger privilège d'opinion en faveur de la troisième. Disons, si vous le permettez, qu'elle part légèrement favorite.

Avant d'entrer dans l'examen détaillé de chacune d'elles, regardons ce que leurs premières apparences peuvent nous apporter d'enseignements. Pouvons-nous dès maintenant décider si elles sont toutes trois du même auteur? A première vue, quoique presque égales par certains aspects en mérite, elles sont plus différentes que semblables. La première (*Fig. 2*) est d'une composition monotone, mais elle est rigoureusement dessinée et elle montre quelques types d'une force d'expression inoubliable. La seconde (*Fig. 3*) est la moins heureuse des trois, le dessin est plus mièvre, moins net, certains personnages sont singulièrement raides et inexpressifs. Par contre la scène centrale est charmante, d'un naturel et d'une vivacité exquises. Ce qui frappe, c'est une grande minutie, une étonnante perfection dans l'infime. Enfin, le coloris est très différent. La troisième (*Fig. 4*) est tout de suite remarquable par une composition ingénieuse et mouvementée. Plusieurs scènes animent l'ensemble, sollicitant diversement l'attention, et se mêlant d'une manière qui prouve une grande maîtrise. Quelques unes des figures sont admirables pour la pureté ou le réalisme de leurs traits. Il y a enfin aussi bien dans l'emploi des couleurs que dans le dessin un souci d'exactitude minutieuse qui est caractéristique.

En résumé, la seconde miniature se distingue assez nettement des deux autres et relève d'une esthétique différente. Comme l'avait jugé le critique anonyme qui l'attribua à 'Abd al-Hayy, elle dénonce une autre main, elle impose d'être mise à part. Quant à la première et

la troisième, elles ont des mérites divers, mais si grands qu'on hésite à les séparer l'une de l'autre et à imaginer deux artistes également capables d'œuvres aussi importantes. Il y a entre elles, non pas une ressemblance, mais une sorte de communauté de talent qui pose un problème fort complexe.

La première frappe et déçoit d'abord un peu par sa simplicité (*Fig. 2*). Le sujet dont elle s'inspire, une scène de lutte,⁴ était pourtant propre à une représentation pittoresque et complexe comme Behzād se plaît à en composer. De ce thème, le peintre n'a tiré qu'un minimum d'invention. Les spectateurs sont groupés de part et d'autre de la scène selon un procédé qui est très courant dans la peinture musulmane. Debout et immobiles, ils forment une masse amorphe qui n'engage pas l'œil à en détailler les mérites. Le sultan est au centre à la place d'honneur. Auprès de lui, un personnage, comme distrait de l'action, se tient un peu à l'écart. Tout cela est conforme aux traditions. La seule invention qui soit le fruit d'une imagination particulière est l'épisode des deux lutteurs qui assistent au combat en hommes compétents et qui attendent peut-être leur tour de combattre. Le décor est d'une sobriété extrême qui surprendrait un peu chez un artiste comme Behzād que nous avons vu, dans le *Bustān* du Caire, si complaisant aux richesses ornementales. Les motifs géométriques, fort simples et en même temps d'une sorte de fécondité de sensation remarquable, sont traités avec rigueur et avec maîtrise. Les fleurs sont figurées à la manière chinoise et semblent peintes sur de la soie. Derrière la barrière on entrevoit un jardin fleuri, heureux pressentiment de la nature dans ce décor un peu sec.

Il n'est pas douteux qu'à première vue la composition générale nous éloigne de Behzād. Ce qui nous avait frappés chez ce grand peintre, c'est l'imagination fertile en épisodes, le sens dramatique de la vie, cette conception du mouvement qui, jusqu'à lui, manquait presque à l'art persan. Tout cela fait défaut à notre miniature qui, par son ordonnance rigide, l'immobilité qu'elle exprime, rivalise avec les œuvres traditionnelles de l'Islam. Faut-il conclure que Behzād en est définitivement absent? Nous n'avons pas davantage jugé indigne de son art la quatrième miniature du *Bustān* du Caire dont la composition est très simplifiée et que n'enrichit aucune fiction imprévue.⁵ C'est qu'elle rachetait cette apparente indigence de dessein par une force dans la forme des personnages et un art suprême de peindre.

Il est impossible, quand on examine avec soin la première miniature du *Gulistān* Rothschild, de ne pas distinguer les mêmes mérites portés à leur plus haut degré de perfection. Dans la foule anonyme des spectateurs triomphe avec une sobriété de moyens exemplaires l'individualité, la diversité concrète, des nuances admirablement variées d'attitudes. Pas un personnage ne répète l'autre ni dans sa forme, ni dans sa manière d'être. Chacun résiste merveilleusement à cette faculté d'être interchangeable que tant de figures persanes montrent avec complaisance. Sils ne participent pas tous étroitement au spectacle, tous sont liés à eux-mêmes par quelques traits propres ou provisoires qui, lorsque nous les voyons, nous permettent d'ima-

⁴ Cf. Sa'dī, *The Gulistān*, trans. by F. Gladwin, Boston, 1865, p. 154.

⁵ Binyon, Wilkson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, Pl. LXX, A, 83d.

gîner avec joie que nous les reconnâtrons. Et ce plaisir du retour, pour secret qu'il soit, est un des plus nécessaires à notre sentiment pur du beau.

Je voudrais que vous remarquiez avec quelle maîtrise le peintre a su construire pour chacun l'édifice d'apparitions, de transitions, de sentiments, d'énervements indéfinissables qu'est un visage. Dans le groupe de droite, notamment, c'est avec rien—ou avec si peu de chose que l'analyse s'y trompe—que, créateur véritable, il a fondé la ressemblance (*Fig. 5*). Je ne sais rien de plus étonnant, de plus digne des plus grands maîtres que la figure de ce vieillard, chef d'œuvre d'expression et de mouvement. Des sentiments d'une précision exquise ont ce visage pour miroir. Il y a une parfaite appropriation entre les lèvres curieuses, le nez gourmand et les yeux où, pour la première fois peut-être dans l'art persan, brille une lueur de malice voluptueuse. Tout dans ce visage est modelé, construit, imité de la nature pour exprimer une satisfaction subtile, faite du plaisir de voir, du plaisir de voir deux hommes combattre, et du plaisir de voir dans ce combat un vieillard comme lui triompher. Les portraits des plus grands artistes de la ressemblance, d'un Clouet et plus d'un Holbein, n'ont pas un caractère plus authentique, plus de richesse psychologique que cette image formée avec les moyens les plus simples. Un maître seul—et le plus grand—peut l'avoir réalisé.

Ce n'est pas d'ailleurs une réussite fortuite. Je retrouve la même habileté, et, à peu de chose près, la même puissance d'expression dans le visage qui apparaît au dessus de celui que nous venons d'étudier. L'air en est peut-être plus indécis, moins ingénieux. En fait, il est d'un naturel, d'une vigueur incomparable. On sent que la ressemblance, moins visible, est profondément enfoncée dans la nature et échappe maintenant pour toujours à l'arbitraire de l'artiste. Ce front ridé, ce regard fruste, mi-interrogateur, mi-réticent avec lequel le personnage suit son interlocuteur, l'attention robuste de cette tête sans finesse font la preuve d'une existence que le peintre lui-même ne peut plus changer.

Les autres têtes du même groupe, moins significatives, n'en sont pas moins remarquables. Les figures les moins différenciées se distinguent par quelques traits suffisants. Ces deux visages d'asiatiques, aussi peu distincts dans la miniature que dans la réalité sont en fait marqués d'inflections, de nuances et, jusque dans la forme des yeux, de particularités qui les séparent extrêmement.

Regardez encore, à droite, le personnage de premier plan dont toute l'attention est retenue par le spectacle de la lutte (*Fig. 6*). Il est d'une manière étonnante campé dans le réel. Son attitude est parfaitement observée. A demi détourné de nous, exactement figuré selon les règles de la perspective, il a pied dans l'espace, il impose sa présence et égale soudain à l'être les faibles apparences que peut combiner le miniaturiste.

Dans le groupe de gauche, le peintre a montré un souci analogue de diversité, la même aptitude à aller au delà de la beauté et de l'harmonie pour découvrir le particulier (*Fig. 7*). Qu'est-ce qu'exprime la surprenante figure du premier personnage? Elle n'est ni belle, ni régulière, indifférente à tous canons de l'académisme. Mais elle apparaît immédiatement reliée à un caractère. Elle manifeste, en même temps qu'une certaine apparence individuelle, un état d'âme défini, mélange indéfinissable d'astuce, d'entente à demi-mot, de vanité satis-

faite, de malignité, statue présente et vivante de ce qu'il y a de plus instable dans la vie, l'humeur. Et c'est ce qui fait la supériorité de ce portrait sur les visages pourtant si caractéristiques des deux lutteurs qui assistent au combat (*Fig. 8*). Leur figure aux traits rudes répond, sans doute, à merveille à ce qu'ils sont, ou plus exactement à ce qu'ils font, à leur métier. Ils ont le visage qui convient à des lutteurs—mais c'est tout. Le peintre n'a pas eu le dessein de signifier rien d'autre, de les particulariser par quelque trait psychologique. De là cet air abstrait qu'ils gardent même dans leur configuration pittoresque. Leur visage est posé sur eux comme un masque, comme un simulacre sans profondeur.

Pour des raisons différentes, le portrait du sultan n'est pas le meilleur de la miniature (*Fig. 9*). J'ai déjà eu l'occasion de vous montrer qu'il y avait entre cette représentation et d'autres portraits de Ḥusain Mīrzā une ressemblance certaine. Ici le réalisme est à la fois plus agressif et moins pénétrant (que sur le *Bustān* du Caire⁶). Il joue davantage à la surface de l'être, il emprunte davantage à la dignité de l'impersonnel.

Ces quelques réserves ne diminuent en rien le mérite essentiel de cette œuvre où nous trouvons l'effort le plus étonnant qui ait été fait dans la peinture persane jusqu'à Behzād pour donner une expression valable de l'homme. C'est un caractère si notable qu'il nous semble suffisant pour attribuer au maître de Hérat cette miniature que nous ne lui avons pas laissé revendiquer. Il est contraire, en effet, à la vraisemblance d'imaginer, à la même époque, deux miniaturistes capables d'atteindre également la perfection par les mêmes procédés justement en une forme d'art qui est restée jusqu'ici tout à fait étrangère à la peinture musulmane. S'il y a eu, dans ce quinzième siècle finissant un autre miniaturiste que Behzād ayant au même degré que lui le sens de la ressemblance, l'intérêt des formes humaines, le sentiment psychologique de l'être, ayant aussi le même pouvoir de réaliser ce dessein sans précédent, je ne fais pas de difficulté pour reconnaître en lui l'auteur de la miniature du *Gulistān* Rothschild et j'admets que Behzād n'y est pour rien.

Mais alors il faut reconnaître entre ces deux artistes un autre mérite commun, et celui-là même qui est généralement le plus personnel, le plus intransmissible, la technique de l'art. Il y a à ce point de vue une ressemblance frappante entre le *Bustān* du Caire et la miniature Rothschild. C'est le même trait, souple et vigoureux à la fois, puissant et musical, dépouillé et tendant à l'arabesque. C'est la même manière d'engendrer une forme vivante par un seul mouvement sans reprise. C'est pour chaque figure le même contour où la finesse n'exclut pas la certitude de touche et ne se perd point en une minutie curieuse. Bien plus, les procédés, les manies de l'artiste sont les mêmes. Je retrouve sur les vêtements les mêmes plis assez vaguement figurés, une façon identique de draper, d'ouvrir la tunique, des poses semblables. Ce sont vraiment des personnages qui font partie du même univers.

Le coloris enfin s'inspire de principes analogues. Les hardiesses, les inventions audacieuses ne viennent pas rompre l'aspect général qui est à la fois sobre et coloré. Les couleurs dominantes, sur un fond d'or, sont les nuances diverses du beige, du mauve et du brun. Les

⁶ *Ibid.*, Pl. LXVIII.



FIG. 1—FRONTISPICE

Gulistan DE SADI, 1486 A.D.

PARIS, COLLECTION MAURICE DE ROTHSCHILD

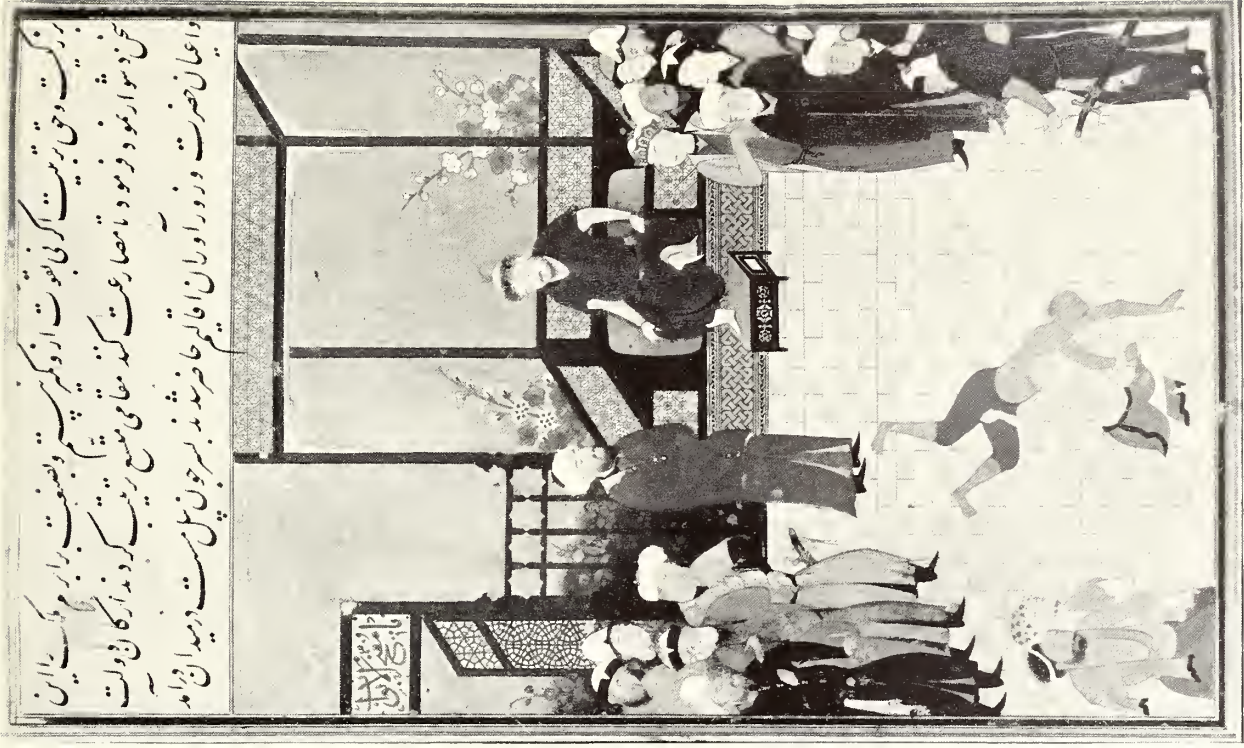


FIG. 2—LES DEUX LUTEURS



FIG. 3—LE VOYAGEUR ET LE DERVICHE

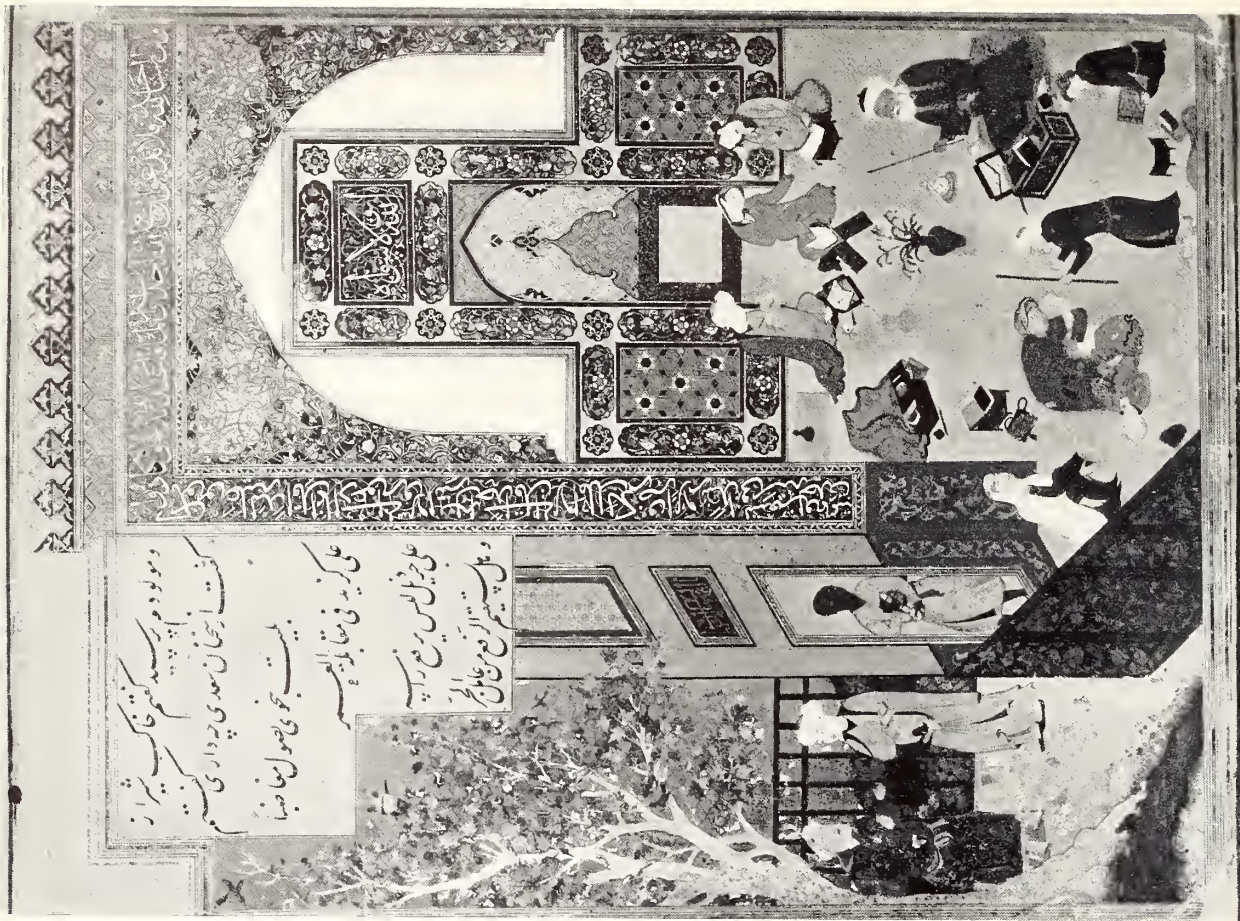


FIG. 4—SADĪ ET L'ADOLESCENT DE KĀSHGAR

Gulistan DE SA'DĪ, 1486 A.D.

PARIS, COLLECTION MAURICE DE ROTHSCHILD



FIG. 5



FIG. 9

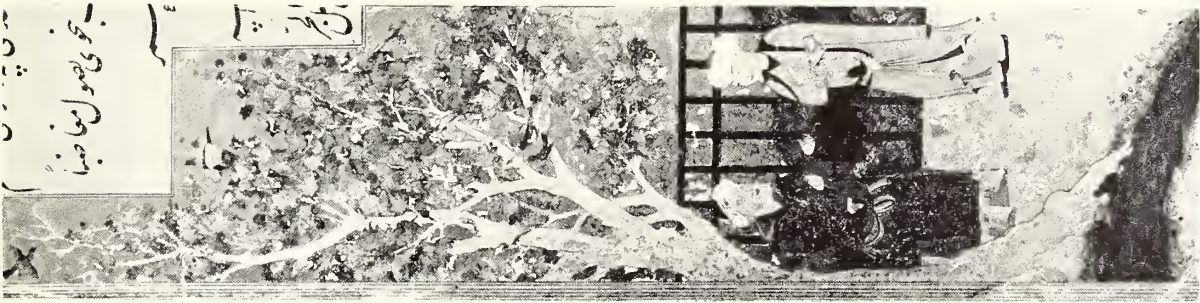


FIG. 11



FIG. 8

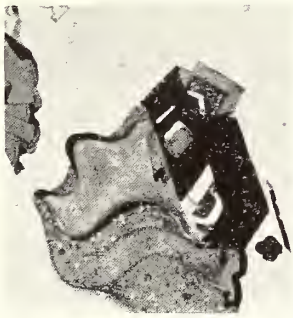


FIG. 13

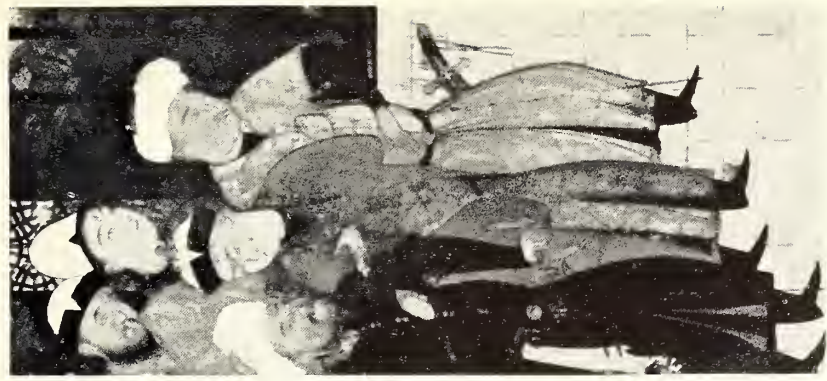


FIG. 7



FIG. 6



FIG. 15



FIG. 10

FIGS. 5-10—DÉTAILS DE FIGS. 2 ET 3
FIGS. 11, 13, 15—DÉTAILS DE FIG. 4

Gulistān DE SADĪ, 1486 AD.
PARIS, COLLECTION MAURICE DE ROTHSCHILD



FIG. 14



FIG. 12

FIGS. 12, 14—DÉTAILS DE FIG. 4

Gulistan DE SA'DĪ, 1486 A.D.

PARIS, COLLECTION MAURICE DE ROTHSCHILD

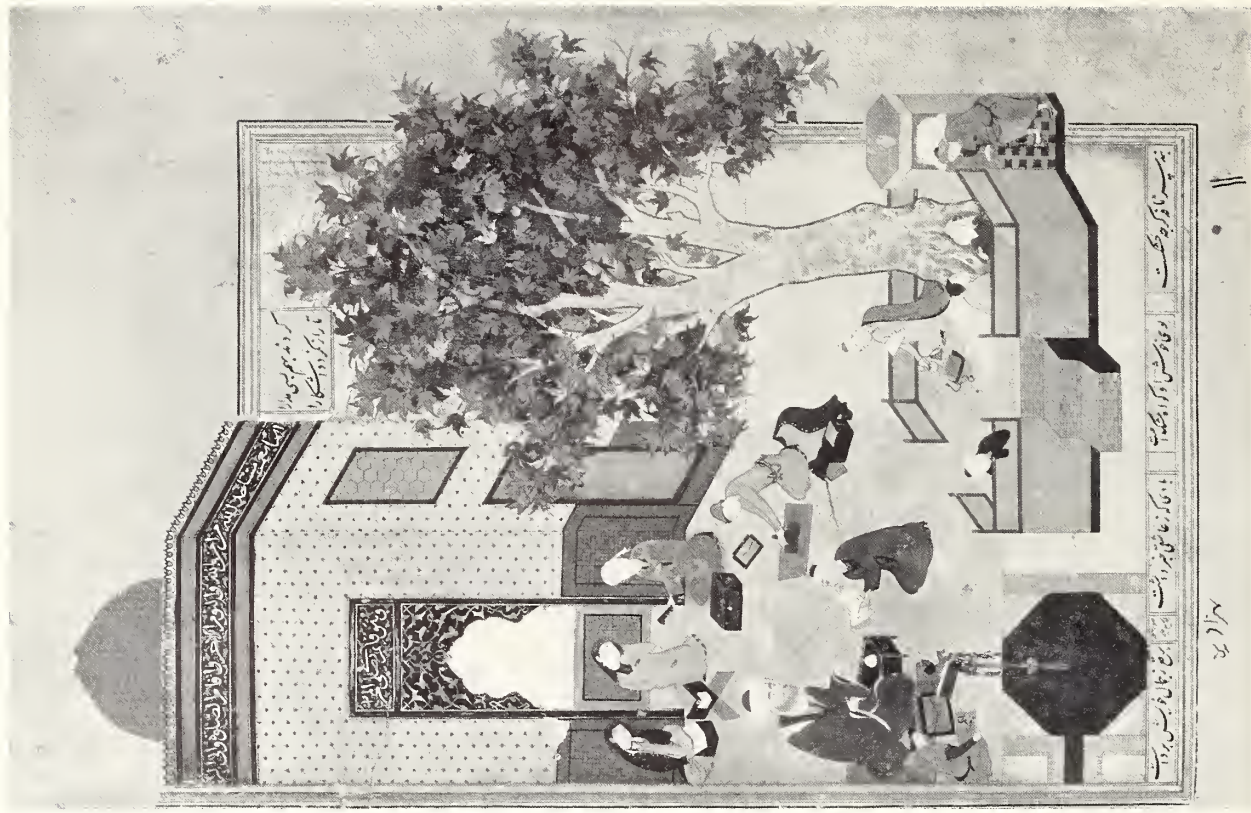


FIG. 16—L'ÉCOLE EN PLEIN AIR

Khamsa DE NIẒĀMĪ, 1494 A.D.

LONDRES, BRITISH MUSEUM

éclats ne sont ménagés que sur les côtés où brillent un rouge écarlate, un rouge sang de bœuf et des bleus et des verts intenses. Quelques alliances étranges attestent une étonnante maîtrise. Ce sont deux rouges à peine nuancés qui viennent jouer l'un sur l'autre. C'est un bleu mêlé de gris qui se dispute harmonieusement avec un mauve éteint. Ce sont deux tons très voisins et par conséquent ennemis, qui semblent naturellement associés. L'ensemble témoigne de cette discrétion dans le goût et de cette finesse dans l'invention qui est le comble de l'art.

Tout cela confirme l'impression que nous avons eue et que nous pouvons maintenant peut-être transformer en jugement. Nous avons indiqué que l'examen matériel de la miniature ne fournissait aucun criterium valable. Nous avons indiqué également que certains caractères de l'art de Behzād, notamment la subtilité et le sens dramatique de la composition, manquaient à cette miniature. Mais comme ils manquent aussi à d'autres ouvrages de Behzād, et comme ce qui n'a jamais manqué à l'art de ce grand peintre s'y trouve avec une puissance et une perfection inégalables, comme ce je ne sais quoi qui atteste le mieux dans deux œuvres différentes l'identité d'un même auteur s'y trouve également, je crois autant qu'il est possible d'affirmer dans une matière aussi incertaine, que la miniature du *Gulistān* Rothschild peut, avec une grande vraisemblance être attribuée à Behzād. Et je crois plus encore que, s'il était prouvé qu'elle n'est pas de Behzād, il n'y aurait pas de plus forte preuve contre la personnalité de l'art et l'individualité de l'artiste.

Je ne signalerai que pour mémoire, en terminant, une version beaucoup plus tardive de la même miniature dans le *Gulistān* de la Bibliothèque Nationale daté de 1543.⁷ Elle porte tous les stigmates d'un art de décadence et elle participe d'ailleurs aux exagérations de l'école de Bukhārā. La composition, plus surchargée, plus soucieuse d'agréments décoratifs, est tout à fait identique. Nous retrouvons même mais dédoublé, le couple de lutteurs qui prend part au spectacle. Le sultan assiste au combat dans un décor analogue. Tout rapproche les deux œuvres, si ce n'est l'art exquis et humain dont l'une est comblée et qui est absent de l'autre.

La seconde miniature (*Fig. 3*) du *Gulistān* Rothschild, pose des problèmes moins difficiles que les deux autres. Nous avons vu qu'une signature sans crédit l'attribuait à un peintre qui porte le même nom qu'un artiste illustre vivant près d'un siècle plutôt, 'Abd al-Hayy. Sans prétendre à élucider quel en est le véritable auteur, peut-on du moins préciser si elle est de la même main que la première miniature? Ce n'est pas une œuvre sans mérite. La composition ne montre pas cet ordre divers et nombreux qui fait de toute œuvre d'art un divertissement continu. Mais elle comprend quelques charmants épisodes. Le sujet en est exposé dans le chapitre II du *Gulistān*.⁸

L'artiste a interprété librement ce thème, comme il arrive presque toujours dans les illustrations du manuscrit qui prennent souvent avec le texte les plus étranges libertés. Il s'agit bien toutefois d'un campement dans le désert. Le sol gris est parsemé d'herbes minuscules au milieu desquelles s'élèvent, de moment en moment, des touffes de végétation plus sombres. Des

⁷ E. Blochet, *Musulman Painting XIIth–XVIIth Century*, London, 1929, Pl. CX; cf. également le *Gulistān*

daté de 1567, British Museum (Or. 5302, fol. 30a).

⁸ Cf. Sa'dī, *op. cit.*, pp. 193–194.

collines dans le fond, assez mollement dessinées se profilent. Au premier plan des rochers timourides, figurés avec un art minutieux et même précieux, où coule un ruisseau d'argent noir, animent seuls le paysage. Trois tentes complètent la vraisemblance du décor. Celle de gauche, en haut, est représentée avec une perfection dans le détail qui confond l'imagination. Elle est recouverte d'une étoffe en poil de chèvre et on aperçoit, en bas, le bâti de roseaux couleur paille où ne manque aucune rayure. On aperçoit aussi une torsade bleue qui court, à intervalles réguliers, autour de la tente et qui constitue un ornement purement gratuit, puisque l'œil le découvre à peine sans l'aide d'une loupe. Tout cela est d'une prodigieuse minutie, d'une précision patiente qui ne peut être que le résultat d'une technique sans défaut. Les personnages sont figurés avec la même attention à laquelle rien n'échappe. Les visages intéressent peu l'artiste qui n'a point souci de leur conférer cette puissance de vie à laquelle nous avons vu Behzād et l'auteur de la première miniature si passionnément attachés. Ces figures sont moins impersonnelles qu'inanimées, sans rayonnement, sans cette action de présence qui importe tant au vrai portraitiste. Les deux visages du groupe central (*Fig. 10*), si harmonieux qu'ils soient, si fiers de leur grâce et de leur plénitude, n'ont point l'apparence concrète à laquelle Behzād nous avait habitués. A peine, en les scrutant bien, voit-on s'éveiller sur l'un une autorité volontaire, une sorte de rigueur implacable, sur l'autre une pudeur effarouchée, une timide et rêveuse plainte. Mais ces sentiments sont si peu visibles qu'on ne peut savoir s'ils résultent d'une intention spéciale de l'artiste ou s'ils sont un effet accidentel et secondaire de la beauté formelle qui était seule dans les projets du peintre. Presque tous les autres visages sont parfaitement anonymes, sans malaise, sans désir, sans énigme et tels que l'art musulman les a toujours conçus.

Le vieillard sur sa mule a une expression de dignité assez vigoureuse, mais le corps manque de souplesse et ne correspond qu'imparfaitement à la position qu'il a prise. C'est ce qui est plus notable, comme pour le personnage qui tient un arc ou celui qui fait boire l'âne dans un seau. Il y a dans ces divers gestes quelque chose d'alangui, de lâche qui ne peut convenir qu'à un art insoucieux du réel. Le peintre qui montre tant de précision, tant de certitude dans la représentation de détails infimes se contente, pour le corps humain, de contours vagues qui lui laissent une liberté dangereuse. Il n'est pas orgueilleux d'imiter en cela la nature.

Il sait pourtant être naturel avec une simplicité, une spontanéité magnifiques. Le groupe central (*Fig. 10*) est, pour la vérité des attitudes, la perfection du mouvement, la pureté de l'acte, l'un des plus heureux de l'art persan à cette époque. L'attitude de la jeune femme qui se rejette légèrement en arrière a la grâce naïve de ce qui est harmonieux et vrai. Remarquez comme plusieurs mouvements très divers, presque opposés ou discordants, viennent se reconcilier dans ce corps dont ils ne réussissent pas à rompre l'unité, qui les épousent au contraire et composent avec eux une attitude indivisible. Une même ligne sinueuse et vigilante les poursuit, les contient, les ramène à l'unité d'un beau corps. C'est là le fruit d'une technique très habile et d'une observation parfaitement exercée. L'art s'y montre avec complaisance. Les mêmes remarques sont valables pour le personnage qui fait pendant à la jeune femme. Les deux attitudes se correspondent avec exactitude. Il y a de l'un à l'autre un échange de réac-

tions qui est comme l'expression d'un nombre harmonieux. Le silence, la solitude où sont enfermées la plupart des figures de l'art oriental qui ne semblent capables de vivre que pour eux et sont pour toujours séparées des autres est ici rompu. Un dialogue muet accorde leurs corps, les met au diapason d'une pensée et d'un désir communs.

Si l'on ne considère que la réussite, cet ensemble ne serait pas indigne de Behzād qui n'a jamais montré plus de grâce et plus de naturel. Mais si nous examinons l'art qui l'obtient, il me semble que nous sommes assez loin du maître de Herāt. Le trait a une sorte de finesse analytique, une aptitude à dessiner les choses avec une netteté méticuleuse. C'est un art qui ne suggère pas mais qui définit, qui précise et qui ne laisse rien deviner. Toutes choses égales, le trait de Behzād est peut-être aussi précis, aussi délié et aussi fin, mais il a en plus le pouvoir non pas de circonscrire une forme, mais d'en étendre la réalité, de nous en faire ressentir obscurément la présence persuasive. L'artiste à qui l'on a prêté le nom de 'Abd al-Hayy est beaucoup plus soucieux de diviser jusqu'à l'extrême le réel par des détails presque invisibles que de nous en révéler la profondeur, le poids, l'être même. Son raffinement ne le porte pas au delà des apparences qu'il représente avec un art menu.

La tonalité générale de cette miniature est également fort différente de celle qu'on attend de Behzād et elle est très éloignée des effets que la première miniature nous avait montrés. Elle se prive de tout ce qui est chaleur, éclat et vivacité. Une impression d'élégance un peu froide, un peu terne s'en dégage. Les tons qui dominent sont apparentés au gris, au beige, au marron. Là où s'impose le rouge écarlate (au centre le nègre est vêtu de rouge et porte une écharpe bleue), c'est sans fulguration, avec une sorte d'éclat assoupi. Ce peintre a la palette discrète et il remplace les sensations violentes par les combinaisons délicates, conduites avec goût. Ce qui distingue son art des couleurs, c'est ce qui distingue son art du dessin, un étonnant souci des détails minutieux, une sorte de désir de colorer l'infiniment petit, le soin de peindre pour l'invisible. La miniature est ici parfaitement ployée à ce qu'elle doit être. Il n'est pas un détail qu'elle néglige, pas une nuance qu'elle ne conduit à la perfection, pas un détour secret dont elle ne soit curieuse et qui ne vaille pour elle autant que la conception de tout l'ensemble.

De toutes ces remarques peut-on conclure quelque chose de certain sur l'attribution de cette miniature? Il est à peu près sûr que Behzād n'en est pas l'auteur. La raideur de certains personnages, l'impersonnalité des figures, la faiblesse de la composition, la grâce même d'un art qui a plus de finesse que de vigueur, tout jusqu'au coloris qui est faible et distingué, conspire contre ce nom que nous nous sommes habitués à associer à d'autres mérites. Il est à peu près sûr aussi que le peintre appartenait à l'école de Herāt dont Behzād était le maître, s'il n'en était probablement pas l'unique modèle. L'art timouride, dans une œuvre de ce genre a dépouillé tout ce qu'il avait d'immobile, d'abstrait, de trop exclusivement décoratif. Le réel est venu nourrir et animer les formes qui ne semblaient convenir qu'à la pâle vie de l'ornement. Nous avons définitivement dépassé le stade des caprices du décor. Ce sont bien les mêmes ambitions de mouvement, de naturel et de force concrète qui apparaissent chez Behzād ou chez Kāsīm 'Alī et dont nous retrouvons ici les premiers effets. Pouvons-nous dire davan-

tage et penser que l'œuvre est sortie de l'atelier même de Behzād et que Behzād en a surveillé l'exécution? C'est possible, mais rien dans la miniature même ne nous permet de l'affirmer. Ce qu'elle a d'excellent et de digne d'un grand maître ne semble pas inspiré par son art et le reste n'est pas digne de lui. Contentons-nous d'y voir une manifestation de son école, qui nous prouve l'excellence des artistes qui gravitaient autour de Behzād et dont quelques uns pouvaient rivaliser avec lui, par d'autres moyens, de grâce et de naturel, sinon de puissance et d'invention.

La troisième miniature (*Fig. 4*) me paraît propre à confirmer cette conclusion. Elle nous permettra, en outre, d'ajouter quelque chose à l'étude de Behzād. C'est une œuvre dont la composition ordonnée et complexe retient tout de suite l'attention. Il apparaît bien que l'artiste a le sens de l'espace et qu'il sait à merveille tirer d'un thème les développements divers dont l'entrecroisement permet à l'esprit de libres détours. C'est, nous l'avons vu, l'un des signes de Behzād. Le sujet, emprunté à la... histoire de Sa'dī est traité avec une réelle imagination.⁹

Bien que Sa'dī situe la scène "dans la principale mosquée de Cachgâr," dans notre miniature, elle se passe dans une école coranique. Un décor d'une grande magnificence, dont il y aura lieu d'examiner avec soin la pureté et la valeur ornementale, forme le fond de la composition. Des faïences de tonalité bleu marine éclatent bruyamment comme des feux sans artifice. Les écoinçons sont d'une richesse implacable et offrent aux rinceaux et aux fleurs l'occasion d'un long jeu. Sur le mur qui se développe à gauche de l'iwān, à mi-hauteur d'homme, des rinceaux mauves pour l'intérieur et gris argent pour l'extérieur ajoutent à la composition des motifs étudiés qui rappellent la cinquième miniature du *Bustān* du Caire¹⁰ et la double page conservée au Musée du *Gulistān* à Téhéran.¹¹ Tout cela montre de grandes ambitions ornementales et est bien conforme à ce goût pour le décor dont Behzād, dans toutes les miniatures que nous connaissons, fait preuve complaisamment. A gauche s'ouvre un jardin charmant que quelques traits suffisent à dépeindre (*Fig. 11*). Au pied d'un platane le ruisseau coule et va arroser la prairie que l'on aperçoit au lion toute fleurie et verdoyante. C'est un tableau parfait. Dans ce décor où l'on retrouve l'inspiration d'un grand artiste se disposent avec ingéniosité les éléments de la composition. L'axe est au centre, fourni par le vase de fleurs, motif peu important qui s'impose à peine au regard et qui marque, sans le souligner, le sens de tout l'ensemble. Ce qui est à la fois une idée un peu naïve et très habile, puisque la composition ainsi ne se découvre pas et nous donne le sentiment d'un ordre secret qui ne nous tient pas prisonniers. Autour de cet axe tournent lentement,—un peu lentement, et peut-être avec une certaine mauvaise grâce—les divers protagonistes du tableau. L'art, ou plus exactement l'ingéniosité de l'artiste, a consisté à faire succéder des personnages et des objets auxquels il s'est plu à donner autant d'intérêt qu'à des figures humaines. C'est un échange rythmique qui permet de remplir sans répétition ce grand espace. Plusieurs sujets presque indépendants sont esquissés.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 283-285.

¹⁰ Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, Pl. LXXI, B, 83e.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Pl. LXVII.

Au fond, trois écoliers travaillent (*Fig. 12*). Un jeune garçon écrit sur sa main, ayant à ses pieds un livre ouvert sur lequel on peut lire une inscription. A sa droite, une fillette, dans une attitude qui est charmante ou maniérée, selon le point de vue, minaude, la tête penchée, le doigt tendu vers le livre qui repose sur une petite table. Un écolier lui fait pendant, dans une contenance qui est également plus conventionnelle que juste, plus harmonieuse que naturelle et, pour tout dire, plus timouride que behzādienne. Devant la petite fille un porte-livre en forme d'x complète le matériel scolaire. Un récipient minutieusement figuré sert d'encrier. Tandis qu'à droite la composition reste vide, à gauche elle tourne et reçoit son mouvement d'un objet important, décrit avec une précision et un réalisme extraordinaire (*Fig. 13*). Il s'agit d'un manteau déplié qui garde encore la forme de la personne qui s'en était enveloppée et dont le vide semble comblé, si l'on peut dire, par cette attente. Un écritoire, à demi ouvert, où l'on aperçoit des livres, impose sa masse sombre. Un encrier noir et un calame également noir se détachent, menus, de ce volume comme des points de suspension qui allègent une trop longue phrase. Cet ensemble est d'une ingéniosité remarquable. C'est une véritable nature-morte dont l'artiste a eu l'habile dessein de rehausser l'intérêt en y associant la présence invisible de l'homme.

La composition continue à tourner autour du vase de fleurs qui en marque le centre. Avant de sortir de l'īwān, nous rencontrons à nouveau un porte-livre qui est peu important, mais que sa vive couleur écarlate expose à l'attention, une sacoche d'écolier, ornée de motifs, ajoute une péripétie utile à ce faible épisode. Voici maintenant la scène la plus mouvementée de la miniature (*Fig. 14*). La scène de bastonnade aurait pu se réduire aux trois personnages du premier plan dont l'écolier, étendu sur le dos, avec sa robe retroussée, son bonnet de fourrure à terre, est le plus pittoresque. Mais le peintre y ajoute cette charmante figure de jeune femme qui tend ses deux mains, sans doute implorantes, vers le grammairien que rien ne peut émouvoir.

A droite (*Fig. 15*), un vieux maître d'école, qui est la figure la plus importante de tout l'ensemble, surveille la scène, augmentant, par sa présence irritée et la punition morale qu'elle suppose, le châtement physique qu'encourt l'innocent écolier. Un écritoire imposant, qui répond à la qualité de celui qui s'en sert, contient tous les accessoires de la science. Enfin, près de ce magister, un minuscule écolier étudie passionnément, sans se laisser distraire par la scène terrifiante qui se passe auprès de lui et qui est peut-être pour beaucoup dans son goût momentané pour l'étude.

Dans le jardin, la dignité, l'immobilité et même la consistance de deux personnages forment un contraste certainement voulu et, en tout cas, habile avec la dispersion et le mouvement des autres figures dont les proportions ne sont pas toujours régulières. Dans la porte apparaît un nègre qui tient en mains divers ustensiles de travail et qui est, entre ces deux mondes distincts, comme un messenger hésitant.

Il n'est pas douteux que cette composition est, pour l'artiste qui l'a conçue, un témoignage d'habileté, d'imagination, de goût dans l'arrangement. Les scènes viennent se superposer aux scènes et nous passons sans heurts, quoique avec une certaine surprise, des unes aux autres.

C'est un grand ensemble qui est comme dévoré de figures diverses. Leur variété en fait le prix. Il n'y a pas, dans cette douzaine de personnages occupés à des tâches différentes, un figurant inutile, doublure sans emploi, produit d'une lassitude de l'invention. Chacun, obscurément ou brillamment, joue un rôle, suit son destin, avec un souci presque visible d'être différent de tous les autres. Cette impression, lorsqu'on l'analyse, est en définitive très forte et un peu déconcertante. Si l'on met à part les deux jeunes écoliers qui, près du mihrāb, minaudent de concert et ne semblent pouvoir être l'un sans l'autre, si l'on fait exception aussi pour le nègre qui contemple ce monde avec le désir évident de n'en point faire partie, presque toutes les figures paraissant ignorer ce que font les autres et même quand leurs mouvements sont adaptés à la situation—surtout dans ce cas là—elles donnent le sentiment qu'elles agiraient de même si elles étaient seules, par une sorte d'automatisme individuel ou, si l'on veut, comme le dirait Leibnitz, par l'harmonie préétablie.

Il me semble que le jeune écolier qui écrit sur sa main, ignore toujours l'aimable badinage de ses deux petits compagnons, comme l'enfant qui est près du maître d'école ne se laissera jamais distraire par le terrible châtement qu'on inflige à l'un de son camarade, prémices pourtant de ce qui pourrait lui advenir à lui aussi. Bien plus, je ne puis m'ôter l'impression que l'homme qui lève son bâton sur le coupable continuerait sa bastonnade, même s'il n'y avait personne devant lui. Et il me paraît si indifférent à ce qui se passe autour de lui, si parfaitement enfermé dans son existence individuelle, que le monde détruit ne le changerait pas.

Même le vieux maître d'école (*Fig. 16*) dont nous admirerons la grande force vivante, est convoqué par quelque présence qui n'est pas celle qu'il a sous les yeux et son irritation passe par dessus le spectacle trop insignifiant qui s'offre à lui. Même observation au sujet de la jeune fille qui supplie on ne sait quelle puissance pour on ne sait quel dessein. Tout indique qu'elle implore pour beaucoup plus que cet enfant qui gémit, qu'elle implore peut-être obscurément pour elle-même, incapable, comme tous les autres personnages, de se séparer de soi, fût-ce pour un mouvement de charité. Enfin, je ne pense pas que les deux personnages du jardin (*Fig. 11*) soient occupés à autre chose qu'à une conversation que leur dicte la fatalité et qui ne les fait pas sortir d'eux-mêmes.

Tout cela, dans cette composition qui est remarquable par la variété et l'abondance des détails inventés, impose finalement une impression de lenteur, d'inadaptation, de silence comme on pourrait en éprouver dans un monde de monades. Une impression fort différente de ce que la plus importante composition de Behzād nous a suggéré sur ce grand maître.¹² Si l'on compare ces deux miniatures, on ne peut pas ne pas constater ce que l'arrangement du *Gulistān* Rothschild a de moins vivant, de moins instinctif, de moins "dynamique," diraient les Allemands. Cette sorte de fécondité généreuse qui, dans le *Bustān* du Caire, dispense les mouvements, engendre les attitudes, crée une étonnante disposition à vivre, et rassemble dans un progrès constant et harmonieux toutes les diverses actions qu'elle produit se change, dans notre miniature, en une analyse intelligente, mais immobile, une dialectique impuissante qui

¹² *Ibid.*, Pl. LXVIII, 83a.

ne parvient pas à passer tout à fait d'un destin à un autre. Cette différence entre ces deux formes de composition me paraît d'autant plus notable qu'elles sont plus proches l'une de l'autre et que tout, dans le *Gulistān* Rothschild, semble préparé pour un mouvement qui ne vient pas. Nous avons ici comme un symbole du sophisme de Zénon d'Elée dont M. Paul Valéry, dans son *Cimetière marin*, nous a donné une expression inoubliable. Ce mouvement qui n'est pas mouvement, cette immobilité dans l'action, cette incapacité d'être autre chose que ce que l'on est expriment assez bien, il me semble, ce qu'il y a d'insolite dans cette miniature si bien faite pour représenter la vie et en même temps si figée. On dirait que Behzād en a conçu et tracé avec virtuosité le schéma et qu'il a laissé à des élèves le soin de trahir ses intentions par une réalisation inférieure au dessein. Il est impossible de reconnaître ici plus que la moitié du grand maître—et plutôt une imitation soigneuse et dirigée qu'un modèle d'un égal mérite.

Cette hypothèse, dont nous n'avons encore qu'une première vérification, l'état des figures va nous en donner une autre plus décisive. Il est remarquable, en effet, que, sur les douze personnages qui sont représentés ici, neuf ou, à la rigueur huit—l'un d'eux étant altéré—soient d'une esthétique fort différente de celle de Behzād. Trois en tout paraissent dignes de l'art du maître de Herāt. Et le plus surprenant est ce vieux maître d'école dont la figure fortement modelée, d'une vivacité d'expression aigüe, donne l'admirable illusion de la chair et de la vie. Le regard, délicieusement dût et irrité, nous introduit dans le chœur de ses secrètes pensées. Chaque portrait parle, chaque détail nous ment et l'ensemble forme un volume réel autour duquel nous avons l'impression de pouvoir tourner pour en mesurer la mystérieuse profondeur, Hamlets intrigués par un crâne. Tout cela est en parfait accord avec ce sens du concret qui nous a semblé, jusqu'alors, être le proper de Behzād et dont nous avons distingué, dans la première miniature du *Gulistān* Rothschild, des échantillons très précieux.

Nous en dirions autant de la figure du nègre. Elle est le produit d'un art subtil et sûr. Les harmonies du jaune qui l'habille, du "noir" qui le dépeint et du fond gris sur lequel il se détache donnent un singulier relief à ce corps qui semble d'abord une simple image figurée sur une porte. C'est par une illusion profitable que ces simples couleurs élèvent le simulacre jusqu'à l'existence et en font une forme qui peut s'animer et qui est bizarrement attentive à un monde auquel elle n'appartient pas.

Enfin, il y a, dans la figure du jeune homme en conversation dans le jardin, une sorte de beauté un peu froide, un peu ici différente qui n'exige peut-être pas le nom de Behzād, mais à laquelle le nom de Behzād peut s'accoler sans invraisemblance. La noblesse et la vérité de l'attitude, une certaine force dans l'impossibilité permettent d'évoquer d'autres figures dont le *Bustān* du Caire nous ont fait apprécier l'auteur.

Mais, si nous passons maintenant à l'étude des autres personnages, même de ceux que pare une certaine complaisance formelle, il est impossible que nous ne soyons pas frappés par la différence d'inspiration et l'incompatibilité des deux formules. Cette jeune fille qui implore avec grâce, si charmante qu'elle soit d'apparence, si harmonieuse que la montre son attitude, elle est définitivement exclue du monde de Behzād où il n'y a pas de beauté sans expression,

pas d'harmonie sans contact, pas de représentation sans présence concrète. Elle fait partie de l'univers, noble et irréel de l'académisme que les Tīmūrīdes avaient rempli de formes mélancoliques et défuntes. Toutes les autres figures nous donnent la même impression d'absence, de vague, d'irrésolution. Ce sont des visages qui n'ont aucun secret à livrer, qui n'obéissent à aucun mouvement invisible, dont les yeux vides expriment parfaitement l'insignifiance sculpturale. Ils ne sont pas reliés à une action, à l'action que justement ils devraient être chargés d'exprimer. Rien ne s'inscrit sur ces surfaces dessinées. Et ce n'est que par une exception, d'ailleurs remarquable, que nous pouvons lire sur la figure de l'enfant livré aux verges la détresse, la nudité, cette misère psychologique qu'on imagine chez ceux qu'on appelle aujourd'hui "les enfants martyrs." Impossible dans la plupart de ces visages anonymes, mollement conçus par un lâche dessin, de reconnaître la technique où excellait Behzād. Impossible de les attribuer à Behzād à moins de retirer à cet artiste l'une des seules supériorités dont nous avons vu jusqu'ici qu'elle ne lui manquait jamais.

Le trait qui est destiné à préciser ces diverses formes n'est sans doute pas sans mérite. Il se lie habilement au sujet, il adhère avec souplesse à la forme qu'il dénote. Il est surtout d'une grande subtilité pour les petites choses et il dessine à merveille les contours des objets pour lesquels la plus grande perfection se confond avec la plus grande minutie. Mais, quand il s'agit d'exprimer la substance même de la ressemblance, ce qu'il y a de fluide et de solide, de libre et de lié dans un visage humain, il apparaît hésitant, vague, privé de cette décision fulgurante que Behzād montrait alors. Comparez, à ce point de vue, la figure du maître d'école et celle du distributeur de châtiment ou de son aide, il ne peut pas vous échapper que, dans la mesure où il s'efforce moins à échanger des lignes contre des mouvements, et des contours contre des pensées, le dessin semble de plus en plus le fait d'un art qui s'abandonne, d'une technique qui balbutie. Nous passons, de l'œuvre d'un grand maître à l'imitation studieuse d'un élève qui a reçu un bon enseignement.

Je ne puis m'empêcher de faire des remarques analogues au sujet du décor dont la conception nous a paru fort digne des ambitions de Behzād. Pourtant, il apparaît à une observation attentive que ce foisonnement de lignes et d'ornements, ce tracé indéfini et rigoureux est assez loin de la rigueur et de l'habileté décorative dont le *Bustān* du Caire nous a donné tant d'admirables exemples. Il y a quelque chose de faible et de lâche dans ce resserrement des nœuds, dans ces volutes, dans ces mouvements, eu égard à l'étincelante force qui, au Caire, tient serrées, comme dans une frise de diamant toutes les lignes qui se développent en multiples caprices, sans rien perdre de l'impulsion initiale. Même les frontispices qu'une inscription attribuée à Yārī sont enluminés avec un goût plus sûr, une précision plus parfaite. On a peine à croire surtout que Behzād ait pu se laisser aller à commettre l'erreur décorative que représentent ces faïences éclatantes, ornées de durs motifs, de rosaces criardes auprès de ces tendres figures d'enfants dont elles dominant lourdement les silhouettes. C'est là un défaut d'équilibre que ce maître des nuances ornementales qu'était Behzād, n'a pu assumer sans faiblir.

Je ne suis pas sûr enfin que le délicieux jardin dont le climat est si digne d'un artiste, soit bien un témoignage en faveur de Behzād. Ce platane d'un réalisme si parfait, avec ces détails

à peine esquissés, dans cet ensemble ordonné et naturel, ne ressemble pas aux arbres qui apparaissent sur les miniatures du Caire. En ce qui touche la nature, le penchant de Behzād le portait vers une conception décorative infiniment subtile et précieuse, où la minutie des détails ne lui semblait pas déplacée. Elle l'éloignait de ce naturalisme harmonieux, presque rêvé, où il ne serait pas impossible de retrouver quelques suites lointaines de l'art chinois.

Que conclure de ces différentes remarques? Nous avons vu que la composition de la miniature est diverse, agile, ingénieuse, soucieuse d'un mouvement qu'elle ne réalise pas. Nous avons vu que la conception en est plus remarquable encore que l'exécution. Nous avons vu que, dans l'exécution même, certaines parties sont de toute beauté et les autres plus fades, plus insignifiantes. Nous avons vu que le décor, dont l'importance est conforme aux vues de Behzād, est moins conforme à sa technique. Nous avons vu, enfin, presque partout, l'inspiration de ce grand maître, presque nulle part sa main même et l'éclatante trace de ses dons. Il est possible de conclure dès lors, avec quelque chance de vérité que la miniature est sûrement de l'école de Behzād, presque sûrement de son atelier et que, très probablement, Behzād lui-même y a collaboré.

D'une manière plus générale, si nous faisons le compte des probabilités diverses que nous devons au *Gulistān* Rothschild, il me semble que nous pouvons nous arrêter aux conclusions suivantes.

1°. La seconde miniature n'est sûrement pas de Behzād. Nous n'y retrouvons ni son habileté de composition, ni son art soucieux du concret, ni sa technique plus vigoureuse qu'exagérément raffinée. Elle n'est peut-être même pas de son atelier. En tout cas, en aucune de ses parties, même les plus charmantes elle ne porte la marque d'un enseignement direct, d'une imitation surveillée. Mais elle appartient certainement à l'école de Herāt dont Behzād était le plus illustre, mais non le seul représentant. L'esthétique tīmūride l'influence à peine et elle bénéficie déjà de tous les grands progrès dont Behzād apparaîtrait, sinon l'inspirateur, du moins le symbole.

2°. La troisième miniature, nous venons de le résumer, nous fait faire un pas de plus vers Behzād. Si elle n'est pas entièrement du maître lui-même, elle touche à son entourage; elle est l'œuvre d'artistes éminents qui travaillaient avec lui et avec qui il travaillait, elle est le résultat d'une collaboration fort précieuse où Behzād a marqué sa part.

3°. La première miniature nous permet peut-être d'aller plus loin encore. Elle nous a paru non pas embrasser tout l'art de Behzād, mais se rattacher à ce qui est le plus représentatif de cet art. D'une composition générale un peu débile, mais fort raffinée dans son détail et animée d'un secret mouvement, elle répond à merveille au dessein profond de Behzād qui est de donner une image individuelle et concrète de l'homme et particulièrement du visage humain. Elle épouse profondément l'être, elle évite avec soin de faire d'une figure un masque ou une apparence, elle cache sous des lignes et de simples couleurs ces puissances indistinctes qui annoncent un caractère et quelquefois une âme. Ce sont ces raisons qui nous invitent à attribuer à Behzād lui-même cette miniature qu'il n'a pas signée. Il se peut—la critique archéologique n'est pas de l'ordre des certitudes—que le maître de Herāt n'ait pas de droit

précis sur le *Gulistān* Rothschild. Mais si, comme il est assez probable, il peut revendiquer l'une des trois miniatures que nous venons d'étudier, c'est la première qui est le plus en accord avec ce que nous savons de son art et ce que nous devinons de ses ambitions esthétiques. C'est celle-là que nous ajoutons à la liste encore courte des œuvres de Behzād qui comptent, dès lors, les cinq miniatures du *Bustān* du Caire, la page de gauche de la double miniature du Musée du *Gulistān* à Téhéran et la première miniature du *Gulistān* Rothschild.

Cette liste n'est pas close. Et l'examen d'autres œuvres qui sont encore attribuées à Behzād, nous permettra peut-être d'y ajouter de nouveaux noms et de faire quelques progrès vers la solution du redoutable problème de Behzād. Ce qui apparaît dès maintenant, ce que l'étude du *Gulistān* inédit nous apprend en particulier, c'est qu'il est impossible de considérer Behzād comme un artiste isolé, travaillant seul, avec les seules ressources de son art et de sa technique. Il y a eu, à n'en pas douter, un atelier Behzād. Et le maître de Herāt ne cessa d'avoir autour de lui, pour les inspirer ou pour avoir recours à eux, des élèves, des disciples, des artistes qui recevaient son enseignement et qui propageaient ses modèles. Il est remarquable, en effet, que parmi les très nombreuses miniatures dites de l'école de Herāt, non seulement les mêmes sujets aient souvent été traités, mais qu'ils aboutissent à tant d'effets semblables, qu'ils utilisent les mêmes détails, produits d'un modèle unique. L'imitation est évidente. Elle suppose vraisemblablement le travail dans un même atelier où les élèves ont le droit de copier et le devoir de suivre les modèles.

Quand l'on considère cette miniature, qui appartient au *Khamsa* de Niẓāmī, daté de 1494-95, conservé au British Museum, (Or. 6810) et qui semble l'œuvre—ainsi que A. Sakisian l'a le premier identifié—d'un remarquable artiste, élève de Behzād, Kāsim 'Alī (*Fig. 16*), il est impossible de n'y pas voir une réplique fort appliquée de la troisième miniature du *Gulistān* Rothschild. Le sujet est le même: la représentation d'une école coranique; la composition est la même: vous pouvez reconnaître, devant le mihrāb, le groupe des trois élèves, avec des attitudes maniérées semblables; vous pouvez reconnaître, à droite, derrière l'écritoire, le manteau qui a épousé la forme de celui qui s'en revêtait et qui, ici est représenté. Vous pouvez reconnaître enfin le vieux maître d'école aux côtés de qui travaille un jeune élève studieux, et le platane majestueux où sont cachés des nids d'oiseaux. Tout cela n'est pas fortuit et suppose une imitation fidèle et volontaire. Tout cela est la preuve d'une filiation entre Kāsim 'Alī et l'artiste qui a achevé la miniature du *Gulistān*. Mais ce qui est plus décisif encore et plus notable, c'est que l'imitation a été jusqu'à la copie. Il est facile de constater, en effet, que l'œuvre du *Khamsa* est la reproduction exacte dans ses grandes lignes—mais renversée, de celle du *Gulistān*. Ce qui est à droite est à gauche et *vice versa*. Il en est ainsi pour toutes les figures que nous avons énumérées. Que faut-il en conclure? C'est qu'évidemment l'imitateur a copié ou plutôt calqué le modèle qu'il voulait suivre et que toute l'orientation s'en est trouvée changée comme par un jeu de glaces. Il n'a pas éprouvé le besoin de faire ensuite la transposition nécessaire. Il s'est contenté, dans ce schéma ainsi obtenu et exactement conservé, d'introduire la variation que lui dictait son imagination ou son goût personnel.

Il s'agit donc évidemment d'œuvres du même atelier. Et il s'agit aussi d'une œuvre d'un élève ayant conscience d'imiter l'œuvre d'un maître. C'est une preuve de plus que la miniature

du *Gulistān* Rothschild, si elle n'est pas toute de la main de Behzād, a reçu cependant sa marque et a été approuvée et retouchée par lui. Elle est d'ailleurs par le mouvement de la composition, par la finesse des détails, par l'art plus vivant et plus vigoureux, fort supérieure à celle de Ḳāsim 'Alī qui n'est pourtant pas sans mérite. Elle est incontestablement plus proche du *Bustān* du Caire et plus apparentée à Behzād.

Nous pourrions faire bien d'autres rapprochements. Nous pourrions noter, par exemple, qu'une autre miniature du même manuscrit du *Khamsa* de 1494 du British Museum, qui représente les ministres du roi Hormuzd implorant la pitié de leur souverain en faveur de son fils *Khosrau* Parviz qui est agenouillé au premier plan,¹³ rappelle d'une manière très curieuse la première miniature du *Gulistān* Rothschild. L'imitation est ici moins servile, plus dissimulée, mais elle n'est pas moins nette. C'est encore la même composition, le même décor auquel le peintre a ajouté une construction qu'il a empruntée à la scène de beuverie du *Bustān* du Caire. Et les personnages eux-mêmes ont passé sans grand changement d'une miniature à l'autre. Les couleurs sont quelquefois modifiées, les attitudes sont un peu différentes, mais l'alibi est insuffisant et ne permet pas de nier une imitation qui était dans la tradition de l'école. Cette miniature a du reste été attribuée à Behzād.

Si nous voulions encore d'autres preuves, nous en trouverions dans une troisième miniature du même *Khamsa*, où dans une scène fort différente, une scène de lamentation,¹⁴ ont été transportés trois personnages du *Bustān* du Caire. Il ne fait pas de doute que ce ne soit là, avec sa sébille et son bâton, dans le même accoutrement, avec la même humble attitude, le pauvre homme à qui, dans la troisième miniature du *Bustān*, un vieillard refusait l'entrée de la mosquée.¹⁵ Le même vieillard est ici aussi encore auprès de lui. Mais, par le procédé de décalque que nous avons remarqué dans Ḳāsim 'Alī, il est figuré à gauche, dans la position contraire que lui fixe la réverbération de l'image. Même remarque pour le personnage agenouillé au premier plan à gauche et qui se trouve à droite devant l'*īwān* du *Bustān*. On a également attribué cette miniature à Behzād.

Tout cela nous permet d'entrevoir pourquoi le problème de Behzād est si complexe et d'une solution si hésitante. Si l'on admet que ce maître avait auprès de lui des artistes pour qui les règles de la propriété artistique étaient fort incertaines, si l'on admet que les uns et les autres jugeaient naturel, commode et même méritoire d'utiliser, par une imitation profitable les modèles divers dont ils disposaient, si l'on se souvient enfin que l'art de la miniature sortait alors à peine de son anonymat, du caractère d'œuvre collective qu'il avait longtemps gardé, il ne sera pas surprenant que nous ayons tant de difficulté à identifier Behzād et tant de scrupule à discerner parmi toutes les œuvres qu'on lui attribue celles qu'il a vraiment conçues et réalisées, celles auxquelles il a divinement collaboré et celles qu'une imitation habile nous a transmis sous son nom et comme son propre héritage. Le problème de Behzād devient ainsi plus général. Il ne serait insoluble que s'il pouvait arriver à l'art, dans ses plus beaux produits et ses plus grands représentants, de se priver de cette part d'inspiration personnelle et de flamme intransmissible qui est le bonheur du génie.

¹³ Blochet, *op. cit.*, Pl. CI.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Pl. CII.

¹⁵ Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, Pl. LXX, B, 83c.

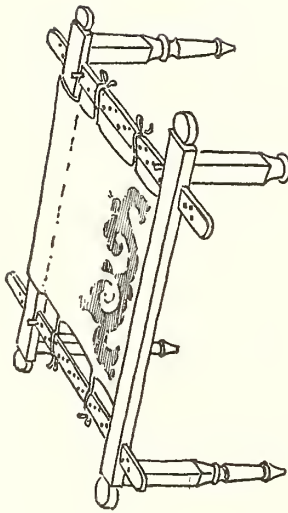


FIG. 1—MÉTIER BAS

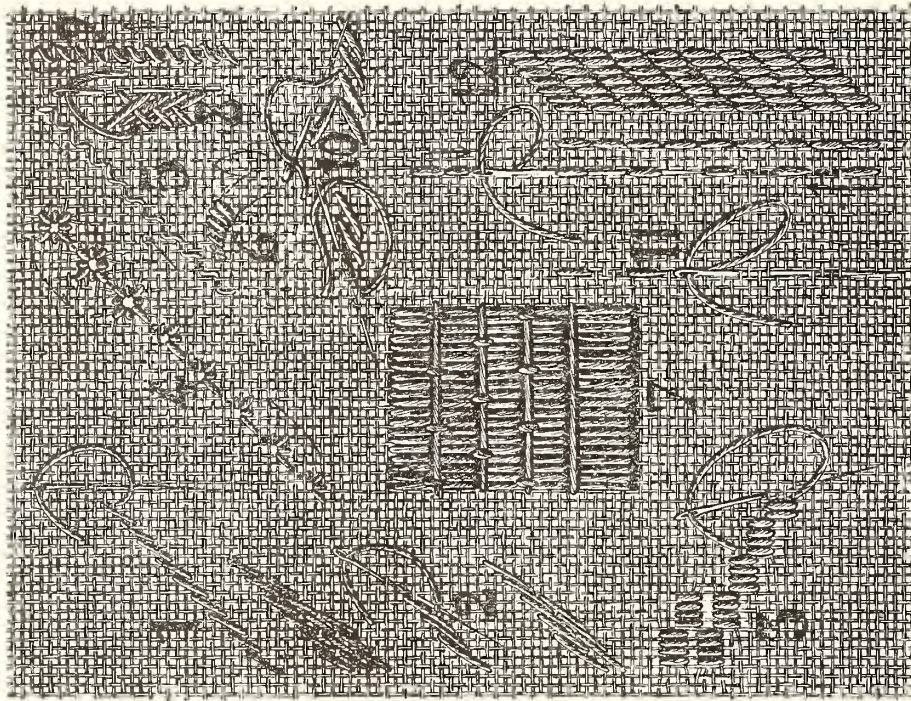


FIG. 2

1—MA'ALKA AVEC ENVERS (POINT DE 4); 2—MA'ALKA SANS ENVERS (POINT DE 6); 3—POINT DE CŒUR (DÉTAIL DES FLEURS); 4—ZELILEDJ; 5—POINT SERPENTANT DE BIAIS (SERTISSAGE DE QUELQUES BRODERIES EN ZELILEDJ); 6—MENEZZEL; 7—METERRHA; 8—POINT NATTÉ (REMPLISSAGE DU TRAIT LIMITANT LES BRODERIES EN MA'ALKA); 9—POINT SERPENTANT DROIT FIL; 10—POINT DE PLUME (REMPLISSAGE DE MOTIFS EN FEUILLES; 11—POINT DE TRAIT (SERTISSAGE DU ZELILEDJ OU DU MA'ALKA); 12—REMPLISSAGE DES MOTIFS EN BRODERIE D'OR OU ARGENT

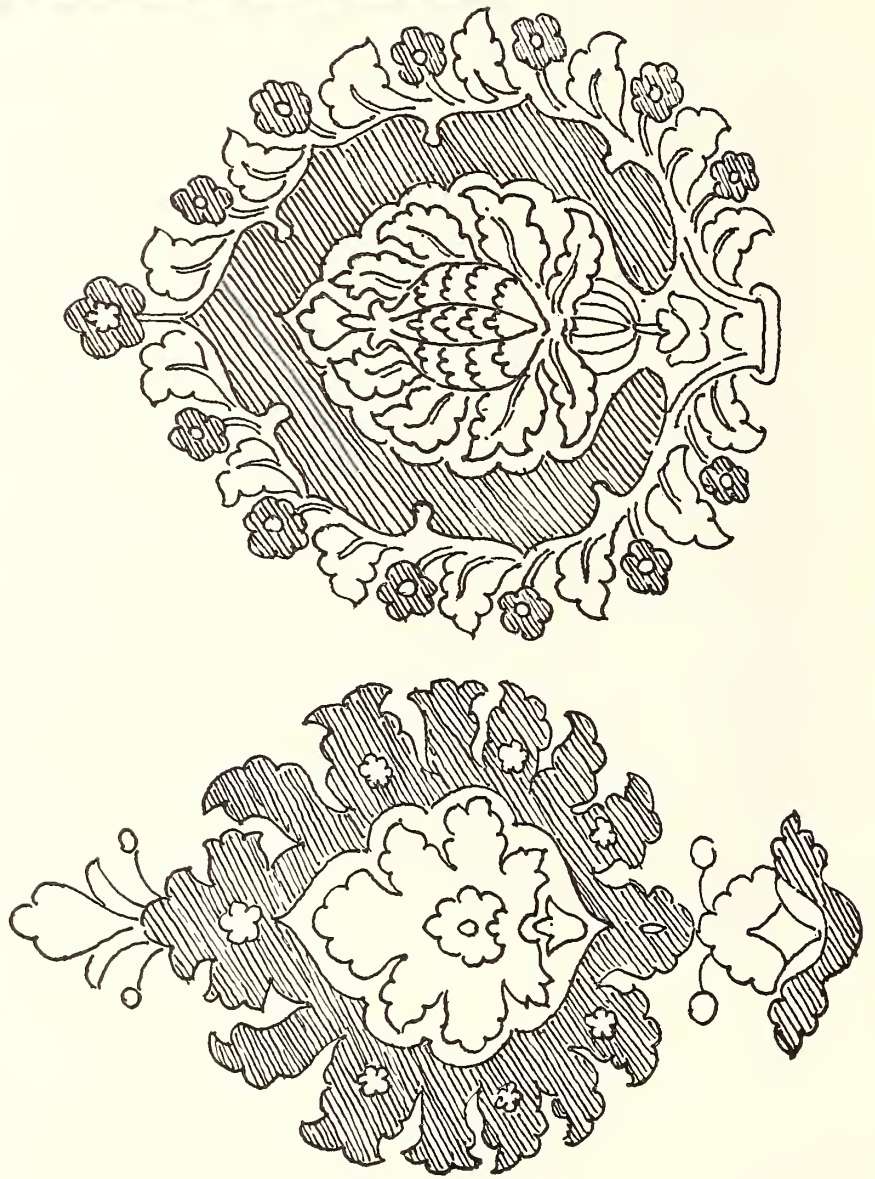


FIG. 10

VELOUR DE VENISE, QUINZIÈME SIÈCLE

BRODERIE D'ALGER

PENDANT LES TROIS SIÈCLES QUI PRÉCÉDÈRENT LE DÉBARQUEMENT DES FRANÇAIS SUR LA CÔTE d'Afrique, Alger fut le siège d'un gouvernement turc.

Ce n'est pas ici le lieu de rappeler dans quelles conditions deux aventuriers levantins s'étaient, vers 1528, installés dans ce qui n'était jusque là qu'un petit centre berbère pourvu d'un mouillage médiocre. Il suffira de constater que, grâce à eux, Alger devint une cité importante, capitale d'une redoutable puissance militaire vassale de Constantinople, et disposant d'un port de corsaires capable de faire trembler toutes les marines de la Chrétienté. Cette ville, qui n'avait qu'un passé obscur qui était dénuée de toute vraie tradition urbaine et qui ne comptait que des Berbères et des immigrés andalous, se remplit d'une population presque uniquement étrangère au pays, musulmans venus de l'Anatolie, de la péninsule des Balkans ou des îles de l'Archipel, renégats chrétiens venus de n'importe où, n'ayant d'autre métier que la guerre et d'autre moyen d'existence que l'exploitation fiscale des indigènes et le pillage au dépens des gens de la côte d'en face ou des navires qu'ils rencontraient en route.

D'une ville ainsi peuplée on ne peut attendre une civilisation bien brillante. Ses maîtres étaient des soudards incultes; cependant ils aimaient à s'entourer de belles choses, qu'ils sauraient choisir, à se reposer, entre deux expéditions, dans un cadre harmonieux et plaisant. L'art d'Alger est un art d'importation et, pour tout dire, un art d'écumeurs des mers; cependant cet art existe; une certaine personnalité se dégage des éléments heteroclites qui s'y associent. Les maisons citadines ou rurales, aux formes très simples, mais logiques et bien adaptées au pays, ont un charme indéniable. Quant à la parure de ces demeures, elle est presque toute d'emprunt. Les glaces vénitiennes y voisinent avec les faïences d'Espagne ou de Hollande, les soieries de Lyon et les pendules d'Angleterre; mais ce bric à brac international compose des ensembles ou s'affirme un goût somptueux et parfois délicat. Si l'on cherche ce qui dans ces ensembles représente l'apport personnel des maîtres du pays, ce que l'art d'Alger doit aux Turcs, on peut assez vite en dresser le bilan.

Ces importations ou ces innovations turques expriment les formes nouvelles de la vie, les goûts propres aux immigrés. Pour cette société essentiellement militaire, des armuriers habitant les montagnes de Kabylie fabriquent des fusils et des pistolets dont ils incrustent le bois d'argent et de corail, des brodeurs sur cuir et sur velours enrichissent de soie et de fil d'or les bottes, les cartouchières, les ceinturons ainsi que les selles et les harnais des chevaux. Importateurs d'une cuisine jusqu'alors inconnue dans les villes berbères, ils auront des ustensiles

¹ La plus riche collection de ces broderies se trouve au Musée Stéphane Gsell d'Alger; elle est répartie dans trois salles de la section musulmane. On en trouve aussi au Musée des tissus de Lyon, au Musée des arts décoratifs de Paris, au Musée Victoria and Albert de Londres. Il en existe dans quelques musées des Etats Unis. Sur ces broderies on peut consulter A. J. B. Wace, *Catalogue*

of Algerian Embroideries (Victoria and Albert Museum—Department of Textiles) 2^e éd., Londres, 1935; G. Marçais, *L'Exposition d'art musulman d'Alger, Avril 1905*, Paris, 1906; *idem*, "L'Exposition d'art musulman," *Revue africaine*, 1906; *idem*, *L'art en Algérie*, Alger, 1906; Marius Vachon, *Les industries d'art indigènes*, Alger, 1902.

nouveaux; pour eux les dinandiers repousseront et graveront le cuivre des grands plats couverts, des cafetières, des cuvettes et des aiguères qui servent pour se laver les mains après le repas. Vivant les yeux sans cesse tournés vers la Turquie, ils adopteront pour eux et pour leurs femmes des costumes orientaux. Les officiers de la milice se pareront de velours ou de drap couverts de passementeries; leurs compagnes broderont elles-mêmes ou feront broder par d'habiles ouvrières des écharpes et des bonnets décorés de soies de couleurs selon des patrons traditionnels.

Tout nous incite à considérer cet art de la broderie féminine d'Alger comme une production d'époque turque et strictement locale. D'autres centres d'Algérie ont créé des broderies féminines (sans que l'on constate ici une diversité comparable à celle qui nous émerveille au Maroc²); on connaît la broderie multicolore de Bone et la broderie métallique de Constantine; mais l'une et l'autre diffèrent complètement de la broderie d'Alger. Les centres les plus voisins de la capitale des Turcs ne semblent pas l'avoir pratiquée; et elle était en revanche, lors du débarquement des Français en 1830, la principale occupation de bon nombre des bourgeoises de la ville.

Nous avons donc pu voir encore vivre sous nos yeux ce charmant art féminin dont de généreux efforts se sont appliqués, non sans succès, à prolonger l'existence. C'est à l'une des femmes qui ont le plus contribué à cette survie, Mme Ben Aben, que je dois une bonne partie des renseignements que je consignerai ici.³

Ces broderies s'exécutent en soies de couleurs, le plus souvent sur étamine de lin, toile transparente et de teinte ficelle, quelquefois sur tissu blanc, de coton de texture plus serrée ou sur soie blanche ou de couleur claire.

La pièce à broder (*Fig. 1*) est tendue horizontalement sur un métier bas, formé d'un chassis de bois rectangulaire extensible muni de quatre pieds de 40 à 50 centimètres de haut. Les parties du tissu déjà brodées sont fixées et enroulées à l'une des longues traverses du chassis; les parties encore non brodées sont enroulées sur la traverse parallèle et seront déroulées au fur et à mesure de l'avancement du travail. La plupart des métiers sont fort simples, faits de bois blanc; mais il en est d'assez riches, dont le bois plus sombre est incrusté de nacre et d'ivoire.

Les couleurs des soies anciennes sont brillantes et d'une étonnante fixité. Elles résistent à l'exposition prolongée au soleil. Les tons les plus fréquents sont le rouge écarlate, le bleu sombre et le violet tirant sur le bleu. Leur emploi permet de distinguer deux familles: les broderies rouges et bleues et les broderies violettes. Mais d'autres couleurs interviennent accessoirement, sans changer la tonalité générale. Ce sont, outre le blanc et le noir, qui sert avec le brun pour les traits cernant les surfaces colorées, le bleu clair, le vert bouteille, le vert mousse, le jaune paille, le jaune citron, l'ocre, le beige, le saumon, le rose clair et le rose vif.

² Sur les broderies marocaines cf. P. Ricard, *Arts marocains, I, Broderies*, Alger, 1918.

³ Je dois également de très utiles indications à Mme Hémerly ainsi qu'à Mlle Sabatier, directrice du cabinet

de dessin de l'Académie d'Alger, et à ses collaboratrices Mme Haddon, auteur de relevés de points joints à cette étude et Mme Gallois, auteur des clichés photographiques.

A ces soies de couleur il faut ajouter les paillettes dorées et le fil d'or ou d'argent qui apparaît parfois discrètement pour enrichir des fleurettes, mais peut prendre une place importante et couvrir de vastes surfaces. Certaines pièces—en particulier des bonnets—sont entièrement brodées d'or.

La technique des brodeuses comporte des points assez variés. Les noms arabes des principaux nous sont connus (*Fig. 2*). Ce sont :

le *ma'alqa*, "tapissé," point diagonal avec envers ou sans envers, c'est à dire apparaissant identique sur les deux faces du tissu ;

le *zeliledj*, "petit carreau de faïence," point étoilé sans envers (le *zeliledj* était aussi appelé "point turc") ;

le *menezzel*, "aligné," point passé sans envers (il s'exécute rarement sur étamine, le plus souvent sur toile serrée ou sur soie) ;

le *meṭerrha*, "piqué, matelassé," obtenu en fixant de distance en distance les fils tendus d'un bord à l'autre des surfaces à remplir (le *meṭerrha*, qui a un envers, ne s'emploie jamais sur étamine, mais uniquement sur toile serrée ou sur soie).

Les tissus décorés au moyen de ces points trouvent leur emploi dans trois genres de pièces du costume féminin ou de l'ameublement.

La *benīka*⁴ est un bonnet très simple (*Fig. 3*). De dimensions fort variable il est formé d'une bande, qui peut mesurer de 15 à 23 cm. de large et de 1 m. 90 à 2 m. 50 de long, repliée en son milieu et dont un des bords est cousu à partir de ce milieu de part et d'autre d'un ruban sur une longueur d'environ 22 cm. Les pans flottants—les "barbes" de la *benīka*—sont souvent barrés vers leur extrémité par une bande de broderie à jour en soie blanche ou en fil d'or et de décor géométrique. Cette coiffure se présente comme un minuscule capuchon enveloppant la tête. Le pli est placé sur le crâne, la couture descendant par derrière, et les pans peuvent être enroulés autour des cheveux pour les sécher. La *benīka*, servait et sert encore à Alger après le bain, mais les femmes la portaient également chez elles comme nous le verrons et elles ne la portent plus. Les fillettes de Tlemcen se coiffent encore de bonnets analogues, mais en toile et sans ornement, que l'on nomme *Ḳardūn* ou *melwa*. Ce genre de coiffure est aussi en usage à Constantine et à Tunis, où l'on donne à la *benīka* le nom de *Kufīya*, ce qui nous rappelle la *scuffia* italienne et l'*escoffion* ou *scoffion* du moyen âge français.

Comme la *benīka*, l'écharpe dite *tanchīfa* (*Fig. 4*) sert de coiffure au *ḥammām*. Le dictionnaire de Beaussier⁵ la définit, "pièce d'étoffe longue et étroite dont les femmes s'enveloppent la tête en sortant du bain." La *tanchīfa* peut mesurer 2 m. 60 de long et 30 à 40 cm. de large. Comme les barbes de la *benīka* les bouts en sont ornés de bandes de broderie à jour blanche ou dorée formant entredeux au delà desquelles la broderie multicolore reparait en de courts panneaux.

La broderie de soies de couleur (*Fig. 5*) décore également des rideaux que l'on pendait

⁴ Cf. G. Marçais, *Le Costume musulman d'Alger*, Paris, 1930, p. 111.

⁵ M. Beaussier, *Dictionnaire pratique arabe-français*, 2^e éd., Alger, 1931.

aux portes des chambres. Le tissu était assez clair pour qu'on put voir la cour de l'intérieur de la chambre, mais il ne permettait au visiteur placé dans la cour de rien distinguer dans l'ombre des appartements. Les rideaux sont invariablement composés de trois bandes d'étamine brodée larges d'environ 40 cm., hautes d'environ 2 m. 50, reliées entre elles par des rubans de soie de couleurs diverses en nombre impair (11 à 15), le ruban central plus large étant décoré de fleurettes tissées. La largeur des trois bandes et des rubans d'assemblage atteint assez constamment 1 m. 80.

Le décor des broderies d'Alger est exclusivement floral, mais il faut s'entendre. Aucune espèce végétale connue ne peut être désignée avec certitude comme ayant fournie les formes que nous y trouvons. Ce sont là des palmes et des fleurs très librement stylisées ou même empruntées avec des modifications à quelque art antérieur qui les avait déjà interprétées au point de les rendre méconnaissables. Deux genres de stylisation peuvent être distingués.

Le premier genre comporte des tiges souples portant des rameaux enroulés qui soutiennent des palmes minces ou des fleurs étalées (*Figs. 6-9*). Ces tiges composent des rinceaux de bordure ou des motifs symétriques occupant l'axe des panneaux. Le motif central affecte fréquemment une forme bulbeuse, que les tiges circonscrivent, renflée sur les côtés, pointue au sommet et s'épanouissant en un fleuron étalé.

Le deuxième genre, beaucoup plus conventionnel, ne présente pas de tiges. Un fleuron central de forme bulbeuse ou en fuseau large, sans détail intérieur et profondément découpé sur les bords est circonscrit par un limbe continu découpé intérieurement de lobes concaves et extérieurement de grandes digitations, dont les silhouettes semblent exprimer alternativement des feuilles et des fleurs. Une deuxième zone concentrique et de même nature entoure parfois cette première auréole. Ainsi un médaillon ovale ou circulaire s'organise autour du fleuron central.

A ces formes symétriques il convient d'ajouter des palmes asymétriques dont la pointe se courbe en crochet, souvenir probable de la palme des tissus indous.

Tels sont, avec de petits fleurons formés de limbes découpés, les éléments décoratifs que l'on rencontre dans nos broderies. Quant à leur distribution dans les surfaces à décorer, elle est aussi de deux ou trois genres qui servent pour les différentes pièces.

Il est à remarquer que ces pièces, bonnets à pans flottant, écharpes et rideaux à trois bandes, se présentent toutes comme des panneaux beaucoup plus longs que larges. La composition la plus riche comportera une succession de grands médaillons circulaires ou ovales, dont les intervalles seront meublés par des éléments plus petits. Toute la surface sera occupée, notamment dans certaines broderies rouges et bleues. La composition sera parfois plus aérée, les médaillons plus réduits, et le champ vide apparaîtra dans les intervalles.

Les écharpes et les bonnets présentent fréquemment deux extrémités très fournies et deux rinceaux étroits qui, suivant les bords, relient les médaillons entre eux. Parfois aussi les médaillons sont absents et les rinceaux de bordure entourent une bande centrale laissée vide ou meublée par un semis de petits bouquets.



FIG. 3—BENİKA BRODÉE POINT MENEZZEL



FIG. 4—ECHARPE BRODÉE POINT MA'ALKA



FIG. 5—EXTRÉMITÉ D'UNE ÉCHARPE VIOLETTE, MONTRANT LES DEUX BANDES DE BRODERIE À JOUR BLANCHE



FIG. 6—RIDEAU BRODÉ (DÉTAIL). POINT MA'ALKA

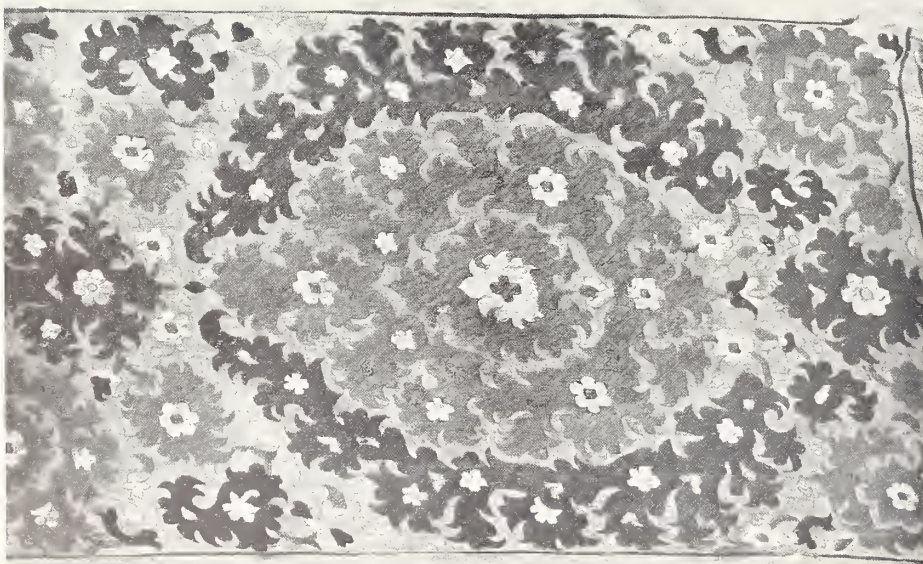


FIG. 7—ECHARPE BRODÉE (DÉTAIL). POINT MA'ALËA



FIG. 8—RIDEAU BRODÉ (DÉTAIL). POINT ZELÏEDJ



FIG. 9—RIDEAU BRODÉ (DÉTAIL). POINT MENEZZEL

Que savons nous sur le passé de cet art féminin si vivant encore en 1830 et dont les spécimens existant peuvent être datés de début du dix-neuvième siècle ou du dix-huitième siècle, au plutôt du dix-septième?⁶ Quels indices en retrouvons nous chez les vieux auteurs européens qui nous ont renseignés sur l'Alger turc?

Le premier de nos informateurs est le Bénédictin espagnol Haedo,⁷ dont la documentation date des dernières années du seizième siècle. Il signale déjà l'usage du bonnet nommé *benīka*, "lequel est de toile et travaillé sur le devant en soie de couleur verte, jaune ou rouge." Dès cette époque la broderie de soie figurait dans le décor de cette coiffure féminine. Toutes les musulmanes d'Alger portent la *benīka*, et ce n'est pas là un ajustement spécial aux femmes des Turcs. Quant aux ouvrières qui sont capables de l'exécuter, il semble douteux qu'elles soient d'origine levantine. "Bien peu de femmes d'Alger savent travailler la soie," nous dit Haedo, "à moins que ce ne soit quelque renégate ou mauresque d'Espagne qui l'aura appris dans son pays d'origine et les filles qui naissent d'elles, à qui elles l'ont enseigné. Cependant il y a quelques ateliers publics tenus par des mauresques. Mais le travail qu'on y apprend est si grossier et la peine des maîtresses si peu récompensée qu'on n'en tient pas compte." Malgré le peu d'état qu'en fasse Haedo, on retiendra l'existence à Alger dès la fin du seizième siècle de petites écoles de broderies et de *ma'allimāt* (maîtresses) qui, d'après lui, sont des mauresques, c'est à dire des femmes d'origine andalouse.

Le même auteur nous apprend que "la soie filée de toutes couleurs vient de Gênes, de Naples et de Sicile. Il ne la mentionne pas comme une importation de l'Orient, qui envoie des étoffes de soie, du velours, de toiles de turbans, des ceintures et des vêtements tout faits.

Les voyageurs du dix-septième siècle, comme de Brèves (1628) ou d'Arvieux (1660), ne nous apportent aucun renseignement utilisable. Il faut attendre le dix-huitième siècle et le livre de Langier de Tassy (1724)⁸ où nous trouvons mention des rideaux assemblés par des rubans. "On a des rideaux aux fenêtres et aux portes de toile fort claire, avec des rubans de soie de couleurs entre deux lès." Le même renseignement, en terme presque identique, mais avec plus de précision nous est fourni par Venture de Paradis (1789).⁹ "Il se fait dans tout le royaume d'Alger une grande consommation de rubans pour l'ornement des meubles et des habits de femmes. . . . Par exemple un rideau qui sera composé de deux lès d'étoffe aura dans le milieu trois rubans de diverses couleurs auxquels on joindra ces deux lès." L'auteur ne nous dit pas que ces lès de tissu soient brodés, mais ailleurs il nous parle de la broderie. "Les Algériens," nous dit-il, "tirent de Marseille les soies qui leur sont nécessaires pour leurs broderies." Et il nous apprend que l'importation est presque le monopole d'un

⁶ Wace, *op. cit.*, p. 15, estime que les broderies de la série rouge et blanc sont plus anciennes que les broderies violettes parce qu'elles sont d'un travail plus soigné et exécutées sur un tissu plus beau. Les violettes, brodées sur toile de lin assez grossière ou sur coton, ne lui semblent pas antérieures au dix-neuvième siècle.

⁷ Diego de Haedo, *Topographia e historia general de Argel*, Valladolid, 1612, p. 28 verso. Traduction fran-

çaise de Monnereau et Berbrugger dans la *Revue africaine*, 1871, pp. 108, 203.

⁸ Langier de Tassy, *Histoire du royaume d'Alger*, Amsterdam, 1727, p. 133.

⁹ Venture de Paradis, "Alger au XVIII^e siècle," *Revue africaine*, 1895-1896, réunie en volume, Alger, 1898, p. 16.

negociant marseillais nommé Gimon, qui réserve pour Alger des soies de qualité médiocre et de placement difficile sur tout autre marché. Il n'en vient pas du Levant, qui en voie cependant, comme au seizième siècle, des étoffes de soie, du velours et de la toile. Quant à Alger elle-même, elle fabrique des rubans de soie en assez grande quantité et elle les teint avec une remarquable perfection. "Les rubans en couleur écarlate et violette ont plus d'éclat et de solidité que ceux de la Chrétienté et ils se vendent aussi plus cher (que ceux de Livourne notamment). C'est sans doute à la qualité des eaux que les Algériens doivent le brillant et la solidité de l'écarlate et du violet." On retiendra la mention de ces deux couleurs, qui sont précisément, avec le bleu, les plus employées dans les broderies d'Alger.

Aucun auteur ne nous parle des rubans décorés qui entrent dans la composition des rideaux. Mais ici l'examen des objets eux mêmes atteste qu'ils étaient fournis par l'industrie lyonnaise. Ce sont des rubans "Louis XVI."

Quelles conclusions pouvons nous tirer de ces quelques renseignements fournis par les voyageurs? Dès le seizième siècle, la broderie est pratiquée dans l'Alger turc, toutefois elle n'apparaît pas comme une importation turque. Les femmes qui s'y adonnent semblent surtout d'origine andalouse, mais elles peuvent être aussi des "renégates," c'est à dire des captives européennes venant de divers pays du monde méditerranéen. L'Anatolie et la Turquie d'Europe fournissaient des tissus. Rien ne nous dit qu'elles aient envoyé des pièces brodées pouvant servir de modèles aux ouvrières d'Alger.

L'examen des œuvres nous conduira-t-il à d'autres conclusions?

On ne peut nier qu'il y ait des ressemblances entre nos broderies et celles de l'Asie mineure de la péninsule des Balkans ou des îles de l'Archipel. La palette des brodeuses, l'emploi du rouge et du bleu s'affirme dans les broderies du Levant. Le *zeliledj* ou *point turc* présente quelque parenté d'aspect avec certains points des broderies balkaniques. Par une rencontre peut-être fortuite, le point d'Alger dit *meçerrha* est également en usage au Turkestan. La forme en fuseau est courante dans les velours de Scutari. L'élément floral le plus important, cette silhouette générale bulbeuse, rappelant la grenade ou l'artichaut,¹⁰ qui constitue le thème central des médaillons, a été signalé dans les broderies de l'île de Cos, une des Sporades.¹¹

Toutefois cette dernière forme si caractéristique s'était répandue de bonne heure dans les pays méditerranéens. Elle apparaît dès le quinzième siècle dans les brocarts et les velours de Gênes, de Venise ou d'Espagne. On doit en particulier signaler l'analogie que présentent avec ces tissus européens nos broderies rouges et bleues (*Fig. 10*), où le fleuron central est enveloppé d'une couronne concentrique sans tige, entaillée par des lobes concaves, circulaires ou pointus, vers l'intérieur, et s'étalant, vers l'extérieur, en découpures de silhouettes alternées.

A. J. B. Wace¹² a bien mis en lumière les rapports étroits qui unissaient l'art turc et l'art

¹⁰ Wace, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

¹¹ Cf. A. J. B. Wace, *Mediterranean and Near Eastern Embroideries from the Collection of Mrs. F. H. Cook*, London, 1935, p. 25, Pls. LXII-LXIV.

¹² A. J. B. Wace, *Brief Guide to the Turkish Woven Fabrics* (Victoria and Albert Museum—Department of Textiles), 2^e éd., London, 1931, pp. 12-14.

italien, le rôle joué par le commerce de Venise, Gênes, Amalfi et Pise avec le levant. L'analogie des étoffes est frappante; il écrit avec raison, "Sometimes a real doubt exists whether a given textile is of Turkish or Italian origin," et il donne précisément pour exemple la forme lobée et le motif de l'artichaut, également familiers aux ateliers des deux pays.

Nous ne pouvons donc affirmer que ces décors européens soient parvenus à Alger en passant par la Turquie ou qu'ils aient été directement transmis à Alger par les pays chrétiens, qui, particulièrement dans le domaine artistique exercèrent une influence si profonde et si continue dans la vie des cités barbaresques. Cette dernière supposition est étayée par trop de faits connexes pour qu'on ne soit pas tenté de l'accepter. Les modèles de l'Italie ou de l'Espagne chrétienne entrent pour une très large part, dans l'art d'Alger. Sans parler des faïences importées des péninsules voisines, les sculptures sur pierre et sur bois des maisons algéroises semblent souvent reproduire, avec quelque gaucherie, des œuvres de la Renaissance italienne ou espagnole. Il est permis de supposer que les mauresques ou les renégates, qui brodaient les coiffures, les écharpes et les rideaux en usage dans les demeures des Corsaires, s'inspirèrent également des belles étoffes que l'on créait dans leurs pays d'origine.

A JAINA MANUSCRIPT FROM GUJARAT ILLUSTRATED IN EARLY WESTERN INDIAN AND PERSIAN STYLES BY W. NORMAN BROWN

THE CLASH BETWEEN INDIGENOUS AND PERSIAN STYLES OF PAINTING IN INDIA, WHICH resulted in a fusion and in the creation of most of the varieties of Indian miniature painting from the seventeenth century on, is most clearly evident in the Muhammadan capitals of the northwest and north of India, and is best known from works produced in them, namely, Lahore, Delhi, Agra, Fatehpur-Sikri, and Lucknow. In some of those cities there are found in royal libraries manuscripts actually manufactured outside of India and brought in for the appreciation of rulers, especially the Mughal emperors; we have recovered signed and fairly definitely datable works of Indian artists who imitated Persian technique; and there are records of Persian artists instructing Indians. We can observe the rise of the Mughal school of painting, and note its spread, and at the same time see the more incidental use of Persian elements in the various styles of the Hindu states in the Himalayan foothills, in Rajputana, and even in eastern and southern sections of India.

It would be a mistake to suppose that only in the northern capitals was there creative contact of Indian and Persian painting, and doubtless no scholar really believes that this was the case. There are local varieties of miniature painting in other parts of India, where the fusion of the indigenous and the foreign may possibly have been direct, without the intermediate agency of any Mughal style. It is not easy to offer direct evidence of the fusion in these other centers, because we have not found in their libraries preserved paintings imported from abroad, as we have in Delhi, nor have we historical records of artists who were imported from Persia. We are for the most part compelled to draw our conclusions by inference from examples of new forms which can be explained only as instances of a hybrid style.

One of the regions where antecedently we might expect development of new, more or less Persianized, kinds of painting, without derivation from the Mughal style, is Gujarat. We know that this rich and highly cultured section of India had its own individual variety of manuscript illustration from at least as early as the first part of the twelfth century, a style which is perhaps best designated as the Early Western Indian.¹ This style was used in Gujarat until the end of the sixteenth and first part of the seventeenth century when it was superseded by another, clearly employing many Persian features, which is a "Rajput" style, similar to other Rajput styles, yet with a distinct individuality, so that a Gujarat painting of the eighteenth or nineteenth century, especially if in a Jaina manuscript, can be identified at sight. The stages of the fusion are not fully demonstrable, but the material published in this paper should make it certain that fusion took place in Gujarat independently of influence from the north, that is, of the Mughal school, that in Gujarat the fusion was still taking place in the sixteenth cen-

¹ W. Norman Brown, *The Story of Kālaka*, Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1933, pp. 13-24, 112-144, and illus.; *idem*, *Miniature Paintings of the Jaina Kālpasūtra*, Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1934;

A. K. Coomaraswamy, "The Conqueror's Life' in Jaina Painting," *Journ. Indian Soc. Orient. Art*, III, 1935, pp. 127-144.

ture, and that the late sixteenth and seventeenth century Gujarat examples of what might otherwise be called Western Rajput were actually the derivatives of the sixteenth century Gujarat fusion.

The materials which I am presenting in this paper are not those that show the earliest phases of Persian influence upon Early Western Indian miniature painting. From somewhere around 1400 A.D., when paper came to supplant palm leaves as the surface for writing in Gujarat,² there are features of the painting which seem to point to Persia. The paper itself was probably brought to Gujarat by Muhammadans,³ possibly also the use of gold for writing and as a pigment in painting, first appearing in Jaina manuscripts in the fourteenth century.⁴ The physical type of the Sakas, invaders from Persia into western India, who appear in the illustrations of the paper manuscripts of the Kālakācāryakathā seems to be still more definitely Persian. These Sakas and their rulers, the Sāhis, differ radically in appearance and treatment from the Indian types in the same paintings, and instead they conform to Persian, especially Mongol Persian, antecedents.⁵ The overlord of the Sāhis is called *sāhānusāhi*, a Persian linguistic formation (*shahan-shah*) which matches the pictorial characteristics. But we cannot point to any Persian paintings preserved in Gujarat from the fifteenth century nor to any paintings executed in Gujarat at that time which in composition and treatment of all elements imitate the Persian. We can only deduce from the mixed character of the illustrations to the Kālaka story that somehow Persian elements had reached Gujarat and come to be used by artists there in the early part of the fifteenth century. This time, of course, preceded that of the development of the Mughal style in northern India.

There exists at least one manuscript, unfortunately not dated but executed in Gujarat in the sixteenth century, which shows positively that Persian styles of painting were known there at that time and were practiced side by side with the indigenous Early Western Indian style. This manuscript is an example of the Jaina Kalpasūtra and Kālakācāryakathā, the works most frequently illustrated in the Early Western Indian style, and it belongs to the Dayā Vimalajī Bhaṇḍāra, of the Vimala Gaccha Upāśraya, at Devaśānopāde, Ahmedabad, where I was allowed to examine it in 1934 and to photograph eleven folios. It is the most elaborately

² Brown, *Kālaka*, pp. 20-22.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21.

⁴ Cf. E. Blochet, *Musulman Painting—XIIth-XVIIth Century*, London, 1929, p. 63: "...the Persian palette grows brilliant after about 1300, or even a little earlier, and the gold background appears in Iranian technique at the same time as the profusion of gold in the ornaments; this brilliant style reaches its height at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century." Cf. *ibid.*, p. 90.

Gold pigment is used in an undated palm-leaf manuscript of the Kalpasūtra lying in the Sheth Āṇandajī Mangalajī Peḍhīnā Jñāna-bhaṇḍāra, Idar, Gujarat. Shah calls this work "thirteenth century," but offers no reason.

He publishes some illustrations from it; a number of others appear in *Kalpa Dev Lal*, *passim*. After examining the entire Idar manuscript in India, I am convinced that it is a fourteenth century production: (1) gold as pigment first appears in positively dated manuscripts early in the fifteenth century; one would expect this palm-leaf manuscript to be close to those chronologically; (2) the paintings of the Idar manuscript are stylistically to be associated with other dated paintings of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century. This second point I am developing in an article to be published shortly in the *Journ. Indian Soc. Oriental Art*.

⁵ Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-24, and illus.

illustrated and decorated example of the Kalpasūtra or Kālakācāryakathā that I have ever seen, a fact which in itself drew my attention to it, but even more interesting is the appearance on its pages of Persian marginal ornamentation, and paintings executed in both an Early Western Indian and a Persian style; often both styles are represented on the same page.

In general format this is a characteristic Jaina manuscript from Gujarat of the sixteenth century. It contains 187 folios measuring about 10.3 inches by 4.5 inches, written on both sides. The writing is in gold ink on a colored background, which is usually red, but may also be of two colors (*Fig. 4*). The normal page has seven lines of writing, with wide margins at the top, bottom, and sides (*Fig. 1*). In the center of each page is a square space filled with a decoration, which is a conventional survival of the dot or other mark at the string hole of the palm leaf and some paper manuscripts, and which served a real purpose in accommodating the string that kept the folios together and in order. In the older manuscripts the string hole might be contained in a space reserved from top to bottom of the page and marked off by parallel lines.⁶ In this manuscript there is no hole, only the decoration, which is not a simple round dot of red, but a festooned lozenge of red and other colors (*Fig. 1 et passim*) or some other device (*Figs. 6, 11*). The dimensions of the page give a proportional relation of 2.3 : 1; this is markedly smaller than that of the palm-leaf and the early dated paper manuscripts, which latter all approach nearer the proportions of the palm leaf. The number of lines to the page, the large size of the writing, and the elaborate character of the central ornament also are like the corresponding features of paper illustrated Kalpasūtra manuscripts dated in the late fifteenth and sixteenth century. Except for a less elaborate degree of execution of these features, MS Hc used in my Kalpasūtra book⁷ is a close parallel to this manuscript; it bears the date of Saṃvat 1577 (1520 A.D.). In addition, the present manuscript completely fills in the side margins with decoration, whereas MS Hc has only slight decoration and shows the rubricating dots for the folio numbers. It is a fair assumption that the present manuscript is later than MS Hc chronologically, as well as stylistically, and it may plausibly be dated at some time during the second or third quarter of the sixteenth century.⁸

The paintings of this manuscript which are in the Early Western Indian style are typical

⁶ Brown, *op. cit.*, Pl. 2, Fig. 6; Pl. 6, Fig. 14; and Pl. 8, Fig. 21.

⁷ Brown, *Kalpasūtra*, p. 3, and Figs. 15 and 104.

⁸ Kalpasūtra manuscripts of this type (the present manuscript and MS Hc) cannot possibly be dated earlier than the latter part of the fifteenth century, and where they correspond closely to this type in the several features mentioned above in my text the chances are strongly in favor of a date in the sixteenth century. Actual dates in a manuscript are not always reliable; cf. for example the impossible conclusion reached in Hirananda Sastri, *Indian Pictorial Art as developed in Book Illustration*, "Gaekwad's Archaeological Series," No. 1, Baroda, 1936, p. 10 and Pl. VIII, concerning a manu-

script of this type containing in the colophon a date of Saṃvat 1125 (1067 A.D.). Dr. Hirananda Sastri fails to note: (1) the manuscript does not claim to have been copied in that year, only committed to memory by a person not mentioned as copyist; (2) the handwriting of the colophon is different from that of the text; (3) no positively dated manuscripts on paper are known from Gujarat at that time; (4) the size, shape, and arrangement of the page do not correspond with those of early dated manuscripts, but with those of the late fifteenth and sixteenth century; (5) the shape, drawing, and coloration of the paintings differ from those of the twelfth to fourteenth century, but correspond with those of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.



FIG. 1



FIG. 2



FIG. 3

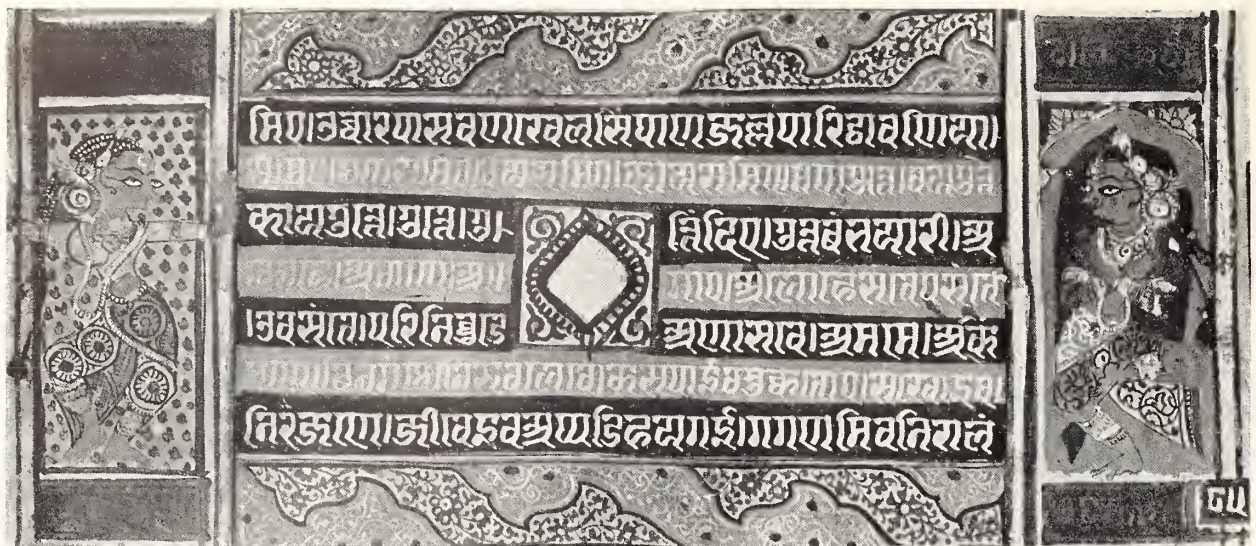


FIG. 4



FIG. 5

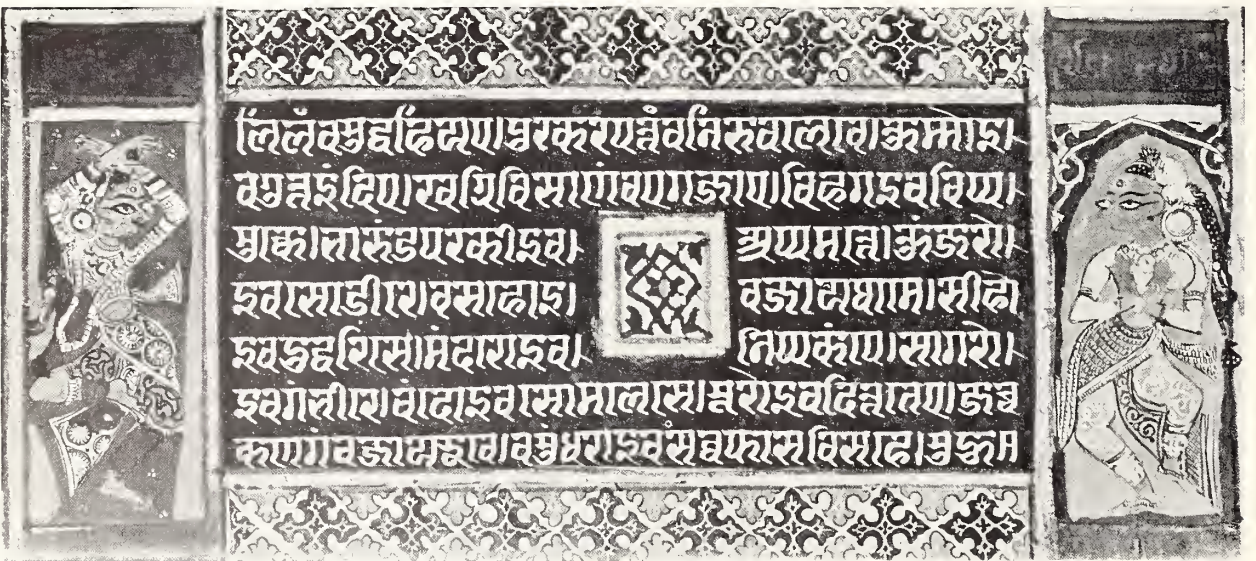


FIG. 6

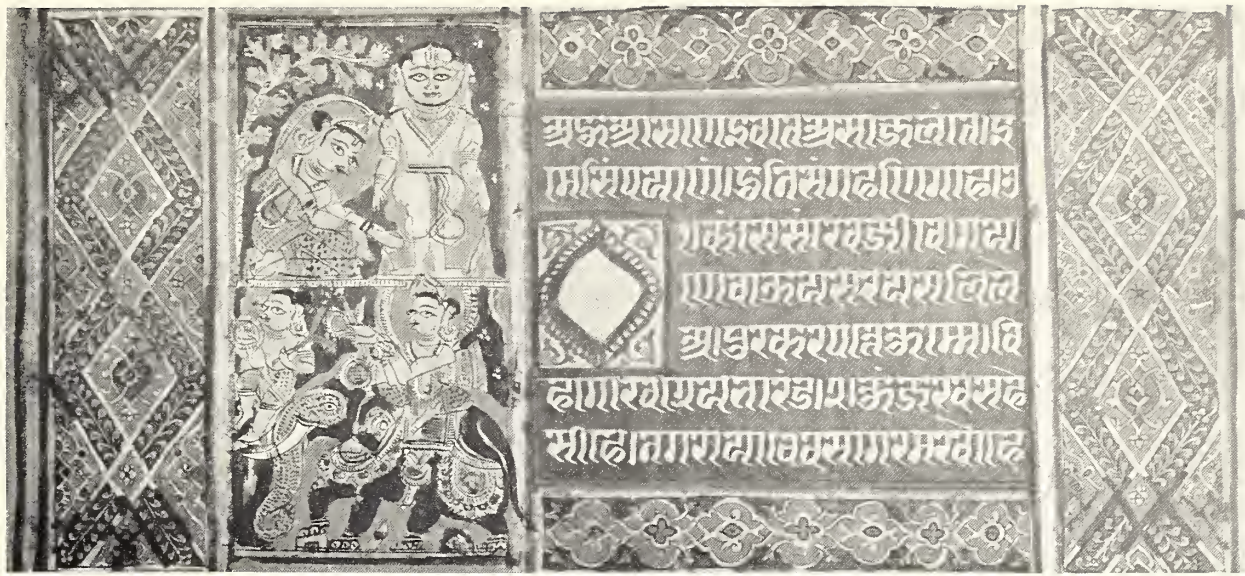


FIG. 7



FIG. 8



FIG. 9



FIG. 10



FIG. 11

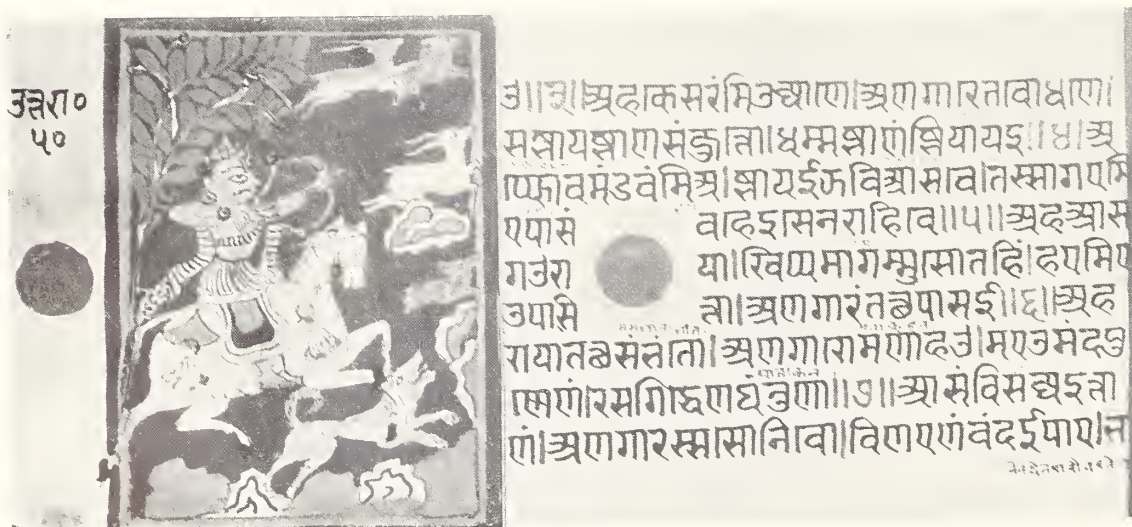


FIG. 12

of the late fifteenth and sixteenth century, which is not quite the best period.⁹ There is an abundance of gold ornament, and a free use of blue in the background, as well as of the red used in the earlier manuscripts. These paintings show the usual characteristics of the style: the marked angularity of pose and feature; the protrusion of the farther eye beyond the cheekline and into space; the two posts of face, one being full-face, the other being at three-quarters with the protruding eye; the familiar types of costume (dhoti, scarf, bodice, robes); familiar designs ornamenting garments; the customary headdresses of gods, kings, laymen, and laywomen; the haloes; the usual jewelry; the same conventional representation of clouds, rivers, mountains, trees, and animals, such as bulls and lions. The few folios which I photographed contain illustrations of subjects treated in my *Kalpasūtra*: Mahāvīra in the initiation palanquin, folio 82 verso;¹⁰ Mahāvīra plucks out his hair, folio 83 verso;¹¹ assault of the cowherd upon Mahāvīra, folio 84 recto (*Fig. 2*);¹² attack upon Mahāvīra by the serpent Caṇḍakauśika, folio 86 recto, right hand (*Fig. 5*).¹³ Other scenes are illustrated which did not appear among the scenes of the manuscripts used for my *Kalpasūtra*. These are: Mahāvīra dividing his garment with the Brahman Soma (folio 84 recto, left hand: our *Fig. 2*); Mahāvīra losing the remaining half of his garment (folio 85 recto, left hand: *Fig. 3*); bees and maidens attracted by the sweet-smelling ointment put on Mahāvīra's scalp by the gods (folio 85 recto, right hand: *Fig. 3*); previous existences of the serpent Caṇḍakauśika (folio 86 recto, left hand: *Fig. 5*); King Pradeśin welcoming Mahāvīra to the city Śvetavī (folio 87 recto: *Fig. 7*); Sudāḍha's attack upon Mahāvīra and the rescue by Kambala and Śambala (folio 88 recto: *Fig. 8*); Kaṭapūtanā's attack upon Mahāvīra (folio 89 recto: *Fig. 9*); the asura Camara attacks the god Śakra (folio 90 recto: *Fig. 10*). The full panel decorations of the side margins of the pages of this manuscript are unique in my own observation of Kalpasūtra manuscripts, although I have seen a manuscript of another text (Uttarādhyayana Sūtra) somewhat similarly adorned. Among these panel illustrations are figures of dancing girls executed in the Early Western Indian manner. The eleven folios which I was permitted to photograph show twenty different poses, of which I reproduce four in the illustrations to this article (*Figs. 4, 6*); in addition to the twenty in my photographs the manuscript contains others. These are all accompanied by legends, but unfortunately they are illegible in my pictures. The paintings bear no exact relationship to any portion of the text.

More important and instructive to us are the various decorations and paintings in the Persian manner, which are at once distinguishable from the Early Western Indian. Many of the Persian elements have a long history in the art of miniature painting in Persia, but in their combination, minuteness of detail, and lavish brilliance they indicate the Tīmūrid period of Persian art as their source. This is what might be expected, for the Shāh Isma'īl of the

⁹ The best period of this painting, I believe, is from about the middle of the fourteenth century to about the middle of the fifteenth. It includes the Idar manuscript (mentioned in footnote 4), some other palm-leaf material, and some paper manuscripts.

¹⁰ Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 34, Fig. 72.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 34, Figs. 73 and 74.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 35, Fig. 75(a).

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 35, Fig. 75(c).

Şafawid dynasty conquered Herāt in 1510, broke up the Tīmūrid school of painting, and took the painter Behzād to Tabrīz. It would be quite within the range of probability that at this time, when some painters of the Herāt school were moved in one direction, or perhaps later at about the time when others went to Bukhārā, still other artists made their way to India to practice their art in the Muhammadan capitals, and some may have gone to Ahmedabad, already famous for its Muhammadan culture. Although we can only surmise how the Persian style of painting in our manuscript reached Gujarat, it seems permissible to assume that it is Tīmūrid in origin, that it came to Gujarat during the first half of the sixteenth century, possibly slightly earlier, and that, when it was employed in this work, it had not yet been in Gujarat long enough to be assimilated with the local Early Western Indian style to produce the variety of Rajput employed in Gujarat from the last part of the sixteenth century on.

Of the Persian features the first to strike the eye are the numerous decorations of margins. On every page which I photographed (folios 81-90, both sides, and one side of a folio which I cannot identify by number; total twenty-one pages) there are decorations in the Persian style, either of the top and bottom margins or of the side margins or of both. In most instances the marginal ornaments are of arabesque, geometric, or floral designs, as appear in Persian architecture, on rugs or other textiles, and in paintings, especially during the Tīmūrid and Bukhārā periods. Frequently birds appear in the design (*Figs. 8, 9*), as in the Persian manner. Some of these are similar to Indian drawings, as in the case of peacocks, but some are not Indian, such as the Chinese phoenix (*Fig. 9, right-hand panel*); and, where the designs of animals appear mixed with Persian arabesque, geometrical, or foliage patterns, we may assume, I think, that they are of Persian origin.¹⁴

¹⁴ For these inanimate and animate decorative designs cf.: Blochet, *op. cit.*, Pls. 72-73, 100, *et passim*; M. S. Dimand, *A Handbook of Mohammedan Decorative Arts*, New York, 1930, Pl. I, Figs. 10-13 ff.; *idem*, *Islamic Miniature Painting*, New York, 1930, Pls. 1, 17, 19, 21 ff.; *idem*, *Oriental Rugs and Textiles*, New York, 1935, all pls..

The following is a letter from Dr. M. S. Dimand, March 12, 1937: "The Persian influence in the Jaina manuscript interests me very much. Some of the figure subjects and ornament are of Mongol, but chiefly of Timurid, origin. In 86r there are three scenes which are undoubtedly derived from a manuscript of a Shah Namah. Strongly Mongol is the top scene of a horseman shooting with bow and arrow. Such scenes can be found in Persian manuscripts of the fourteenth and continued in the first half of the fifteenth century.

"The marginal scenes representing Persian warriors are very interesting and were inspired by Timurid miniature paintings. The crowding of warriors and their arrangement in several rows is typical of several early Shah

Namahs, as for instance of the paintings in a manuscript in the Gulistan Museum in Teheran, dated 1430. Another Mongol feature is the presentation of some of the horses in front view, which can be traced back to a Shah Namah of 1397 in the Chester Beatty Collection in London. The turbans and the costumes of "Persian" scenes in the Jaina manuscript indicate that they were copied from some Persian manuscripts of the late fourteenth or fifteenth century.

"The ornament shows all the features of Timurid illustrations. The arabesques and floral scrolls in folios 84 and 85 can be traced to the manuscript of an anthology dated 1410, in the Gulbenkian Collection in Paris. Of Timurid origin is the tendency to accentuate various sections of the ornamental panels by different colors, as for instance in folios 82-87. The naturalistic rendering of some of the flowers, as for instance in 81, is also characteristic of the Timurid period.

"In a number of ornaments of the manuscript Indian elements are added to the Persian ones, as for instance in 81 and 90. In 88 and 89 birds more familiar to the

The panels of Figure 11 (folio with unidentified number) show horsemen in ranks or general arrangement which are entirely Persian, recalling, for example, the manner in which horsemen at the sides of Persian paintings appear to view the main scene that takes place in the center of the painting. The composition of these panels is distinctly Persian; so, too, is the treatment of the horsemen. These are shown without either the sharp and angular poses or the three-quarters facial pose and protruding farther eye of the Early Western Indian style.¹⁵

In the panels of folio 86 recto (Fig. 5) appear marching and galloping horsemen and pairs of fighting horsemen on rearing horses, which again in their treatment and in the composition are entirely Persian; even small animals appear in the foreground of some of these scenes, as they do in Persian hunting scenes. Such scenes are found in Persian paintings and in Rhages pottery.¹⁶ Rather remarkably, the top and bottom margins of this page, unlike any of the

painters of India were substituted for Persian ones."

G. Marteau et H. Vever, *Miniatures Persanes... exposés au Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Juin-Octobre 1912*, Paris, 1913, I, Pl. 26 et passim; F. R. Martin, *The Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India, and Turkey*, London, 1912, II, Pl. 243 et passim; W. Schulz, *Die persisch-islamische Miniaturmalerei*, Leipzig, 1914, II, Pl. 93 et passim; J. V. S. Wilkinson and L. Binyon, *The Shāh-Nāmah of Firdausī*, London, 1931, Pl. V (this is a fifteenth century MS.); for folio 89 recto (our Fig. 9), note F. Sarre and H. Trenkwald, *Old Oriental Rugs*, Vienna and Leipzig, 1926-1929, I, Pl. 29; the design of folio 85 verso (our Fig. 4) is fairly close to that of a sixteenth century Persian rug in *ibid.*, I, Pl. 23; cf. also for this F. R. Martin, *A History of Oriental Carpets before 1800*, London, 1908, Fig. 119 (a carpet from Tabriz, about 1540, is fairly close). That of folio 86 verso (our Fig. 6) is like a design in T. A. Hendley's *Asian Carpets, XVI and XVII Century Designs from the Jaipur Palaces*, London, 1905, Pl. 56.

Dimand's letter points out that the arabesques and floral scrolls of folios 84 (our Fig. 2) and 85 (our Figs. 3 and 4) can be traced to the manuscript of an anthology dated 1410, in the Gulbenkian Collection in Paris. For remarks on other Persian elements, see further in Dimand's letter. A very common foliage design in Persian art is the floral stem of the top and bottom margins of our folio with unidentified number reproduced in Fig. 11; cf. with it, for example, the illustrations from the Ardebil mosque rug dated 1539-40 A.D. in Sarre and Trenkwald, *op. cit.*, II, Pls. 18-20; cf. also, *ibid.*, II, Pl. 9, a rug of the sixteenth century, and Pl. 17; also a Persian rug from the second half of the fifteenth century, *ibid.*, II, Pl. 50.

Paired birds in the designs also appear in rugs: folio 81 recto top, showing peacocks with tails hanging down, are paralleled in Sarre and Trenkwald, *ibid.*, II, Pl. 39, a Persian rug of the sixteenth century, belonging to the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The similar motif of paired peacocks with tails turned upward, folio 81 recto, bottom, and 88 recto, middle (our Fig. 8) also is paralleled in Sarre and Trenkwald, *ibid.*, II, Pl. 17, a rug from North Persia of about 1550, and *ibid.*, II, Pl. 21, another rug from North Persia, assigned to the first half of the sixteenth century; cf. also in T. A. Hendley, *op. cit.*, Pl. 144, a Persian rug of the sixteenth century. For birds with tails up and head turned back, folio 88 recto, top (our Fig. 8) cf. Sarre and Trenkwald, *op. cit.*, II, Pl. 26, a rug from North Persia, of the middle of the sixteenth century. The Chinese phoenix, of our folio 89 recto (Fig. 9) is a widespread motif in Persia; cf. Dimand, *Handbook*, Fig. 30; and Sarre and Trenkwald, *op. cit.*, II, Pl. 27, which illustrates a rug from North Persia now in the Clarence H. Mackay Collection.

¹⁵ For Persian examples, cf. Wilkinson and Binyon, *op. cit.*, Pls. XXII and XXIV; Marteau et Vever, *op. cit.*, II, Pls. 3 and 134; E. Kühnel, *Miniaturmalerei in islamischen Orient*, Berlin, 1923, Pls. 12, 24; see footnote 14, Dimand's letter, second paragraph. At the top of these panels are figures watching the action; cf. Blochet, *op. cit.*, Pls. 57 and 102; Wilkinson and Binyon, *op. cit.*, Pls. XII, XV, and XVIII (especially); Marteau et Vever, *op. cit.*, II, Pl. 154.

¹⁶ Cf. *Persian Art... at Burlington House London 1931*, 2nd ed., London, p. 66; Wilkinson and Binyon, *op. cit.*, Pl. XVIII; Dimand, *Handbook*, Pl. II. In connection with the scenes on this folio, Dimand's letter remarks, "In 86r there are three scenes which are un-

others I photographed, bear ornamentation of elephants and horsemen drawn in the Early Western Indian style, not the Persian; but the composition of these scenes is Persian. The turbans of the Persian-style illustrations in our manuscript are not tied around a flat cap in the usual Tīmūrid fashion, but appear to have no cap at all, as in Mesopotamian painting.¹⁷

The foregoing discussion of Persian elements seems to show clearly that the Persian influence is from Tīmūrid art, but contains elements that have an older history than that in Persia.

It is impossible to say whether one or more artists decorated this manuscript. The work is most expensively done, though it is not equal to the best standards of either Early Western Indian or Persian art. The patron of the manuscript might easily have employed two or more artists, meaning to utilize all the decorative resources of his city, which is likely to have been Ahmedabad, or he may have given the commission to a single artist who was familiar with both techniques, the Early Western Indian and the Persian, or had an associate who employed one of them. Whatever the answer to that question, we seem to have here in Gujarat a clear meeting in one manuscript of two styles, which remain unblended in the paintings. A few decades later, I cannot say how many, the blending was completed, and the new fused style was employed in Jaina manuscripts in Gujarat, at about the time when the Mughal school was being developed by the Emperor Akbar at Fatehpur-Sikri. The new style in Gujarat, which might be called Western Rajput (and has been called Jaina Rajput), but which I suggest be named Late Western Indian, was already in existence by the year 1590 (Samvat 1647), when a manuscript of the Jaina canonical work *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* was illustrated in that style (*Figs. 12-14*). This, it happens, is a date only eight years later than that of another illustrated manuscript of the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* from Gujarat which I have photographed, that has paintings entirely in the Early Western Indian style. It seems, therefore, that the last quarter of the sixteenth century is the period when the blended style arose in Gujarat. The manuscript which has been discussed in this paper shows the meeting of the two styles, from whose union was germinated the Gujarat manner of painting of the seventeenth century and possibly some of the Rajput types.

DESCRIPTIONS OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS¹⁸

This list includes a description of all the folios I was permitted to photograph from the *Kalpasūtra* manuscript belonging to the Dayā Vimalajī Bhaṇḍāra, of the Vimala Gaccha

doubtedly derived from a manuscript of a Shah Namah. Strongly Mongol is the top scene of a horseman shooting with bow and arrow. Such scenes can be found in Persian manuscripts of the fourteenth and continued in the first half of the fifteenth century."

¹⁷ Cf. Marteau et Vever, *op. cit.*, I, Pl. 39; Schulz, *op. cit.*, II, Pl. 3; Blochet, *op. cit.*, Pls. 3, 4, and 17. On this point Dimand's letter says, "The turbans and cos-

tumes of 'Persian' scenes in the Jaina manuscript indicate that they were copied from some Persian manuscripts of the late fourteenth or fifteenth century."

¹⁸ The following abbreviations will be used:

Charpentier = *The Uttarādhyayana*, ed. by J. Charpentier, *Arch. d'Études Orientales*, Vol. 18. Uppsala, 1922.

Jacobi = H. Jacobi, *Jaina Sūtras*, translated from the Prakrit. Part II: *The Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*; *The*

Upāśraya, at Devaśāṇopāde, Ahmedabad, that is, not only those reproduced with this article, but also the others.

In the case of the manuscript of the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra (Figs. 12-14), I describe only the scenes illustrated in them, and none of the others which I photographed from that manuscript.

An asterisk (*) before a folio number indicates that the folio is illustrated by a figure in this article.

I

From the manuscript of the Kalpasūtra belonging to the Dayā Vimalajī Bhaṇḍāra, Ahmedabad.

Folio 81 recto. KS 114. The side margins appear as panels ornamented with foliage and geometrical designs, each side containing two pairs of facing peacocks. The top and bottom margins have foliage designs.

Folio 81 verso. KS 115. The side margins are panels with dancing girls. The top and bottom margins have foliage designs.

Folio 82 recto. KS 115. The side margins are panels with foliage (carpet) designs. The top and bottom margins have foliage designs.

Folio 82 verso. KS 115. The side margins are panels with dancing girls. The top and bottom margins have foliage designs. On the right-hand side of the page Mahāvīra is in the initiation palanquin; cf. Brown, *Kalpasūtra*, p. 34, and Fig. 72.

*Folio 83 recto. KS 115, 116. The side panels and top and bottom margins have foliage and geometrical designs (Fig. 1).

Folio 83 verso. KS 116, 117. The side panels have dancing girls; the top and bottom margins have geometrical designs. On the right-hand side of the page Mahāvīra plucks out his hair; cf. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 34, Figs. 73, 74.

*Folio 84 recto. KS 117. The side panels have foliage and geometric carpet designs.

At the left, Mahāvīra gives away half his garment. When Mahāvīra, after plucking out his hair, started on his wandering as an ascetic, he was accosted by a Brahman named Soma, who said that he had not been present at the bestowal of gifts which Mahāvīra made before forsaking the world. He asked Mahāvīra, nevertheless, to give him a gift. Mahāvīra had nothing left but a single garment, but this he tore in half and gave a half to Soma. The Brahman took his half to a tailor to have the torn edge sewn into a hem, but the tailor told him to

Sūtrakritāṅga, "Sacred Books of the East," Vol. 45. Oxford, 1895.

Kalpa Dev Lal = Śrī Kalpasūtra by Śrīmad Bhadrabāhu Svāmin, with Two Versions of Śrī Kālikācārya-Kathā and Coloured Illustrations, "Sheth Devchand Lālbhāi Jain Pustakodhār Fund Series," Bombay, 1933, No. 82.

KS = *The Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu*, ed. by H. Jacobi, Leipzig, 1879. Translated by H. Jacobi, *Gaina Sūtras. Part I: The Ācārāṅga Sūtra; the Kalpa Sūtra*, "Sacred Books of the East," Vol. 22. Oxford, 1884.

M = *Triṣaṣṭiśalākā puruṣacaritra of Hemacandra*. Parva 10: Mahāvīrasvāmicaritra. Bhavnagar: Jaina dharmaprasāraśābhā, 1908.

go back and follow Mahāvīra until he should lose the second half of the garment on a thorn or in some other way. If Soma would bring it the tailor would sew the two pieces together, and then sell the whole garment for a hundred thousand dīnāras. Soma returned to follow Mahāvīra (story in M 10.3.1-15). For the sequel see under folio 85 recto.

At the right, Mahāvīra's austerities: assault of the cowherd; cf. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 35, Fig. 75a (Fig. 2).

Folio 84 verso. KS 117. The side panels show dancing girls; the top and bottom margins have foliage and geometric designs.

*Folio 85 recto. KS 118. The side panels and top and bottom margins have foliage and geometric designs.

At the left, Mahāvīra loses the second half of his garment. After thirteen months of wandering, one day beside the bank of the river Suvarṇavālukā, Mahāvīra lost the second half of his garment on a thorn. The Brahman Soma had continued to follow him, and he now took the garment and returned to the tailor; see under folio 84 recto. The painting shows the river with Mahāvīra walking beside it staff in hand. His half-garment is caught in the bush beside the stream. Although Mahāvīra should now be naked, the artist has shown him still clothed as a Śvetāmbara monk. (Story in M 10.3.218-224.)

At the right, Mahāvīra is in meditation. The bees and lovesick village maidens are attracted by the sweet odor of the ointment the gods smeared on Mahāvīra's scalp after he had plucked out his hair. Mahāvīra is so firm in his meditation that he does not notice these annoyances. (Story in M 10.3.46-47.) The painting shows him between two maidens; there is a large bee at his head and another at his feet (Fig. 3).

*Folio 85 verso. KS 118. The side panels have dancing girls, one with white dots (to represent flowers?) in her hair. The top and bottom margins have floral and geometric designs. The text is written on a doubly colored background (Fig. 4).

*Folio 86 recto. KS 118. The left-hand panel is in four registers: the upper two contain horsemen in ranks advancing in a common direction; the third panel contains two horsemen, bows drawn, on rearing horses facing each other, at the horses' feet a dog pursuing a hare; the bottom panel contains a bathing scene of four men at a ghat (bathing steps). The right-hand panel is also in four registers; the upper register shows two cavalymen and one foot-soldier; the second has two horsemen with drawn bows facing each other; the third also shows two horsemen with drawn bows facing each other, their horses rearing, hares in foliage at the horses' feet; the bottom register shows four men at a bathing ghat. These scenes, all executed in a Persian manner, have nothing to do with the text, either explicitly or implicitly (cf. Diamond, footnote 14). The top margin contains six advancing elephants in two facing sets of three. There is a soldier with a spear on each elephant. The bottom margin has two horsemen and a foot-soldier advancing toward three approaching horsemen, who carry drawn bows. The figures in the top and bottom margins are all executed in the Early Western Indian manner.

The two paintings in the center of the page deal with the story of the serpent Caṇḍakauśika; cf. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 35, Fig. 75c. The scene at the right shows the serpent

attacking Mahāvīra and then dying, which has been sufficiently explained in my Kalpasūtra (*loc. cit.*). The scene at the left illustrates the previous existences of the serpent, and needs elucidation beyond that given by me. (The story appears in M 10.3.225–279, the previous existences being described in stanzas 229–246.) The account starts with the soul of the future serpent Caṇḍakauśika as a kṣapaka (Jaina monk) who carelessly going on his rounds trod upon a frog and killed it. A certain kṣulla (creature with only two senses) rebuked the kṣapaka. The kṣapaka made no reply, and the kṣulla thought perhaps he would become aware of the sin at his evening rite of confession, but he did not. Then the kṣulla spoke again. The kṣapaka was angered and rushed to kill him. Blind with rage, he did not see where he was going, and stumbled against a pillar and died.

The top register of the painting shows, at the right, the kṣapaka in his evening ceremony, at the left his head is being broken against the pillar. He was reborn as a jyotiṣka divinity, one of those constituting the sun, moon, planets, and fixed stars. The second register shows him as a divinity in his heavenly palace and vehicle (vimāna). Thereafter he was reborn as the son of the head of the Kauśika sect of Hindu ascetics, and when his father died he became head of the order. He was very jealous of the forest in which the ascetics lived, and would permit no one to touch a tree, whether flower, root, fruit, or branch. If anyone did, he rushed at the person to kill him with ax, clod, or whatever weapon he could find. For his ungovernable temper he was known as Caṇḍakauśika (Fierce Kauśika). The ascetics fled in fear of him, and he and the cowherds had the forest to themselves. One day some princes came to the forest to break branches for a garden. The cowherds told Caṇḍakauśika, who in fury took up an ax to kill the princes. They fled, but the ascetic stumbled, and as he fell the ax split his head in two. At the bottom of our painting we see Caṇḍakauśika, with the kind of hair usual for ascetics in the Early Western Indian style of painting, falling to the ground, the handle of the ax in his joined hands, and the blade splitting his head. He was then reborn as the serpent, which appears at the right-hand side of the painting. For the rest of the story and the explanation of the other painting on this page, cf. Brown, *loc. cit.* (*Fig. 5*).

*Folio 86 verso. KS 118. In panels are dancing girls; the top and bottom margins have floral and geometric designs. There is an unusual design for rubrication of the dot indicating a string hole (*Fig. 6*).

*Folio 87 recto. KS 118. In the panels and the top and bottom margins are floral and geometric designs. The painting at the left possibly illustrates the welcome King Pradeśin gave Mahāvīra when he came to the city Śvetavī. If so, the bottom register would show the king on his elephant; the upper register would show him adoring Mahāvīra, the latter engaged in meditation in a park outside the city (*Fig. 7*).

Folio 87 verso. KS 118. The panels have dancing girls; the top and bottom margins show ornamentation of Maltese crosses.

*Folio 88 recto. KS 118. The side panels have designs of foliage, paired conventionalized birds (including cranes and peacocks), and vases. The top and bottom margins have floral and geometric designs. The painting illustrates the story of the attack of the Nāga Sudāḍha (or

Sudaṅṣṭra) upon Mahāvīra (story in M 10.3.289-347). Once, to cross the Ganges, the Master boarded a ship, with a number of other travelers, and the ferryman began to row steadily across the stream. Suddenly the owl, which was kept to espy the farther shore, screeched, and a prognosticator who understood the cries of birds announced that the screech foreboded danger. Even as he was saying this, the boat came to deep water where the Nāga Sudāḍha dwelt, and the Nāga saw the Lord. At that time he remembered an enmity he bore the Lord from a previous birth, when he had been a lion and the future Mahāvīra had wantonly killed him as he lay in his cave, and his anger flamed up. Now seemed the time for vengeance. He blew up such a wind as would bring about the dissolution of the world; the trees fell and the mountains shook, and the waves of the Ganges licked the sky. The boat tossed up and down; the mast was broken, the sail torn, the boat lost its course, the helmsman was in a panic, the terrified passengers began to call upon the gods.

Now it happened that there had once lived in Mathurā a pious merchant and his wife, who were especially considerate of four-footed animals. Every day they would purchase curds and other dairy products from the milkwomen, and one day they bought some unusually fine curds from one of them. From then on the merchant's wife would buy from no one else, and she and the milkwomen became great friends, sisters as it were. At the time of a marriage in the herdsman's house, the merchant and his wife were invited. They found the moment unsuitable for them to come and sent their regrets, but they told the herdsman to take from their house whatever she needed for the wedding. The wedding was a splendid success, and the herdspeople were delighted. In return they took two beautiful young oxen named Kambala and Śambala and forced the merchant and his wife to accept them as a gift. Then the merchant and his wife thought that if they let the oxen go, unthinking folk would put them at hard labor with such work as ploughing, and so they kept them and raised them tenderly as though they were their own sons. Whenever the merchant and his wife fasted or read the Scripture, the two oxen listened, and if the merchant went without food they fasted too. The merchant honored them greatly, not thinking of them as mere animals. The villagers were once celebrating a festival in honor of the Yakṣa bhaṅḍīravaṇa, and as part of the celebration held a contest of oxen. A friend of the merchant, anxious to try out these two beautiful creatures, without leave took them to the contest, and yoked them to a cart. Ignoring the animals' delicacy he mercilessly drove them with whip and goad and won all the wagers through their unrivaled speed. Then he returned them, their bodies bloody from the holes of the goad, to the merchant's house. At mealtime the merchant went to feed them, and then when they would not eat he saw their injuries. While he was wondering who could have done this thing, the cowherds told him. Nothing he could do would induce the stricken oxen to eat. He saw that they were in a state of grace, and he awakened them to religion by reciting the namaskāras. They died, and were reborn as two Nāga princes.

These two Nāga princes, Kambala and Śambala, by clairvoyant power saw the attack Sudāḍha was making upon the Master. They came to the rescue, and one fought with Sudāḍha, while the other took the ship safely to shore. Defeated Sudāḍha (Sudaṅṣṭra) fled;

Kambala and Śambala revered the Master, and sent a rain of flowers and scented water from heaven. The other passengers then worshiped the Master, through whose power they had reached safety. The two Nāgas bowed to the Lord and left, and he himself disembarked and went on his way.

At the bottom of the painting is the boat, a huge wave about to engulf it, with Mahāvīra in it; the other passengers and the boatman are not shown. In the register above the boat are the lion in his cave and the two oxen. At the top are the two Nāga princes in human form, dancing in celebration of their meeting with the Lord (*Fig. 8*).

Folio 88 verso. KS 119. The panels have dancing girls; the top and bottom margins have geometric and floral designs.

*Folio 89 recto. KS 119, 120. The panels have geometric, floral, and animal designs. The top and bottom margins have geometric and floral designs.

At the right is a painting which illustrates Kaṭapūtanā's attack upon Mahāvīra (story in M 10.3.614-624). Once in the month of Māgha (January-February) Mahāvīra went into meditation in a grove at the village of Śālīrṣa. At that time a Bāṇamantarikā Vyantarī goddess named Kaṭapūtanā was there. She had been a wife of Mahāvīra in a previous existence and had at one time been offended by him. While still angry she died. After a number of births she became a human being, and in that existence practiced bāla tapas (improperly motivated asceticism), in consequence of which she was now reborn as a Vyantarī goddess. She remembered her enmity from the previous birth and decided to avenge the ancient injury. She transformed herself into a female ascetic with matted hair and a bark dress, and appeared above the Master. Then she drenched him with water cold as snow and sent a wind to drive the rain against him. The drops fell from the tips of her hair and the ends of her bark garments, and pelted against Mahāvīra's body like arrows. They would have split the body of anyone else, but they had no effect upon him. All night long he endured this. In the morning, by the power of his meditation, he acquired clairvoyant knowledge (avadhi), and knowledge of the meaning of the eleven aṅgas of the Śvetāmbara Jain canon. At the end of the night Kaṭapūtanā was appeased and repentant; and she honored Mahāvīra with devotion, and left.

In the painting Mahāvīra stands at the right; above him is Kaṭapūtanā with the rain flowing from her hair. At the lower left she is showing devotion to Mahāvīra (*Fig. 9*).

Folio 89 verso. KS 120. The panels show dancing girls; the top and bottom margins have geometric and floral designs.

*Folio 90 recto. KS 120. The panels and top and bottom margins have geometric and floral designs.

At the right is an illustration of the fight between Camarendra Asura and Śakra (story in M 10.4.372-467). Mahāvīra, near the city of Suṃsumāra, went into meditation for a night. At this time it happened that a being had been born as Camarendra, lord of the Asuras in Camaracañcā, in consequence of bāla tapas. When born he looked about and saw above him in the Saudharma heaven the god Śakra, great in splendor, and he was enraged that anyone should be above him. He at once announced his intention of driving Śakra from his kingdom,

and refused to be dissuaded by his courtiers. With a single moment of prudence he first went to the Master, who was standing in meditation, and threw himself upon the Master's protection. Then he took his weapons, transformed himself into a huge and fearsome creature frightening all the divinities of the sky when they saw him, rapped at Śakra's castle, and challenged him. Śakra took his club (vajra) and hurled it at Camara. So bright and powerful was it that Camara could not withstand it, but fled, like an owl before the sun, headlong toward the earth, losing his great size, and flying to the Lord. Śakra began to wonder how an Asura could reach his realm, and realized that it must be by outside aid. Through clairvoyance he saw that Camara had come by the grace of Mahāvīra and was even now fleeing to him. Then Śakra, terror-stricken, cried out, "I am slain!" and took himself after his vajra, which was hurtling toward Camara. The Asura barely got to the Master and made himself tiny and hid between the Master's feet, before the vajra was within a handbreadth of reaching him, when Śakra caught it in his hand. Then Śakra did reverence to the Lord, and begged his pardon for launching his vajra at Camara, when the latter had such refuge. After this he told Camara that by taking refuge with Mahāvīra he had assured himself safety. Then he left. Camara came out from between Mahāvīra's feet, praised and worshiped the Master, and went to his city of Camaracañcā, where he told his court what had happened, and brought them all to worship Mahāvīra, following which they went back to the city. During all this time the Master had never broken his meditation and had given no sign of knowing what was happening. At dawn he came out of the meditation, and went on his way.

The painting shows Mahāvīra at the right. Above him is Śakra following the vajra, which is in front of him in the upper left-hand part of the scene, and below Camara is falling headlong to Mahāvīra's feet (*Fig. 10*).

Folio 90 recto. KS 120. The panels show dancing girls; the top and bottom margins have floral designs.

*Folio number unknown. KS 28 (transference of Mahāvīra's embryo by Hariṇaigameṣin from the womb of the Brāhmaṇī Devānandā to the womb of Queen Triśalā). Cf. Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-18, Figs. 14-16. The top and bottom margins have floral designs. The panels contain paintings of warriors, all in the Persian manner. The warriors at the left are in ranks, those at the right are in less orderly arrangement. Above each group of horsemen are groups of men watching, as though in a balcony or on top of a city wall, each man holding a pennon. The paintings bear no relation to the text of the Kalpasūtra, although it might possibly be thought that these warriors appear because the text refers to Hariṇaigameṣin, who is the general in command of Śakra's army. That connection (cf. Dimand's letter, footnote 14) seems doubtful (*Fig. 11*).

II

From a manuscript of the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra, belonging to the Jaina Ānanda Pustakālaya, Surat. Paper; folios 25-146 preserved, with 45 illustrations; size of folios 10.1 by 4.25 inches; dated Saṃvat 1647 (1590 A.D.).

*Folio 50 verso (Chapter 18: Charpentier 137-142; Jacobi 80-88).

Story of Sañjaya. King Sañjaya once went hunting, surrounded by horses, elephants, chariots, and footmen, and chased and killed deer in the Kesara Park of Kāmpilya, where it happened that a Jaina monk was engaged in meditation. When the king saw the deer he had killed near the monk, he was in consternation, thinking, "I had nearly hurt the monk, ill-fated and cruel as I am in my madness for sport." He dismissed his horse and fell at the monk's feet asking forgiveness, but the monk, immersed in meditation, made no answer. The king besought him again, and the monk said, "Fear not, O king, but grant safety to others also." The monk then preached a sermon, after which Sañjaya gave up his kingly state, and became a Jaina ascetic.

The painting shows King Sañjaya on horseback chasing the deer. The tree is more in the Persian than in the Early Western Indian manner; the deer, the dog, and the horse, and the formulae for hills recall the Early Western Indian. The king's profile view and costume and the composition of the painting as a whole, although obviously similar to illustrations of the same scene in manuscripts of the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra illustrated in the Early Western Indian style, are in the Persian manner, and so too in that of Rajput painting. In the earlier illustrations the king is shown on foot shooting at the deer. A companion scene to this (not reproduced here) illustrating the same story, shows the horse being led away, while King Sañjaya listens to the monk preaching. In the Early Western Indian style illustrations, these other events are combined with that of the king hunting in a single composition, by the use of the principle of continuous narrative.

*Folios 67 verso, 69 recto (Chapter 21: Charpentier 160-164; Jacobi 108-112). Story of Samudrapāla. A pious Jaina layman once went by boat to another city, where he married a wife. On the way home she bore him a son while the boat was at sea, and for this reason the child was named Samudrapāla (he whose Protector is the Ocean). The boy grew up to learn all the seventy-two polite accomplishments, married a beautiful wife, and lived in luxury. Once, as he looked out from the window of his palace, he saw a man sentenced to death being led away to execution. Agitated by what he saw, Samudrapāla thought, "Of wicked actions this is the bad result." He was taken with the desire to abandon the world, took leave of his parents, and became a Jaina monk (*Figs. 13, 14*).

Figure 13, above, shows the birth scene, although the child does not appear. Below is Samudrapāla plucking out his hair on becoming a Jaina ascetic. Figure 14 shows Samudrapāla above, seated in his palace, near which flows a stream. At the bottom of the painting he sees the man being led to execution. For the birth scene, cf. Brown, *op. cit.*, Figs. 58, 59, 90, 91, 103, 118, 119; for the tonsure scene, cf. *ibid.*, Figs. 73, 74, 92, 96, 111, 112, 124; for the man led to execution, cf. *Kāḷaka*, Figs. 17, 24. For the river in Fig. 14, cf. *Kalpasūtra*, Figs. 30, 88. For the architectural setting of Figure 14, cf. W. W. Brown, "Early Vaishnava Miniature Paintings from Western India," *Eastern Art*, II, pp. 167 ff., *et passim*. The postures of the figures are in general easier in these paintings than in the Early Western Indian style, and the face is always viewed in complete profile.

In the manuscripts of the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra illustrated in the Early Western Indian

style, which I have photographed, this story is illustrated with a single painting divided into registers showing various episodes of the story, that appear in our illustrations in two paintings. The artist of the present manuscript has quite confused the order of events in his presentation, putting on folio 69 recto (*Fig. 13*) an event which antedates the events illustrated on folio 67 verso (*Fig. 14*).



FIG. 13



FIG. 14



FIG. 1—STUCKPLATTE MIT TÄNZERIN AUS
KTESIPHON, SASANIDISCH, BERLIN,
STAATLICHE MUSEEN



FIG. 2—WIRKARBEIT MIT TÄNZERIN, ALEXANDRIEN
SPÄTHELLENISTISCH, BERLIN, STAATLICHE MUSEEN



FIG. 3—THEODOSIUSOBELISK, KONSTANTINOPEL

FIGÜRLICHE SASANIDISCHE STUCKDEKORATIONEN AUS KTESIPHON

VON J. HEINRICH SCHMIDT

BEI DER BETRACHTUNG DER WANDMALEREIEN VON SĀMARRĀ IST MAN AUSFÜHRLICH AUF DIE sasanidischen Quellen der Darstellungen der Tänzerinnen eingegangen. Die Schaltänzerinnen von Sāmarrā (so genannt nach dem z.T. um den Leib gewundenen z.T. über die Arme geworfenen Umhang) stehen zweifellos zu den Tänzerinnen der sasanidischen Silberarbeiten in Beziehung.¹ Die Bewegungsmotive dieser zur konventionellen Form erstarrten Gestalten sind nicht reich: Standbein und Spielbein in der Phase des Durchschwingens oder Abschwungs lassen meistens die innere Beziehung auf einen einheitlichen Bewegungsvorgang vermissen. Weder von einer organisch noch von einer räumlich begründeten Bewegungsmechanik ist etwas zu spüren. Die Zusammenhänge mit der antiken Kunst treten höchstens bei den gelegentlich auftauchenden Eroten als formale Tatbestände im übrigen meistens als Zersetzungs-vorgang in die Erscheinung.

Im Gegensatz zu diesen Gebilden stehen die in Ktesiphon gefundenen Tänzerinnen, die von der Stuckverkleidung der Wände stammen, in mancher Hinsicht der Antike beträchtlich näher. In einer Gruppe waren die Tänzerinnen offenbar paarweise einander gegenüber in Perlkreisen von etwa 40 cm. Durchmesser angeordnet (*Fig. 1*). Der Sinnzusammenhang der Bewegung lasst diese Anordnung als ziemlich gesichert erscheinen. Das Bewegungsmotiv ist das gleiche wie bei den Schaltänzerinnen von Sāmarrā. Das Darstellungsmotiv der Tänzerinnen mit der Klapper (Castagnetten?) stammt aus der spätantiken Kunst Alexandriens. Man kennt es dort von den stattlichen Wirkarbeiten und auf koptischen Bronzen, Beinschnitzereien und anderen kunstgewerblichen Gegenständen. Auf zwei gewirkten Wandbehängen (*Fig. 2*) im Kaiser Friedrich Museum, die aus dem 4.–5. Jahrh. stammen, sieht man, dass auch die Haltung des linken bzw. rechten Armes mit der sasanidischen Fassung übereinstimmt. Der rechte Arm ist dagegen ausgestreckt und nicht wie auf dem sasanidischen Stucco im rechten Winkel gebeugt.² Auch unter den Tänzerinnen des Theodosiusobelisk in Konstantinopel findet man ähnliche entartete Typen (*Fig. 3*).³ Die ursprüngliche noch nicht orientalisierte Form dieser Tänzerinnen ist wahrscheinlich die tanzende Mänade wie man sie etwa von den Abgüssen der hellenistischen Silbergeräte in Hildesheim kennt.⁴

Während diese mit wallenden Gewändern bekleideten Tänzerinnen stark unter dem Einfluss der Spätantike des Mittelmeergebiets stehen, treten bei einem zweiten Typ die schöpferischen Kräfte der asiatischen Kunst mehr in den Vordergrund (*Fig. 4*). Die Tänzerinnen waren hier wie vorher streng im Sinne des Spiegelbilds in Perlkreisen angeordnet. Sie sind

¹ E. Herzfeld, *Die Malereien von Samarra*, Berlin, 1927, S. 29–32; J. Smirnoff, *Orientalisches Silber*, St. Petersburg, 1909, Taf. XLVI, XLVII; J. H. Schmidt, "Sasanian Silverwork," *Apollo*, XV, 1932, S. 20–26, 124–126.

² W. F. Vollbach und E. Kühnel, *Spätantike und Koptische Stoffe*, Berlin, 1926, J. 9243, Taf. 5, S. 7, J. 9230,

Taf. 44 B, S. 9; O. von Falke, *Die Kunstgeschichte der Seidenweberei*, Berlin, 1913, I, Abb. 64.

³ O. Wulff, *Alchristliche und Byzantinische Kunst*, Berlin, 1914, I, S. 166 ff., Taf. XII.

⁴ O. Rubensohn, *Hellenistisches Silbergerät*, Berlin, 1911, Taf. 4, Nr. 34.

nur bis zu den Hüften, um die eine schwere Perlenkette gelegt ist, begleitet. Der Oberkörper ist nackt. Um den Hals hängt ein Schmuck. In den Händen hielten die Gestalten offenbar wieder die bekannten ägyptischen Metallklappen, von denen ein Original in der ägyptischen Abteilung der Staatlichen Museen bewahrt wird.⁵ Die Anordnung der Gruppe in Perlkreise ist in diesem Fall gesichert. Im Gegensatz zur ersten Gruppe erinnern diese Tänzerinnen mehr an östliche, dem indischen Kulturkreis nahe stehende Typen. Das beweist ein Vergleich mit den Schaltänzerinnen einer Silberschale der Ermitage, die aus Sloudka (Perm) stammt und offenbar dem Kunstkreis des hellenistischen Baktrien angehört.⁶ Mit diesen unter dem Eindruck der Ghandarakunst entstandenen Typen, haben die Tänzerinnen aus Stuck den entblößten Oberkörper und die Schmuckgehänge gemein. Obwohl im Faltenwurf die Anregungen der westlichen Spätantike nicht verkannt werden können, haben die Gestalten im Gegensatz zur ersten Gruppe einen ausgeprägten asiatischen Charakter, was besonders in den Köpfen und Gesichtern zum Ausdruck kommt. Auf sasanidischen Silberarbeiten begegnet man gerade dieser Tänzerin besonders häufig. Auf einer Silbervase (Ermitage, wohl ursprünglich mit Henkel versehen) ist der Oberkörper der Tänzerin ganz übersät mit Schmuck (*Fig. 5*).⁷ Ein Seidenstoff aus Achmim zeigt die ägyptische Fassung der Schaltänzerinnen, die allerdings ganz unbekleidet sind, ähnlich wie man sie auf einem sasanidischen Silberkrug der Ermitage unter Rundbogenarkaden dargestellt sieht.⁸ Am nächsten stehen den Tänzerinnen der Stuccos die in Bogenstellungen angeordneten Schaltänzerinnen zweier birnförmiger Silbervasen, die im Gegensatz zu den vorigen Vasen, deren Form spätantiken Gebilden entlehnt sind, den eigentlich sasanidischen Vasentyp verkörpern, (*Fig. 6*) was neuerdings durch die bei den Grabungen in Ktesiphon zu Tage gekommenen sasanidischen Fayencekrüge überzeugend nachgewiesen werden kann. Der Vergleich des in das Metropolitanmuseum gelangten Fayencekruges (*Fig. 7*) mit den genannten Silbervasen der einen ähnlichen Gefässkörper, Hals und Lippenrand sowie einen ähnlichen Wulst an der Grenze zwischen Hals und Schulter hat bestätigt das aus unmittelbarer Anschauung. An diesen Vasen darf man also zunächst die eigentlich sasanidischen Typen der Tänzerinnen vermuten und sich bei der Betrachtung der Stuccos in diesem Sinne darauf beziehen.⁹

Ausser diesen Tänzerinnen kleineren Formats gab es auch solche von monumentalem Charakter. Leider konnte nur ein grösseres Fragment, das sich im Museum zu Baghdād befindet, geborgen werden (*Fig. 8*). Es ist in dem gegenwärtigen verstümmelten Zustand etwa 50 cm. hoch. Die ganze Höhe dürfte ursprünglich 75 cm. betragen haben. Wieder scheint ein von der antiken Mänade abgeleitetes Tanzmotiv vorzuliegen. Die plastischen Motive können die Zusammenhänge mit der westlichen Spätantike nicht verleugnen. Wenn man bedenkt, dass diese dekorative Relief-Plastik ursprünglich reich bemalt war, sodass sie dem

⁵ A. W. Franks, "On Recent Excavations in Carthage," *Archäologia*, XXXVIII, 1860, S. 224, Taf. IX, XI.

⁶ Smirnoff, *op. cit.*, Taf. XLV, Nr. 78.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Taf. XLI, Nr. 79.

⁸ von Falke, *op. cit.*, Abb. 64.

⁹ Vgl. auch Nereiden als Schaltänzerinnen, H. Pierce und R. Tyler, *L'Art Byzantin*, Paris, 1932, I, Taf. 173, und Tänzerin mit Castagnetten, A. Goldschmidt, *Elfenbeinsculpturen*, Berlin, 1914, I, Taf. XIV, Nr. 27c.

Eindruck von Wandmalereien nahe kam, wird man wesentliche stilbildende Elemente für diese Art der dekorativen Plastik in den Zusammenhängen mit der in der Literatur vielgerühmten sasanidischen Wandmalerei finden. Man hat besonders bei einem Harfenspieler den Eindruck, dass sich die formale Deutung nur auf die Silhouetten beschränkt, die für die optische Isolierung des Gegenstands unbedingt notwendig sind. Die Beziehungen zum Formenkanon der Antike treten besonders bei dem auf einer Kline ruhenden Weinzecher in die Erscheinung.¹⁰

Ebenfalls die Stuckplatten mit Büsten fürstlicher Personen in dekorativem Rahmen führen zweifellos in den Bereich der antiken Kunst (*Figs. 9, 10*). Es sind sicher keine Bildnisse. Schon durch das Grössenverhältnis des figürlichen und ornamentalen Teils dieser Platten wird die Aufmerksamkeit ganz auf den ornamentalen Rahmen gelenkt. Die Darstellung von Büsten in kreisförmigen Medaillons ist in der spätantiken Kunst geläufig. In den Spiegeln der Silberschalen waren Saturnbüsten und weibliche Büsten beliebt. Der Gipsabguss eines Fragments von dem hellenistischen Silbergerät aus Alexandria in Hildesheim zeigt eine männliche Büste mit flatternden Bändern inmitten eines kreisförmigen Kranzes von Palmetten und Lotusblüten. Dieses Stück verdient besondere Beachtung, weil die Enten mit flatternden Flügeln der äusseren Peripherie einer Ente der Stuccos aus Ktesiphon so ähnlich sind, dass man darin eine wesentliche Bestätigung der schon angedeuteten schöpferischen Beziehungen zwischen dem spätantiken Kulturkreis Alexandriens und der sasanidischen Residenz erblicken darf. Die Büstendarstellungen in ornamentalem Rahmen auf spätantiken und koptischen Wirkarbeiten und Seidenstoffen stehen den sasanidischen Fassungen noch näher (*Fig. 10*).¹¹ In der Antike tritt die Büste der ornamentalen Eingliederung gegenüber immer beherrschend in die Erscheinung. Bei zunehmendem Einfluss der orientalischen Kunst wie z.B. in den koptischen Wirkarbeiten und den sasanidischen Stuccos trat das umgekehrte Verhältnis ein.

Die ornamentale Gliederung der Stuccos und der Textilkunst hängen eng miteinander zusammen. Das in der Webekunst begünstigte unendliche Muster erhielt die Führung. Auf einer Stuckplatte mit Büsten findet man auch die sogenannte Spitzovalgliederung, die später so bedeutsam für die Textilkunst werden sollte, vereint mit den mannigfaltigen Rosettgebilden, die ebenfalls in der Textilkunst und zwar in den Zwickeln der grossen Kreisgliederungen ausgebildet wurden.¹² Wie in der Webekunst gibt es derartige radiale Motive in zentrifugaler und zentripetaler Anordnung. Die Büsten aus Ktesiphon, die offenbar Prinzessinnen darstellen, sind noch mehr in vegetabilem Sinne stilisiert als die entsprechenden gebilde aus Kish und Dāmghān.¹³ Man kann bei den Büsten aus Ktesiphon von einer Vegetabilisierung des figürlichen Motivs sprechen: Herzblüten oder Sternblüten bilden die Grundlage der Gestaltung. Diese Vegetabilisierung der ornamentalen Motive, die später für die Ausbildung der islamischen Ornamentik so bedeutsam werden sollte, hat offenbar durch die sasanidische Kunst

¹⁰ Ringlocken vgl. *Ann. Inst. Russ. d'Histoire et de l'Art*, St. Petersburg, 1921, I, S. 17, Fig. 8.

¹¹ Vgl. A. Kammerer, *Pétra et la Nabatène*, Paris, 1930, Pl. 119 (1); L. Matzulewitsch, *Byzantinische Antike*, Berlin, 1929, Taf. 24, 25, 34; von Falke, *op. cit.*,

I Abb. 39, 40 46; M. Dimand *Die Ornamentik der Ägyptischen Wollwerkereien*, Leipzig, 1924, Abb. 47, 48.

¹² von Falke, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

¹³ *The Illustrated London News*, 14. II. 1931, S. 261, 26. III. 1932, S. 482.

entscheidende Anregungen erhalten. Dass es neben diesen dekorativen Büsten auch eine monumentale Bildnisplastik gab, zeigt eine in Kish gefundene Büste eines Königs die indés nicht als ein individuelles Bildnis sondern nur als Idealbildnis gewertet werden darf.¹⁴ Wenn von dieser monumentalen Plastik so wenig erhalten ist, so liegt das wahrscheinlich daran, dass die Zerstörung bei der islamischen Eroberung infolge der ikonoklastischen Einstellung der jungen Religion sich vornehmlich auf diese monumentalen figürlichen Gebilde richtete. Die bei der ersten Grabung in Ktesiphon in einer christlichen Kirche innerhalb des alten Stadtgebietes gefundene Statue eines Heiligen oder eines Christus (Kopf, Arme und Füße sind leider nicht erhalten) gibt wenigstens einen Eindruck von dieser Monumentalplastik aus Stuck.¹⁵ Die Bemalung in Krapprot und Ultramarinblau (auch Reste von Vergoldung waren vorhanden) gibt von den engen Beziehungen der dekorativen Skulptur zur Wandmalerei Zeugnis.

Die ersten verbürgten Fragmente sasanidischer Wandmalerei wurden in Ktesiphon in einer Badeanlage in der Nähe des Palastes und in einer in der Nähe des Palastes ausgegrabenen Villensiedlung (Ma'aridh I) gefunden¹⁶ Leider sind die Fragmente zu dürftig, als dass man sich von den Kompositionen eine Vorstellung machen könnte. Man kann nur sagen, dass es sich in einem Fall (Bad) um figürliche Malereien kleinen Formats, in dem anderen um solche von monumentalem Charakter mit lebensgrossen Figuren handelt. Die kleinfigurigen Malereien lassen dem technischen Aufbau und den Formen nach enge Zusammenhänge mit den Malereien von Sāmarrā erkennen. Die Annahme, dass diese von persischen Künstlern am abbasidischen Hof ausgeführt wurden, die auch auf manchen kunstgewerblichen Gebieten, in der Toreutik und Seidenweberei dort tätig waren, gewinnt für das Gebiet der Wandmalerei nunmehr neue Stützen.¹⁷ In allen Fällen handelt es sich hier auf iranischem Boden um eine technisch sehr vollendete Wandmalerei, der im Gegensatz zu den Wandmalereien aus Turfan, die auf mit Hecksel vermengtem Lehmgrund gemalt sind, sehr fein verarbeiteter Gipsmörtel als Unterlage dient. Von der hohen technischen Vollkommenheit dieser Mörtel gibt ein dem Verfahren nach unserer modernen Zementglätte ähnlicher Verputz aus Stuckglätte Zeugnis.

Besondere Bedeutung hatte die figürliche dekorative sasanidische Plastik für die Ausbildung des Tierornaments. Diesem liegt eine monumentale Tierplastik zu Grunde, die sich zum Teil in dramatisch bewegten zum Teil in repräsentativen und symbolischen Darstellungen, wie wir sie von den sasanidischen Felsreliefs und Silberarbeiten kennen, entfaltet.¹⁸ In den symbolischen Darstellungen gehören die Fragmente eines Pegasus und eines Stiers, die man sich wohl als Torhüter in dem architektonischen Zusammenhang eines iwāns vorstellen darf.¹⁹

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 15. VIII. 1931, S. 250.

¹⁵ O. Reuther, *Die Deutsche Ktesiphon-Expedition 1928-29*, Berlin, 1930, S. 13, Abb. 6.

¹⁶ Vgl. E. Kühnel und F. Wachtsmuth, *Die Ausgrabungen der 2. Ktesiphon Expedition 1931-32*, Berlin, 1933, S. 25 ff.

¹⁷ Vgl. Herzfeld, *op. cit.*; F. Sarre in A. von Le Coq, *Die Buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien*, Berlin,

1933, VI, S. 9-10.

¹⁸ Reuther, *op. cit.*, S. 29; J. H. Schmidt, "Funde figürliches Plastic in Ktesiphon," *Belvedere*, IX, 1930, pp. 137-140, Taf. 87d; Kühnel und Wachtsmuth, *op. cit.*, Abb. 26, 27, 37.

¹⁹ Die Behandlung der Mähne des Pegasus und des Halses des Stieres erinnert sehr an die Stiere des Ischtartores Pegasus vgl. von Falke, *op. cit.*, Abb. 48, 49; Smirnof, *op. cit.*, Taf. XXVII, Nr. 55.

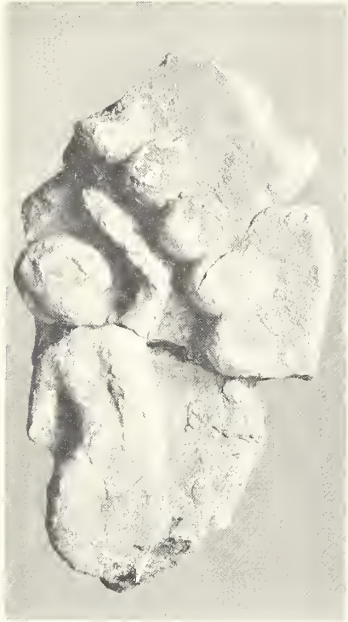


FIG. 4—STUCKPLATTE MIT TÄNZERIN
AUS KTESIPHON, SASANIDISCH
BERLIN, STAATLICHE MUSEEN



FIG. 5—SILBERVASE, SASANIDISCH
NACH SMIRNOFF



FIG. 6—SILBERVASE, SASANIDISCH, LENINGRAD, ERMITAGE



FIG. 7—FAVENCEKRUG AUS KTESIPHON, SASANIDISCH
NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM



FIG. 8—STUCKPLATTE MIT TÄNZERIN AUS KTESIPHON
SASANIDISCH, BAGHDÄD MUSEUM



FIG. 9—STUCKPLATTE MIT BÜSTENS AUS KTESIPHON
SASANIDISCH, BERLIN, STAATLICHE MUSEEN

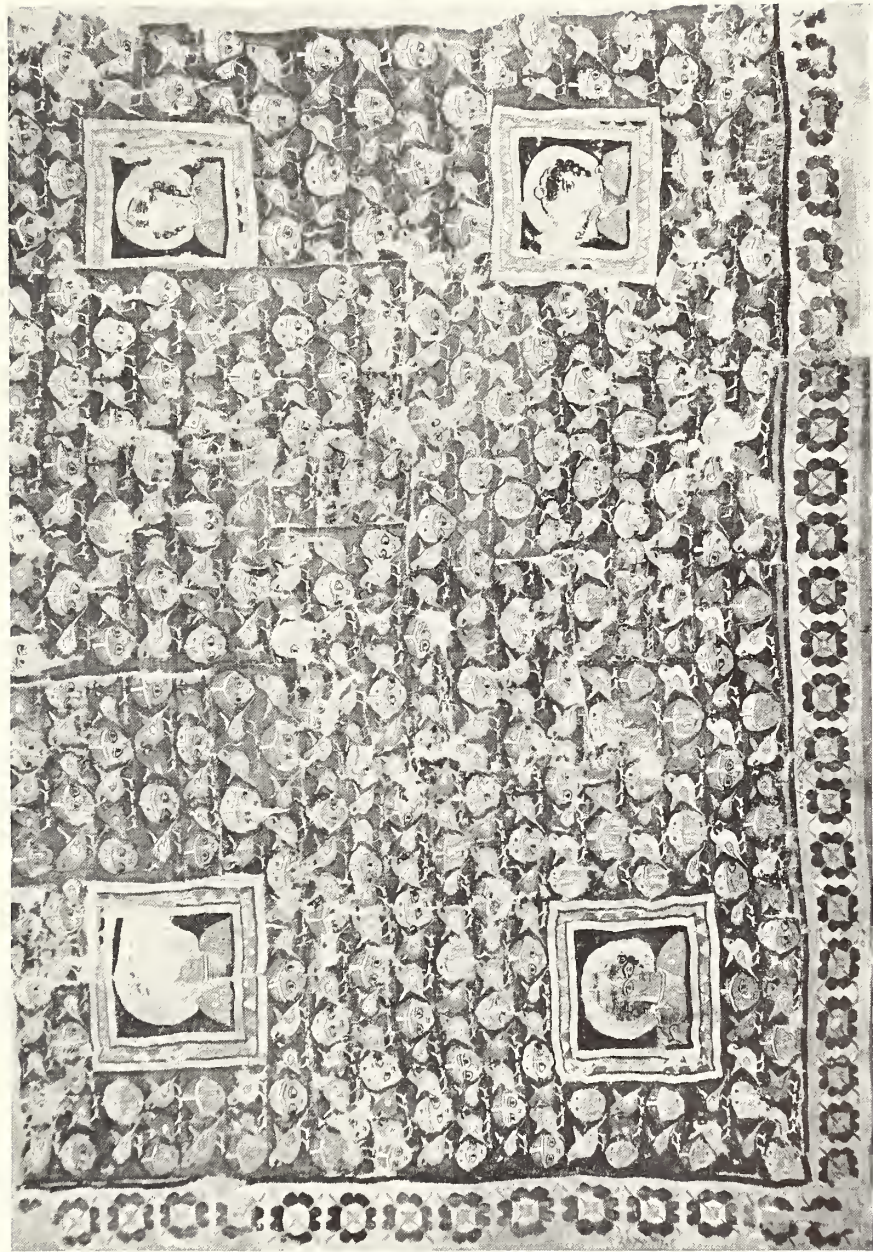


FIG. 10—WIRKARBEIT, KOPTISCH, AEGYPTEN, VI JAHRH., PARIS, PRIVATBESITZ



FIG. 11—STUCKFLIESE MIT KEILER AUS KTESIPHON
SASANIDISCH, BERLIN, STAATLICHE MUSEEN

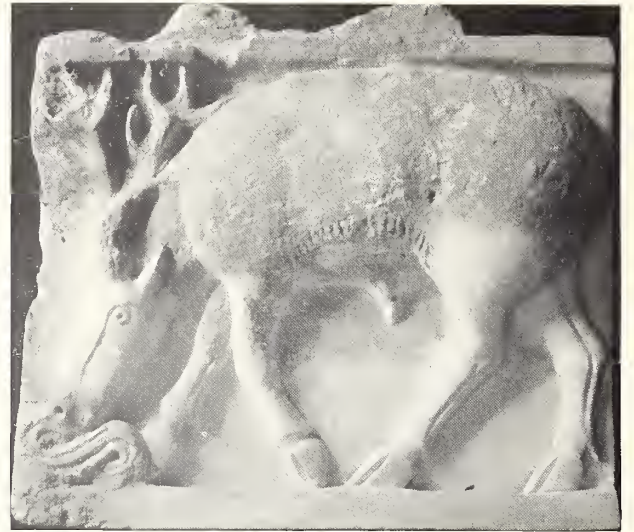


FIG. 12—STUCKPLATTE MIT HIRSCH AUS DAMGHÂN
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA MUSEUM



FIG. 13—STUCKPLATTE MIT HIRSCH AUS ARSLAN TASH, ASSYRISCH

In ähnlicher Weise gab es auch in der dekorativen Kleinplastik Tierdarstellungen mit einem szenischen Zusammenhang und solche von rein ornamentalem z.T. symbolischen Charakter. Beide Richtungen, die in engster Beziehung zu der bei den Persern wie bei allen arischen Völkern stark ausgeprägten Neigung zur Mythenbildung und der damit verbundenen Fabulierlust stehen sind, auch von den sasanidischen Silberarbeiten bekannt.²⁰ Zur letzten Gruppe gehören die Stuckplatten von einer *īwānarchivolte* aus Um-Za'atir bei Ktesiphon mit Bären in Gebüsch über Bergsilhouetten und mit Keilern in Röhricht über Wellenmotiven (*Fig. 11*). Während die Wellenmotive hier mit dem antiken Motiv der sich ein- und ausrollenden Spirale, die als "laufender Hund" bekannt ist, zusammenhängen, geht die ornamentale Darstellung einer Quelle auf einer Stuckplatte aus Damghān, mit einem trinkenden Hirsch (*Fig. 12*)²¹ auf ein assyrisches Vorbild zurück (*Fig. 13*).²² Einen gewissen Fortschritt in der ornamentalen Durchbildung der Tierformen bemerkt man in einem vor Gesträuch daherspringenden Hund,²³ der offenbar von einem Fries mit Hunden, die Jagdwild verfolgen, stammt. Gerade dieses Motiv sollte später für die islamische Kunst weit über die Grenzen Persiens hinaus, besonders in den tauschierten Metallarbeiten von Mosul, den mesopotamischen Terrakottakrügen und Seidenbrokaten und im syrischen Baudekor von grosser Bedeutung werden.²⁴ Die vollkommene ornamentale Gleichschaltung von Tier und Pflanzenformen tritt in einer quadratischen Stuckplatte in die Erscheinung mit einem Lebensbaum in dem Pfauen angeordnet sind.²⁵ Zahlreiche Fragmente von solchen Vogelkörpern auch grösseren Formats wurden gefunden, doch lässt sich leider nichts über den Zusammenhang aussagen.

Die Formen der Vögel lassen wiederum ähnlich wie eine Gruppe der Tänzerinnen, oder ein Lotusblumenmotiv aus Ma'aridh VI²⁶ wesentliche Anregungen aus dem Spätantiken Kulturkreis Aegyptens erkennen. Die Beziehungen zu den Hellenistischen Kulturkreisen des Mittelmeergebiets werden zum Teil auch durch die literarische Ueberlieferung bestätigt. König Shāpūr II und Khosrau I., brachten von ihren Feldzügen nach dem Westen syrische Seidenweber und Kunsthandwerker (Mosaik, Opus sectile) nach Persien. Noch aufschlussreicher sind manche künstlerischen Beziehungen. Die Hohlkehle eines Türsturzes des Schlosses Fīrūzābād²⁷ weist ganz eindeutig nach Aegypten. Wenn man auch bei manchen ornamentalen Erscheinungen der Spätantike anzunehmen geneigt ist, dass sie an verschiedenen Orten zugleich auf Grund eines ähnlichen Zerfalls des spätantiken Kanons entstanden sind, so kann man doch aus solchen Gegenüberstellungen wie etwa der aegyptischen Tänzerin mit den Castag-

²⁰ Vgl. F. Sarre und E. Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, Berlin, 1910. Smirnov, *op. cit.*

²¹ *The Illustrated London News*, 26. III. 1932, S. 482, Fig. 3. Für die Tierdarstellungen mit bewegten Szenen vgl. besonders einen Löwen, der ein Rind erwürgt, *ibid.*, 14. II. 1931, S. 261 und ein *Karawanentier*.

²² Assyrisches Vorbild vgl. F. Thureau-Dangin, *Ars-lan-Tash*, Paris, 1931, Pl. 36, Abb. 61-62.

²³ Vgl. F. Sarre, "Makam Ali am Euphrat, ein Islamischer Baudenkmal des X Jahrhunderts," *Jhrb. d. Pr.*

Kunstsamml., XXIX, 1908, S. 63-76.

²⁴ Rubensohn, *op. cit.*, Taf. 1, Nr. 1.

²⁵ Kühnel und Wachsmuth, *op. cit.*, Abb. 28.

²⁶ J. H. Schmidt, "L'Expedition de Ctesiphon," *Syria*, XV, 1934, S. 22, Pl. VI G. H.

²⁷ Vgl. M. Dieulafoy, *Geschichte der Kunst in Spanien und Portugal*, Stuttgart, 1913, S. 9, S. 11, Abb. 20 (D. hält den Palast wegen dieser aegyptischen Anregungen für achämenidisch).

netten und der indischen Tänzerin mit den Schmuckgehängen ohne Zweifel auf Anregungen aus diesen Richtungen schliessen. Die Anregungen aus Aegypten und Indien scheinen jedenfalls für die figürlichen Elemente der dekorativen sasanidischen Bauplastik bedeutsamer gewesen zu sein, als die Anregungen aus Byzanz, die nach den geographischen Voraussetzungen mindestens ebenso nahe lagen.

SIMULTANEITY IN ISLAMIC ART

BY ERNST DIEZ

THE FOREMOST STYLISTIC QUALITY OF EVERY LATE STYLE IS SIMULTANEITY.¹ IT HAS predominated repeatedly during the mature periods of art throughout the millenniums and centuries of history and prehistory. Besides the historic Baroque art, other late phases of style, as, for instance, the Hellenistic art since the third century B.C., have been characterized as baroque. A. v. Salis in his analysis of Greek art divided each period, the archaic and the classic, into three phases, primitive, ripe, and late manneristic or baroque.² Lehel adopted this division for the whole history of art. His investigation of structural qualities led him to new results of stylistic analysis, which substantially alter the superficial and often misleading historical periodization of styles. According to him late phases include the Magdalenian period of Palaeolithic art, Bronze Age art, Irish and late Germanic art, Egyptian art of the New Kingdom, late Hellenistic art, and Roman art after the Augustan classic renaissance, i.e., since the second century A.D., late Byzantine, late Romanesque, late Gothic, late Renaissance, Baroque, and Modern art. All these phases display simultaneity as their characteristic formal quality.

Each structure which combines two elementary forms, such as a quadrangle with rounded corners, or which overemphasizes a form by stretching or other deformation is a simultaneous form. The interlacing of linear features and the constant changing of line, the iridescence of color, the interpenetration of groups, and the spiral rhythm are simultaneous forms. The modern painter develops the possibilities of simultaneity to the utmost degree. He crosses figures or draws them into each other by rendering intermittently one part of each object only, or he cuts the object in two, or superimposes one upon the other, merely indicating its opacity, and shades the covered part darker, thus complicating the contours (Picasso and others). The structure of any work of plastic art, architecture, sculpture, or painting, can be primitive-simple, classic-constructed, or baroque-interlaced; according as the line is current, intersected, or simultaneously changing; as the color is primitive-even, classic-shaded, or baroque-simultaneous iridescent; as the grouping is primitive-juxtaposed, classic-overlapping, or baroque-interpenetrating; and as the rhythm is symmetric, contraposting, or spiral.³

This paper is concerned with the investigation of the structure of Islamic art, carried on upon a level differing from that in my analysis of Islamic art.⁴ The former article was principally metaphysical analysis, whereas here concrete problems of structure are under consideration.

Islamic art was established on the basis of the Oriental-Hellenistic and Christian art of

¹ The notion was first used by H. Bergson, and it was adopted from him, though in a different sense, as a phenomenal notion in cubistic art in 1911. Franz Lehel (*Fortschreitende Entwicklung*, Munich, 1929) introduced this term as a valuable criterion in art analysis, both historical and modern.

² Arnold von Salis, *Die Kunst der Griechen*, Leipzig, 1919.

³ Lehel, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

⁴ E. Diez, "A Stylistic Analysis of Islamic Art," *Ars Islamica*, III, Pt. 2, 1936, pp. 201 ff., and continuation to be published.

the seventh century A.D. In addition to these sources, the indigenous art in the various countries of Islam, notably Iran, was continued. Hence Islamic art constitutes a late phase of Oriental art with some primitive infusions. Ornament, as the result of an historical development of more than two thousand years, evolves an elaborate style, whereas its carrier, architecture, with few exceptions has remained on a much earlier level and has never given up the elementary geometric formulas such as the quadrangle, circle, cube, and sphere. Only in the architectural cubistic decoration as in the *muḳarnat* was a sudden jump made into an almost irrational, highly simultaneous, puzzling form-scheme. In general, the effect of simultaneity in Islamic architecture is not caused by simultaneous plan- and space-forms as in genuine baroque buildings of late Hellenism or in our modern baroque period, but is confined to the ornamental order of Islamic art, which was discussed in my former articles.

ARCHITECTURE

The tomb towers and minarets form the most conspicuous group in Islamic architecture to display simultaneous forms. With its succession of a quadrangular, a polygonal, and a round-shaped story the Pharos of Alexandria already represented a late architectural form with an effect of simultaneity, though it was only an early predecessor of such paradigmatic simultaneity as is exhibited by the two *malwiyas* at Sāmarrā of the ninth century A.D. Analogous attempts to adopt spiral forms in architecture have been made in planning up-to-date dwelling houses.⁵ The minaret of Ibn Tūlūn at Cairo and still more its prototypes the *malwiyas* at Sāmarrā, are paradigmatic for the baroque torsion as used on late Hellenistic, late Gothic, and seventeenth century Baroque columns and pillars. The screw is a final form. During the tenth and eleventh centuries in Iran the series of tomb towers was started with their stellate and wedge-shaped flanges of simultaneous impression. The two star-shaped Towers of Victory at Ghazna, the minaret of Djār Kurgān in Turkestan, and the *Ḳuṭb Minār* in Delhi, the two latter with alternating wedge- and pipe-shaped projections, are additional examples. The notching of surface walls by wedge- or pipe-shaped undulation was not confined to the mantle-surfaces of towers, but also was used on roofs. Piped domes are spread over the lands of the Caliphate, wedged roofs are rare, but buildings, such as the Turbe Nūr al-Dīn ibn Tīmūr at Toḳāt in Anatolia, demonstrate the existence of the type.⁶ This treatment of the surface of buildings marks the baroque phase of a cubistic architecture in contrast to the baroque façades of Western buildings where the movement of the mass is executed in an organizistic way.⁷

Concave forms are another means of giving the appearance of simultaneity. Primitive and classic periods use positive forms, whereas baroque art phases are interested in negative forms, in concave figures and dark gaping intervals. Hence the copious use of rows of niches and of iwāns in the courtyards of mosques, madrasas, and caravansaries as well as the de-

⁵ Cf. Terry's model for "The Snail," a spiral dwelling house, No. 679, in the *Catalogue of Fantastic Art, Dada, Surrealism*, ed. by A. H. Barr, New York, 1936.

⁶ Unpublished photograph by the late Rudolf M.

Riefstahl.

⁷ For the notions "cubistic" and "organizistic" cf. my "Analysis of Islamic Art," *op. cit.*

materialization of the walls by niches in polygonal pavilions such as *Hasht Bihisht* at Isfahan, *Qadam Gāh* near Nishāpūr, *Khodja Rabi'* near Mashhad, and many others. Instead of the positive classic pilaster the negative niche also was used as the unit for the rhythmic organization of the façades.

This tendency toward dematerialization by means of concavity also encouraged the typification of the lobate arch and its spread over wide ranges of Islamic art.

The main theme of the rhythmic surface organization provided by concave forms, such as niches, in most cases was enriched by manifold devices and techniques of wall decoration executed in bricks, stucco, tile incrustation, and painting. By setting the surface layer of bricks in geometric patterns, enhanced by secondary and tertiary designs by means of small deep-shaded intervals and by insertion of glazed-brick bands, rich aspects of simultaneity were provided. Combined with the undulation of the walls by wedge- and pipe-shaped fluting the dematerialization resulted in a chatoyant effect. The tomb towers and minarets, mentioned before, are prominent monuments for such simultaneous surface treatment, which reached its culmination in mausoleums of great sultans, such as *Uldjaītū Khodābendē* in Sultāniye. In the Şafawid period pure tile mosaic sometimes of an incredibly refined design, such as is in the *Madrassa Māder-i-Shāh* at Isfahan and at the *Imām Zāde Khodja Rabi'* near Mashhad,⁸ was preferred.

The accumulation of varied designs, executed in diverse techniques revealed by encompassed panels, is dazzling. Painted stucco panels with vines are enclosed by carved inscription-friezes both in *naskhi* and *kūfī*, followed by painted enclosures, topped by a tympanum with a many-lined inscription in a third style, and this whole compound of panels and enclosing friezes encircled by an ample frieze of glazed tiles with huge characters in relief. The baroque simultaneity of such surface decoration consists in the constant juxtaposition of vertical and horizontal panels, in the coincidence of vertical and horizontal inscription-friezes, and of vines with geometric patterns.

ORNAMENT

Islamic ornament consists of two main systems, the geometric and the naturalistic vegetative, the combination of which led to innumerable variations. Neither of these is an Islamic invention, both being evolutions of late antique ornament. Rich varieties of geometric stripe patterns had been used in Roman pavement mosaics and on ceilings of late East Roman temples as in Baalbek and Palmyra.⁹ The same is true of vegetative patterns in late Roman art. The discoveries of the Sassanian stucco decorations in Mesopotamia and Iran in recent years again confirm the long existence of the oriental Mediterranean ornament system before its adoption by Islam.

The elements of the Roman and Sassanian ornament systems, however, were admirable geometric figures, such as quadrangles, circles, and lozenges. The step towards simultaneity

⁸ For color plates cf. E. Diez, *Churasanische Bau-denkmäler*, Berlin, 1918, Pls. 27-29.

⁹ K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, Oxford, 1932, Figs. 80-89.

in the very elements was taken by Islamic art. The lozenge was interpenetrated by a quadrangle or by a circle, and the results were simultaneous starlike figures which became the most commonly employed elements in Islamic wall decoration. The ☸ pattern, as is known, was adopted by Gothic art and was still used by Giotto on the Florentine Campanile and by Ghiberti on the gates of the Baptistery. It is a combination on the same principle which in architecture resulted in the wedge- and pipe-shaped wall surfaces discussed on page 186. The starlike figure ○, which was established as the most popular shape for tiles, is a similar construction.

The vegetative ornament, as adopted from late Roman art, was transformed into the simultaneous "arabesque" by the assimilation of stalk and leaf to one tendril. The stalk widens into the leaf, and the leaf again thins into the stalk, a development by which both these organic elements of a plant lose their natural character and are transformed into "cubistic" ornament. This most fateful step in the evolution of Islamic ornament was first pointed out by A. Riegl.¹⁰ The metamorphosis to arabesque is apparent in the wall decorations at Sāmarrā in the ninth century A.D., though its full maturity was reached in later centuries.

PERSIAN MINIATURE PAINTING

Various simultaneous effects are also displayed in Persian miniature painting. The colored plates in L. Binyon's *The Poems of Nizami*¹¹ may serve as records. The walls of the ruined palace in Mīrek's illumination of Nushīrwān, as told in Nizāmi's *Treasury of Mysteries*, are still covered with tiles which, however, are partly broken out and thus intersected by spots of whitewash (Pl. III). The juxtaposition, intersection, and interpenetration of perfect work with ruin, of geometric forms with naturalistic ones, of life and decay, provide both subjects and formulas of simultaneity. Other means aiming at the same effect include the insertion of inscribed tablets to separate or divide landscape elements; the combination or juxtaposition of two trees of different varieties, such as a cypress and a blossoming peach tree, or of trees and colonettes, to one intertwining feature; the vertical towering of geometric and natural formulas; and the slight divergency of soaring poles and trees (Pls. V and VI). The intersecting of a group of men by the straining ropes of the tents (Pls. VIII and XII), or by architectural frames (Pl. IX), is another example of baroque simultaneity. The inversion of natural hues by washing rocks with light blue and light green tints and the sky with dark ocher dazzles the eye of the beholder and provides an example of color simultaneity (Pls. XIII and XV).

CONCLUSION

As has been indicated, simultaneity is a quality of late or baroque art phases. Our statement of its frequent appearance in Islamic art indicates the highly baroque character of that

¹⁰ *Stilfragen*, Berlin, 1893, Chap. IV.

¹¹ London, 1928.

art. It also suggests that the baroque phase of a cubistic style is divergent from the baroque aspect of an organzistic style, such as the generally so-called seventeenth century Baroque. The baroque phase of Hellenistic art as an integrated style offers aspects analogous to the seventeenth century Baroque and therefore was recognized as such. The baroque character of Islamic art was less evident. As was stated in previous articles, Islamic art belongs to the ornamental phase of Cubism in the period of polar composition;¹² hence its baroque character had to be visualized in an ornamentalistic way by cubistic devices of design and color. Its genetic analysis on a metaphysical basis will be given.¹³ This article is descriptive on an empiric basis, and its object is to give a further explanation of the peculiar devices used by an ornamental-cubistic style in the fulfillment of its artistic-historical mission.

¹² "A Stylistic Analysis of Islamic Art," p. 212.

¹³ *Ars Islamica* (to be published).

EINE SELTENE LÜSTERSCHALE DER RAYY-KERAMIK VON FRIEDRICH SARRE

IN DEN LETZTEN JAHREN HAT SICH UNSERE KENNTNIS DER MITTELALTERLICHEN PERSISCHEN Keramik in besonderem Masse erweitert. Bezüglich ihrer Datierung sowie ihrer Herkunft ist die Forschung nach und nach zu greifbaren Ergebnissen gekommen, die zu erheblichem Teil in dieser Zeitschrift veröffentlicht worden sind.¹ So möge auch die Bekanntgabe eines meines Wissens bisher unveröffentlichten Stückes, einer lüstrierten Schale mit eigenartigem Muster, in dieser Festschrift der *Ars Islamica* als bescheidener Beitrag ihren Platz finden (*Figs. 1, 2*).

Es handelt sich um eine kleine Trinkschale der üblichen Form (H. 7,5 cm. Dm. 17,8 m), die vor wenigen Jahren im Kunsthandel zum Vorschein kam und sich zur Zeit in Berliner Privatbesitz befindet. Sie ist, wie üblich, aus verschiedenen Stücken zusammengesetzt, aber bis auf eine kleine Ergänzung, ein keilförmiges Randstück, dessen Fehlen sich nicht störend bemerkbar macht, vollständig erhalten. Der dünngeformte Scherben ist von bemerkenswerter Härte. Die hellgelbe Lüsterbemalung ist wenig abgenutzt und zeigt bei breiter aufgetragenen Stellen Schuttierungen ungleichmässiger Tönung.

Im Gegensatz zu der rein Dekorativ gewordenen Schriftborte der Aussenseite (*Fig. 1*), ist das Innere in aussergewöhnlicher Weise verziert (*Fig. 2*). Von Rand zu Rand zieht sich hier durch die Mitte eine breite Borte hin, die mit dünnen Ranken als Hintergrund für ein paar sich mehrfach wiederholender dekorativ verwendeter Schriftcharaktere gefüllt ist. Das gleiche Muster finden wir als Füllung der den Rand bildenden aneinander gereihten neun flachen Kreissegmente. In die beiden, von der Mittelbarre und vom Rand begrenzten halbkreisflächen sind nun zwei gleich grosse, aber in der Zeichnung nicht übereinstimmende Löwen in schreitender Stellung mit zurückgewendetem Kopf, beide Male nach aussen orientiert, hineingesetzt. Die zeichnerische Wiedergabe der beiden Löwen ist eine ungewöhnliche und von ganz besonderem Reiz; ist doch der Tierkörper nicht durch einen fortlaufenden Kontur umrissen, sondern ganz in Einzelformen aufgelöst und aus nur lose miteinander verknüpften Palmettenranken und Blättern, sowie aus grösseren und kleineren Punkten und aus Punkt- und Strichreihen zusammengesetzt. Nur einzelne Teile wie die Beine der Löwen sind einiger-

¹ R. Ettinghausen, "Important Pieces of Persian Pottery in London Collections," *Ars Islamica*, II, Pt. 1, 1935, pp. 45 ff.; D. M. Donaldson, "Significant Mihrābs in the Haram at Mashhad," *Ars Islamica*, II, Pt. 1, pp. 118 ff.; M. Aga-Oglu, "Fragments of a Thirteenth Century Mihrāb at Nedjef," *Ars Islamica*, II, Pt. 1, pp. 128 ff.; V. A. Kratchkowskaya, "Fragments du Mihrāb de Varāmīn," *Ars Islamica*, II, Pt. 1, pp. 132 ff.; R. Ettinghausen, "Evidence for the Identification of Kāshān Pottery," *Ars Islamica*, III, Pt. 1, 1936, pp. 44 ff.; Von der sonstigen einschlägigen Literatur sei erwähnt: M. S. Dimand, *Loan Exhibition of Ceramic Art of the Near East in the*

Metropolitan Museum, New York, 1931; E. Kühnel, "Dated Persian Lustred Pottery," *Eastern Art*, III, 1931, pp. 223 ff.; H. Ritter, J. Ruska, F. Sarre und R. Winderlich, *Orientalische Steinbücher und persische Fayencetechnik*, Istanbul, 1935; A. U. Pope, "A Signed Kashan Minai Bowl," *Burlington Magazine*, LXIX, 1936, No. 402, pp. 144-147; G. Wiet, *Les Pièces de céramique datées de l'exposition persane de 1931*, Cairo, 1933, pp. 131 ff.; R. Ettinghausen, "Dated Persian Ceramics in some American Museums," *Bull. Am. Inst. Persian Art and Archaeol.*, IV, 1936, pp. 145 ff.



FIG. 1, 2—SCHALE MIT LÜSTERMALEREI, RAYY, ENDE XII JAHRH., BERLIN, PRIVATBESITZ

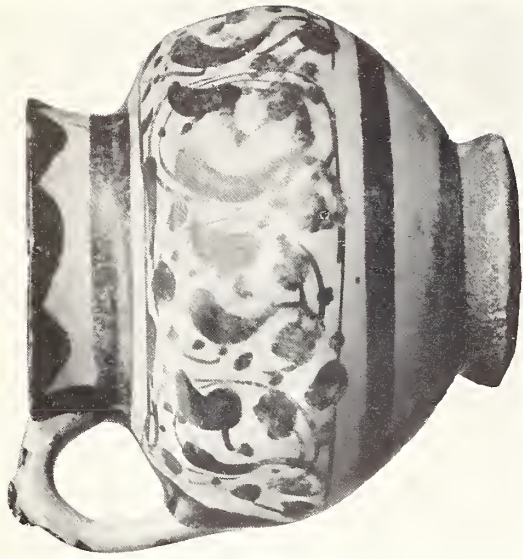


FIG. 5—KLEINE KANNE MIT LÜSTERMALEREI,
ENDE XII JAHRH., BERLIN, STAATLICHE MUSEEN



FIG. 4—SCHALE MIT LÜSTERMALEREI, XIII JAHRH.
NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM



FIG. 3—ZEICHNUNG AUS EINEM ASTRONOMISCHEN WERK
UM 1300 AD., LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM

massen naturgetreu und flächig wiedergegeben; das Ganze eine höchst geistreiche zeichnerische Komposition von verschiedenen, aber stilistisch übereinstimmenden ornamentalen Motiven. Man wird unwillkürlich an die antiken Grylli erinnert, an Köpfe griechisch-römischer Münze und Gemmen, die karikaturenhaft aus verschiedenen tierischen und menschlichen Formen bestehen.²

Sucht man nun in der mittelalterlichen persischen Miniaturmalerei nach einer Formensprache, die der Dekoration unserer Schale gleicht oder ihr wenigstens nahe kommt, so finden wir eine gewisse Verwandtschaft bei den Sternbildern in astronomischen Werken. Betrachten wir z.B. die beiden Löwenfiguren (*Fig. 3*) in einer zeitlich freilich wohl ein Jahrhundert jüngeren, ungefähr um 1300 datierten mongolischen Handschrift des British Museums (*Arabic 5323*),³ so ist eine Übereinstimmung zwischen beiden Darstellungen im Stil und in der Art der Wiedergabe, unverkennbar. Wir halten es daher nicht nur für möglich, sondern für sehr wahrscheinlich, dass die Löwenfiguren unserer Schale nach einer solchen astronomischen Handschrift zwar nicht direkt kopiert worden sind, dass aber die besondere und eigenartige Wiedergabe der runden Sternpunkte und der mit ihnen verbundenen Schnörkel und Schriftcharaktere die Anregung zu den ähnlich gezeichneten Tierfiguren der Schale gegeben hat. Hier wie dort handelt es sich unzweifelhaft um die gleiche künstlerische Ausdrucksweise.

Eine Lüsterschale des Metropolitan-Museums (*Fig. 4*) erinnert mit ihren aus dem Lüstergrunde ausgesparten Tierfiguren (geflügelten Rindern), bei denen wiederum dieselben Palmettenranken und vor allem die gleichen über die Tierkörper verstreuten Punkte vorkommen, in gewissem Sinne an die Dekoration unserer Schale und letzten Endes an die zeichnerische Wiedergabe von Sternbildern. Aber das New Yorker Stück ist flüchtiger gezeichnet und weniger künstlerisch empfunden; es dürfte auch jüngeren Datums sein.⁴

Und nun zur zeitlichen und örtlichen Bestimmung unserer Schale. Wir dürfen annehmen, dass sie noch dem Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts angehört und den Werkstätten von Rayy zuzuschreiben ist. Sind doch ihre ornamentalen Motive, z.B. die dekorativen Schriftborten mit ihren engen Rankenhintergrund und den erwähnten Punkten, und dann vor allem die charakteristischen, komma-artigen Palmettenblätter, eine Besonderheit der früher, aus Rayy stammenden Lüsterkeramik.⁵ Ein noch nicht veröffentlichtes unscheinbares Kännchen der

² A. Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen*, Leipzig, 1900; A. Roes, "New Light on the Grylli," *Journ. Hellenistic Studies*, V, 1935, pp. 232 ff.; A. Sakisian, "La Caricature dans les arts graphiques persanes," *Rev. Art*, LXX, 1936, pp. 95 ff.; In persischen Zeichnungen des sechzehnten und siebzehnten Jahrh. macht sich zuweilen das Bestreben bemerkbar Steinen und Pflanzen des landschaftlichen Hintergrundes menschliche und tierische Formen zu geben z.B. F. Sarre und F. R. Martin, *Meisterwerke Muhammadanischer Kunst*, München, 1912, Taf. 21, Kat. No. 682.

³ F. R. Martin, *The Miniature Painting and Painters*

of Persia, India, and Turkey, London, 1912, II, Pl. 38.

⁴ Wir verdanken Herrn Dr. Ettinghausen den Hinweis auf diese Lüsterschale des Metropolitan Museums (No. 20.52.5) (H. 7.7 cm. Dm. 19.5 cm.) sowie eine Photographie derselben. "Das Tier auf der rechten Seite ist Ergänzung, wie auch die Köpfe und kleine Teile der Vorderkörper des linken und des unteren Tiers" (R. E.).

⁵ Cf. Ettinghausen, "Identification of Kāshān Pottery," p. 52. Ausser dem hier in *Fig. 11* abgebildeten Albarello des British Museums seien folgende frühe Stücke der Rayy-Keramik erwähnt, die mit der Löwen-Schale in Lüster und Dekor nahe Verwandtschaft haben: Alba-

Berliner Sammlung (T. 1643. H. 7,5 cm.) hängt eng mit unserer Schale zusammen und dürfte vielleicht sogar in der gleichen Werkstatt entstanden sein (*Fig. 5*). Abgesehen von technischen Übereinstimmungen in der Färbung und im Auftrag des Lüsters und in der Härte des Scherbens finden wir auch hier als Hauptdekorationsmotiv die charakteristische Rankenborte und das aus Kreissegmenten zusammengesetzte Randmotiv wieder.

rello im Musée du Louvre, H. Rivière, *La Céramique dans l'art Musulman*, Paris, 1913, Pl. 39; Albarello in der Sammlung Godman, H. Wallis, *The Godman Collec-*

tion, London, 1891, Pl. IV; Pfauenschüssel des Berliner Museums, Rivière, *op. cit.*, Pl. 37.

CERTAIN CELADON POTSDHERDS FROM SĀMARRĀ TRACED TO THEIR SOURCE

BY JAMES MARSHALL PLUMER

THE DRAMATIC DISCOVERY OF CHINESE PORCELAIN AT SĀMARRĀ IN 1913 BY FRIEDRICH SARRE¹ was of great interest to all students of ceramic history because of the early dating (838–883 A.D.) based on reliable archaeological excavation. Similar evidence from China, however, has been slow in coming. It would seem worth while, therefore, to present certain material from China which very convincingly corroborates some of Sarre's finds. It will be demonstrated that several of the celadon shards from Sāmarrā may not only now be identified with one of the rarest Chinese wares,² the ware of Yüeh or *pi-se-yao*,³ but that they may also be traced to their original place of manufacture on the southern shores of a small lake, the Shang Lin Hu, near Ningpo, Chekiang.

My account of a visit to the site, together with a map showing its location and some description of the fragments found, was recently published.⁴ It might be well to note here that Sarre⁵ has already proposed Yüeh-chou as one of two possible provenances for this group and that R. L. Hobson⁶ suggested that "some, if not all, of the celadon fragments found at Samarra" had originated at what he terms "the Yü-yao kiln-sites." Of the celadon fragments which Sarre illustrates I should definitely exclude from present consideration the two of lighter blue-green hue (Pl. XXIII, 11 and 12, labeled together No. 210), it being more likely, I think, that they are of the Lung-ch'üan type. Although various literary sources have associated the wares of Yüeh (or *pi-se-yao*) with Yüeh-chou (modern Shao-hsing) or with Yü-yao-hsien, I believe that to date no kiln sites have been found at either of these cities. Chinese place names, however, may frequently refer to extensive administrative areas surrounding the city walls as well as in a stricter sense to the areas confined within. Thus if Yüeh-chou should be construed to mean a region or Yü-yao-hsien a district, the Yüeh site might properly be said to be within both. Hence my placing the kiln site on the Shang Lin Hu, perhaps forty-five miles from the former place and roughly fifteen miles from the latter is a matter of delimitation rather than correction.

The simple task I have set for myself in this paper is that of documenting a few of the potsherds from Sāmarrā with a handful of others of striking similarity from known provenance in China. Out of hundreds acquired at the site of manufacture I reproduce a few only, especially selected for comparison with Sarre's small group, Nos. 206–09.⁷ While I regret that colored illustrations are not feasible at this time, I can vouch for the fact that both groups under

¹ F. Sarre, *Die Keramik von Samarra*, Berlin, 1925.

² As recently as 1924, Hetherington in alluding to "the conjectural products of the Yüeh Chou factories" states that "we have no authenticated specimen to help us." A. L. Hetherington, *The Early Ceramic Wares of China*, London, 1924, p. 93.

³ Commonly translated as "secret color ware."

⁴ *Illustrated London News*, March 13 and 20, 1937.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 56.

⁶ "Chinese Porcelain from Fostat," *Burlington Magazine*, LXI, Sept. 1932, p. 110.

⁷ Sarre, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXIII, 9, 13–15, and Pl. XXV, 4 and 6.

discussion possess a glaze of distinctive grayish green with an olive tinge faithfully indicated in Figures 9, 14, and 15 of Sarre's⁸ Plate XXIII, and further that the body colors, gray where fractured and reddish where exposed during firing, are common to both. My confidence in this respect is due to the fact that it was my good fortune to be permitted to handle the Sāmarrā fragments⁹ just four months after I had obtained my own examples from the kiln sites.

In addition to the color of body and glaze, other distinctive features are duplicated such as shape, types of base, potting, method of incising underglaze design, and an unusual spur-mark. These specific points may, for the sake of clarity, merit some further exposition, and I therefore devote a few words to each one.

SHAPE

With Sāmarrā fragment No. 208 (reproduced here in *Fig. 5*),¹⁰ compare two fragmentary bowls (*Figs. 7a* and *7c*) from Shang Lin Hu. In each instance there is a high flaring base supporting a bowl with originally five dents in the sides and a like number of corresponding nicks in the rim which give to the whole a flower-like appearance. The similarity between Figures 5 and *7a* is striking. Figure *7c* is a cruder piece. Both Figures *7a* and *7c* are somewhat distorted from an accident during firing.

TYPES OF BASE

A) *Flat base, gouged out in center*

Sāmarrā fragment No. 206,¹¹ part of a base only, not reproduced here, is of the same type as the exposed base seen in Figure 2, a kiln-waste mass (five bowls in saggar, fragmentary) from Shang Lin Hu. Straight-sided bowls with this particular kind of base, flat but gouged out in center, were found in large numbers at the kiln site.

B) *Low narrow base ring*

Sāmarrā fragment No. 207,¹² a small base segment, not reproduced here, is of the same type as that seen in the waster Figure 3 from Shang Lin Hu. This type of base is not particularly distinctive; it is common to many wares in China.

C) *High flaring base ring*

Sāmarrā fragments Nos. 209 and 208 (*Figs. 4* and *5*)¹³ possess bases similar to those of the three fragmentary bowls from Shang Lin Hu (*Figs. 7a, b, and c*). Though occasionally found in other wares this type of base may be considered one of the especially distinctive characteristics of this ware. The degree of flaring varies as the three examples in Figure 7 show. It is sometimes more obvious if seen in cross section as in the front view of Sāmarrā No. 208.¹⁴

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Thanks to courtesies extended by E. Kühnel of the State Museums, Berlin, and his staff, in November, 1935.

¹⁰ After Sarre, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXV, 6.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Pl. XXIII, 13.

¹² *Ibid.*, Pl. XXIII, 15.

¹³ After Sarre, *ibid.*, Pl. XXV, 4 and 6.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Pl. XXIII, 14.



FIG. 1—SITE OF ANCIENT YÜEH POTTERIES ON THE SIANG LIN HU

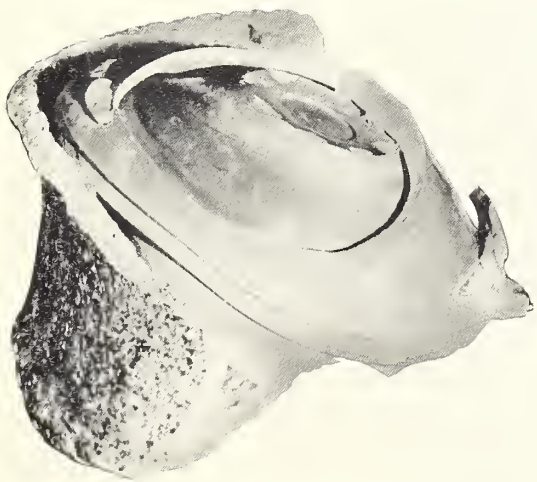


FIG. 2—KILN-SITE PROOF: WASTE MATERIAL
FROM THE YÜEH SITE

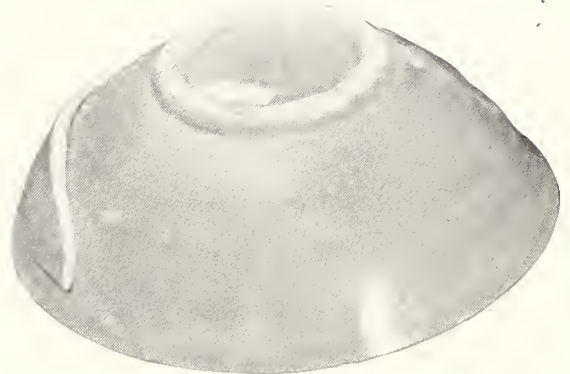


FIG. 3—A WASTER FROM THE YÜEH SITE



FIG. 4—SĀMARRĀ POTSHERD No. 209, AFTER SARRE



FIG. 5—SĀMARRĀ POTSHERD No. 208, AFTER SARRE



FIG. 6—INTERIOR OF FIG. 7*a* SHOWING
INCISED UNDERGLAZE DESIGN



FIG. 7*a*, *b*, *c*—WASTERS FROM THE YÜEH SITE

POTTING

By comparing our reproductions of Sāmarrā fragments Nos. 209 and 208, our Figures 4 and 5, with Figures 7*a*, *b*, and *c* from Shang Lin Hu, similarities may be noted, though actual handling of the objects would be preferable since they were made by hand. Attention is called to the similarity of the fractures in the upper portions in Figures 4 and 7*b*. It is to be noted, too, that in both the Sāmarrā and Shang Lin Hu shards the denting of the sides and nicking of the rims was done while the clay was still soft, as is evident from the fact that the scarring on the outside has caused a slight swelling which may be felt on the inside.

METHOD OF INCISING UNDERGLAZE DESIGN

Sāmarrā fragment No. 208 (i.e., our *Fig. 5*),¹⁵ as reproduced in Sarre,¹⁶ shows the remnants of an interior design which is very similar to that within our bowl shown in Figure 6 (another view of *Fig. 7a*). But it is the method of incising with single-pointed stylus in the damp clay before glazing that is here stressed. This method is a most distinctive feature of the incised design at Shang Lin Hu. The absence of "comb-markings" (in spite of exceptions) is notable in our ware, whereas in other early Chinese monochrome wares (especially of the Sung period) parallel lines made with one instrument are typical.

SPUR-MARKS

The base of Sāmarrā fragment No. 207 as illustrated in Sarre,¹⁷ shows adhering to it a certain whitish substance like the lumps visible on the bases of Figures 2 and 3. In this connection Sarre refers to traces of sand,¹⁸ quite incorrectly I think, for while sand was sometimes used for support during firing in the case of other celadons, viz.: the so-called "Northern" and the Korean variety, I have yet to find traces of sand in these supporting lumps. Lest an apparent inconsistency raise its head, I might mention that Hobson¹⁹ speaks of "sand marks" in connection with this ware, and that Ashton and Gray²⁰ refer to "small piles of sand." I feel, however, that this is simply an instance of perpetuated error. These lumps are claylike, and I have had analyses made which have proved them to be other than sand.

If the two groups of potsherds have been satisfactorily identified, it only remains to call attention to two pertinent points in the *Illustrated London News* article.²¹

In the first place we now have dated fragments of this ware with underglaze inscriptions indicating the year 978 A.D., far earlier, I believe, than any other dated porcelains or porcelainous wares yet found in China. This is scarcely a century later than Sāmarrā and since there are reasons (stylistic, literary, etc.) for believing it to be a late date at the site, it thus effectively corroborates Sarre's datings.

¹⁵ After Sarre, *ibid.*, Pl. XXV, 6.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Pl. XXIII, 14.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Pl. XXIII, 15.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 110; and in several other instances.

²⁰ L. Ashton and B. Gray, *Chinese Art*, London, 1935, p. 182.

²¹ *Op. cit.*

In the second place, the official record of Yü-yao-hsien²² indicates that at least as long ago as the sixteenth century the name *pi-se-yao* was associated with the ware of Shang Lin Hu²³ and refers to the manufacture of the same during both the T'ang (618–907 A.D.) and Sung (690–1280 A.D.) dynasties.

In conclusion I submit that the Sāmarrā celadon potsherds, Nos. 206–9, are *pi-se-yao*, the “secret color ware,” and that they originated at the kilns on the shore of the Shang Lin Hu in the ancient region of Yüeh.²⁴

²² Yü-Yao-Hsien-Chih, Kuang-Hsü Reprint.

²³ Since mention is made of excavations during the reign of the Ming Emperor Chia Ching (1522–1566) it may be assumed that the potteries were already defunct.

²⁴ The objects shown in Figs. 2, 3, 6 (or 7a), 7b, and 7c were gathered by me at the Shang Lin Hu site in

July, 1935, and are now on loan at the University of Michigan. For the photographs in Figs. 2, 3, and 6, I am indebted to Fogg Museum, Harvard University. Figs. 3, 6, and 1 (my own) are republished with the permission of the Editor of the *Illustrated London News*. Figs. 4 and 5 are after Sarre.

PROBLEME DER TEPPICHFORSCHUNG

WENN ÜBER EINE IM FACHSCHRIFTTUM BEREITS EINGEHEND BEHANDELTE GRUPPE DES altorientalischen Teppichs—es ist die nach der Stadt *Damaskus* benannte—ein weiterer Beitrag zur Erkenntnis derselben zu geben versucht wird, so mag die Rechtfertigung vor allem darin gesehen werden, dass dies von einer Stelle aus geschieht, wo die grösste an irgend einem Ort beisammen befindliche Anzahl von solchen Teppichen verwahrt wird, dem Oesterreichischen Museum in Wien.

Es sind dies sechs Teppiche mit geometrischem und zwei mit floralem Dekor. Man unterscheidet, wie bekannt, drei Untergruppen des Damaskusteppichs, indem man mit Recht die der geometrischen Teppiche nach zwei Typen teilt. Die erwähnten sechs Teppiche repräsentieren alle den einen Typus, den der eigentlichen Damaskusteppiche, während der zweite im genannten Museum nicht vertreten ist. Wir selbst wollen—wie weiter unten begründet werden wird—die erste Untergruppe, d. i. die der eigentlichen Damaskusteppiche, abermals unterteilt wissen und unterscheiden demnach vier Typen.¹

Die lebhaft beachtete, die, wie eingangs angedeutet, der Gruppe zuteil wurde, galt vor allem den eigentlichen Damaskusteppichen. Wir möchten glauben, dass das Anziehende weniger im Aesthetischen gefühlt wurde—abgesehen von dem einen seidengeknüpften Teppich²

¹ Beispiele: I: Abb. 1, II: Abb. 2, III: Abb. 3, IV: Abb. 4. Eine solche Teilung, freilich nur nach Format und gleichzeitig Felderzahl, hat schon K. Erdmann vorgenommen: "Ägyptische Teppiche," *Der Kunstwanderer*, 1930–31, S. 197 f.

² A. Riegl, *Orientalische Teppiche*, Wien, 1892 (im Folgenden gekürzt: OT), S. 12: "... eines der besterhaltenen und prächtigsten Stücke." F. Sarre, *Meisterwerke Muhammedanischer Kunst*, München, 1911 (gekürzt: Mw), I, S. V: "... zu einem der am meisten bewunderten Gegenstände der gesamten Ausstellung, ja, er wurde vielfach dem Jagdteppich vorgezogen." Derselbe, "Die orientalischen Teppiche aus dem ehemaligen Wiener Hofbesitz," *Der Kunstwanderer*, 1920, S. 447: "... Hauptinteresse ... Seidenteppich in Anspruch, der mit seinem märchenhaften Glanze, in seinen Farben ... einzig dasteht und von vielen Beschauern dem Jagdteppich vorgezogen wird." Derselbe, "Die ägyptische Herkunft der sogenannten Damascus-Teppich," *Ztschr. f. bild. K.*, 1921, S. 79: "Das schönste uns erhaltene Beispiel ... ist der einzigartige, prachtvolle, grosse Seidenteppich ... diesem vielfach bewunderten und vielfach besprochenen ..." Derselbe, "Die ägyptischen Teppiche," *Jhrb. d. As. K.*, I, 1924, S. 19:

"... seidenen Prachtteppichs." E. Kühnel, "Die Entwicklung des Orientteppichs," *Die Kunstwelt*, III, 1913–14, S. 452 (wohl für das Wiener Stück): "... Lichtreflexe von unvergleichlicher Schönheit." W. von Bode und E. Kühnel, *Vorderasiatische Knüpfteppiche* (gekürzt: B-K), Leipzig, 2. Aufl., 1913, S. 139 (wohl für das Wiener Stück): "... geradezu bestechend durch die milden Lichtreflexe," S. 142: "... den unvergleichlichen Seidenteppich ... der geradezu als ein Wunder orientalischer Kunstfertigkeit ..." R. M. Riefstahl, "Das Palmenmotiv auf einem ägyptischen Teppich der Ballard-Sammlung," *Jhrb. d. As. K.*, II, 1925, S. 159: "... in seinem (des reicheren Typus. Der Verf.) Glanzstück." H. Trenkwald, *Altorientalische Teppiche*, I, Wien, 1926 (gekürzt: AOT I, resp. für Bd. II: AOT II), S. 13: "Die unvergleichliche Farbenwirkung, die von diesem Seidenteppich ausgeht, hebt ihn über alle bekannten Teppiche hinaus. Er ist wahrhaft ein Meisterwerk islamischer Kunst." Siehe ferner R. Neugebauer und S. Troll, *Handbuch der orientalischen Teppichkunde*, Leipzig, 1930 (gekürzt: Troll, *Hdb.*), S. 24; u. S. Troll, "Die Wiener Sammlung orientalischer Teppiche," *Ztschr. f. bild. K.*, 1929–30, S. 253.

scheint uns die Gruppe hierin eher zu wenig gewertet³—als vielmehr in einer deutlich sich kundgebenden Eigenart.⁴

Worin diese empfunden wurde, darüber dürften sich die Beobachter manchmal selbst nicht ganz im klaren gewesen sein. Vermerkt ist die niedere Zahl der verwendeten Farben (drei, manchmal mehr) und die Tatsache, dass die Bordüre vom Innenfeld farbig nicht verschieden ist, ferner der besondere Glanz der Wolle. Zu allermeist aber wird das Geometrische des Dekors hervorgehoben und gewisse Einzelheiten desselben.

Was die farbige Erscheinung anlangt, so möchten wir den wesentlichen Unterschied gegen alle anderen Gruppen des orientalischen Teppichs für unsere Untergruppe I neben dem eben Erwähnten darin sehen, dass sich keine deutliche durchgehende Fondfarbe findet und die verhältnismässig kleinen, einheitlich grundierten Farbflächen vom Kleindekor meist so durchsetzt sind, dass diese Eigenfarbe kaum zur Wirkung kommt.⁵ Was das "Geometrische," flüchtig genommen, betrifft, so kann, da es ja in der Volkskunst, vor allem der Nomaden und speziell der Turkstämme sonst so häufig anzutreffen ist, nur das Vorkommen in der höheren und hohen Kunst auffallen. Dass man in diesen Teppichen Erzeugnisse guter Manufakturen sehen muss, steht ausser Frage, wird aber weiter unten noch bewiesen werden.

Um die vier Typen kurz zu charakterisieren, so kann über den eigentlichen Damaskusteppich, *Typus I*, wir möchten ihn den *dreifarbig* nennen, Folgendes ausgesagt werden: Innenfeld in Längsrichtung in drei rechteckige Felder geteilt. In jedem derselben separate Komposition: *ein* dominierendes Zentralmotiv—meist ein durch angesetzte Dreiecke zum Stern gewordenes Oktogon—in kleinere radial ausstrahlend. Wenn die Nebenfelder quereckig-schmal, in diesen mehrere Zentren. Auch Teppiche mit nur einem Feld.

³ Doch W. von Bode, "Ein altpersischer Teppich im Besitz der Kgl. Museen zu Berlin," *Jhrb. d. kgl. pr. Kunstsamml.* (gekürzt: *Pr. Jhrb.*), XIII, 1892, S. 127: "... Zeichnung... eine sehr geschmackvolle Mischung von geometrischen Figuren mit stilisiertem Blattwerk." Siehe Kühnel, *Kunstwelt*, 1913-14, III, S. 452, ferner H. Trenkwald, *Ausstellung orientalischer Teppiche aus ehem. kaiserl. Besitz (Katalog)*, Wien, 1920.

⁴ J. Lessing, *Altorientalische Teppichmuster*, Berlin, 1877, S. 13: "Ganz abseits von den übrigen Mustern..." (wahrsch. Typus II). Bode, *Pr. Jhrb.*, XIII, S. 126: "... sehr eigenartige und sehr abweichende Gattung... schon durch ihre Färbung sehr auffallend" (Typus I). Riegl, *OT*, zu XXXVIII, 53: "... einer Classe, die sich in völlig unverkennbarer Weise aus der grossen Masse alterer orientalischer Teppiche heraushebt" (Typus I). Zu XXXVII, 64: "Auffallend... die Musterung des Innenfeldes" (Typus III). W. von Bode, *Altpersische Knüpfteppiche*, Berlin, 2. Aufl., 1904, S. 48, und ähnlich: *B-K*, o.J., S. 120: "... sehr eigenartige und ganz abweichende Gattung." *B-K*, 2. Aufl., S. 139, u. 3. Aufl., S. 48: "... Kategorie, ... die besonders umstritten ist, weil sie

völlig isoliert dasteht" (Typus I). H. Trenkwald, *Ausst. or. T.*, 1920, S. 15: "... einer sehr eigenartigen, schon durch die Färbung auffallenden Gruppe." A. U. Pope, *Early Oriental Carpets*, Catalogue, Chicago, 1926, S. 111: "The patterns and the color scheme are quite unlike anything known in Persia and Asia Minor rug weaving..." (Typus I). K. Erdmann, "Some observation on the so-called 'Damascus Rug,'" *Art in America*, 1930-31 (gekürzt: *A.i.A.*): "... they are not so completely isolated, as was formerly believed..." S. 18: "... many of their quite unique individual forms" (Typus I). Derselbe, "Ägyptische Teppiche," *Kunstwanderer*, 1930-31, S. 196: "... eine (Gattung) die Forschung besonders beschäftigt, da sie mit keiner der gleichzeitigen Gruppen in Verbindung zu stehen schien" (Typus I), S. 197: "So stehen diese Teppiche in mancher Hinsicht abseits von allen gleichzeitigen Gattungen... Keine Gruppe orientalischer Teppiche is als Gattung so einheitlich wie die der ägyptischen Teppiche" (wohl nur für Typus I u. II).

⁵ Siehe Kühnel, *a.a.O.*, III, S. 452, u. Erdmann, *Der Kunstwanderer*, 1930-31, S. 196 f.

Bordüre: Abwechselnd runde und oblonge Kartuschen. Hauptdekor geometrisch, Kleindekor geometrisch, geometrisch-floral und arabeskoid. Konturen selten und dann nicht in für diese reservierter Farbe. Fond nicht vorschlagend. Keine deutliche Gesamtfondfarbe. Bordüre vom Innenfeld farbig nicht gesondert. Die wichtigsten Stücke dürften sein:

1. Privatbesitz München; Erdmann, *A.i.A.*, 1930–31, Fig. 1.
2. Oesterreichisches Museum (gekürzt: ÖM), *AOT I*, 50.
3. ÖM, 8347 T; siehe Abb. 1.
4. Sammlung Wulff, Kopenhagen, Katalog 1934, Pl. 18; siehe Abb. 5.
5. Das Stück der Ballard Collection im City Art Museum, St. Louis; Dilley, *Oriental Rugs*, New York, 1931, Pl. XXXVIII.
6. Der Teppich des Louvre.
7. ÖM, *AOT I*, 48.
8. Das Stück in der Islamischen Abteilung der Staatlichen Museen in Berlin; *Mw*, Tafel 79.
9. Sammlung Sarre; H. Jacoby, *Eine Sammlung orientalischer Teppiche*, Berlin, 1925, Abb. 76 u.w. Grote und Hasenbalg, *Das Orientteppich*, Berlin, 1922.
10. ÖM, *AOT I*, 47.
11. Der Teppich Baillet und Latour; *OT*, XXXVIII, 53.

Den *Typus II*, mit Typus I nahe verwandt, weshalb die Trennung beider nicht allzu leicht fällt, möchten wir den *rotgrundigen* nennen und diesem zuzählen:

1. Den Simonetti-Teppich; *Mw*, I, Tafel 78, u. (Detailabb.) *Kunstwelt*, III, S. 451.
2. Den Seidenteppich, im Dekor der ersten Untergruppe nahe; siehe Abb. 6.
3. Das von uns aus mehreren Fragmenten rekonstruierte Stück des ÖM: *AOT I*, 49 u. 51; siehe Abb. 2.⁶
4. Den Teppich der Ballard Collection des Metropolitan Museums; Riefstahl, *Jhrb. d. As. K.*, II, Tafel 96 u. Dilley, *a.a.O.*, Pl. XLVII.
5. Den Mounsey-Teppich; A. F. Kendrick und C. E. C. Tattersall, *Handwoven Carpets* (gekürzt: *HC*), London, 1922, Pl. 48.
- 6 u. 7. Die Teppiche des Schlossmuseums Berlin: KGM 91, 26, Heft 3 der Bilderhefte d. Isl. Abt. d. Staatl. Mus., Berlin, Nr. 35, und M 3479, Lessing, *a.a.O.*, Tafeln 6–8.
8. Den Teppich der Sammlung Kelekian; M. J. Guiffrey et G. Migeon, *La Collection Kelekian*, Paris, Pl. 15.
9. Vielleicht wäre dieser Untergruppe auch der Teppich des Schlossmuseums 73,1209 anzuschließen; siehe Abb. 7.
- 10 u. 11. Hierher gehören zweifellos zwei, möglicherweise aus einem und demselben Teppich stammende Fragmente, die in II, 3 eingesetzt sind.

⁶ Die Beweisführung für diese Rekonstruktion geschieht in einem, in nächster Zeit erscheinenden separaten

Artikel.

Von diesen elf Teppichen ist einer, das Simonetti-Stück, fünffeldig, der Wiener Wollteppich und der Seidenteppich deutlich, der Mounsey-Teppich weniger deutlich, dreifeldig. Wie bei Typus I auch hier in den Feldern ein Zentralmotiv, doch bei dieser Gruppe noch dominierender und passig-oktogonal, nicht sternförmig (dies jedoch im Mittelfeld des Simonetti-T.) und wirkt deshalb abgegrenzter und nicht so zentrifugal-strahlend. Auch hier meist ein Kranz geschlossener Motive rundum. Diese spärlicher als bei Typus I. Dazwischen Kleinmotive, radial in fliesenartig wirkende, nicht als solche konturierte Quadrate oder Oktokone komponiert, oder aber es ist das Oktogon radial von friesartig geordneten Kleinmotiven umstellt. Die Zeichnung ist zierlicher, charaktervoller, weitaus geistreicher als beim Typus I und wirkt mehr als solche, ist wohl bei allen Teppichen, u.zw. meist mit einer separaten Farbe, konturiert und lässt den Grund mehr vorsprechen. Dieser ist, soweit ein Urteil möglich ist—wir kennen nicht jeden der Teppiche im Original—farbig einheitlich oder einheitlicher als beim Typus I, beim Wiener Wollteppich stark wirkend.—Innenfeldfondfarbe: rot. Bordüre und Innenfeld sind wohl meist farbig von einander unterschieden. Sicher ist dies bei II, 1, 2, 3, 4 u. 5.

Typus III. Innenfeld durch geradlinige Gitterung in zahlreiche, annähernd quadratische oder rechteckige fliesenartige Felder unterteilt. Es wäre dieser Typus deshalb vielleicht *Fliesentypus* zu nennen. In diesen Feldern ein Zentralmotiv, Flechtbandstern, von friesartig geordnetem Kleindekor radial umgeben. Die Ecken der Felder abgeschrägt. Die so entstehenden Dreiecke fügen sich zu Rauten. Bordüre durch Arabesken reziprok geteilt oder mit Kartuschen gemustert. Fondfarbe einheitlich, Bordüre hierin vom Innenfeld geschieden. Beispiele:

1. Teppich der Islamischen Abteilung der Staatlichen Museen in Berlin; *B-K*, 3. Aufl., Abb. 89, Ganzabb.: *Kunstwanderer*, 1930–31, S. 199.
2. Teppich van Loo; F. Sarre, *Altorientalische Teppiche*, Leipzig, 1908 (gekürzt: *AOT*), XII, 15.
3. Teppich ehem. Sammlung Geiringer, Wien.
4. Teppich Mounsey; *HC*, Pl. 47.
5. Teppich ehem. Sammlung Kronenbitter; siehe Abb. 3.
6. Ein Stück im Agramer Handel.

Der *Typus IV* wäre wohl am besten der *blumige* zu nennen.⁷ Im Innenfeld meist spiralförmig geführte Ranken mit Lotusformen, Lanzettblättern. Oefter finden sich Lotusformen um eine radartige Rosette, radial gruppiert. Oft ein Medaillon, dem Fonddekor meist wie aufgelegt, in den Ecken oft Viertel solcher. Fond auch mit tschintamaniartigen Motiven gefüllt. Auch Gebettypen. Bordüre: zumeist Blütenranken desselben Stils wie die im Innenfeld.—Dekor üppig und voll. Beispiele:

1. Der Teppich des ÖM: 8344 T; siehe Abb. 4.

⁷ Bode, *Altpers. Knüpf.*, 2. Aufl., S. 50, nennt (vermutlich nur) diese Teppiche: "Blumenteppiche dieser

Art" (nämlich der Damaskusgattung).

TABEL

		K E T T E				E I N T R A G			
TYPUS	NR.	MATERIAL	FARBE	FADENZAHL	DREH- RICHTG.	MATERIAL	FARBE	SCHUSS- ZAHL	FADENZA
III	1*	Wolle	gelblichweiss	2	rechts	Wolle	rot	—	I
	2	Schafwolle grob	“naturfarbig”	2	—	Baumwolle ordinär	naturfarbig gelb	2	Wellen- zweifa- gestre- einfac
	3	Wolle	gelblichweiss	2	rechts	Wolle	rosa	2	wahrsche I
	4	Wolle	weiss	—	rechts	Wolle	braun und rot	2	—
	6	Wolle	weiss	2	rechts	Wolle	rosa	2	mehrfa
IV	1	Wolle	gelbbraun, 8 zitrongelb Kettfäden	4	links	Wolle	gelbbraun	3	3
	2	Wolle	gelblich gefärbt	4	links	Wolle	gelblich gefärbt	3	3
	5	“Ziegenhaar”	—	“Zweifach gedreht”§	—	“Ziegenhaar”	—	3||	3||
	6	Wolle sehr fein	gelb	4	links	Wolle	“crimson”	2	—
	8††	Wolle	gelbbraun, urspr. orange	4	links	Wolle	sandgelb; einzelne kirschrote Fäden	3, auch 2	2
	9	Wolle	lichtbraun gef.	4	links	Wolle	kirschrot	3	4
	10	Wolle sehr fein	grün	—	links**	Wolle	“crimson”	3	—
	11‡‡	Wolle	gelb	4	links	Wolle	rot	2	3

* Die Angaben sind den freundlichen Briefen Dr. Erdmanns an den Verfasser vom 12. und 17. XI. 1936 entnommen.

† Rot, hellblau, gelb, schwarz, rosa, dunkelblau, graublau, weiss (creme).

‡ Nach der Abb. zu schliessen.

§ Zwei oder vier Fäden?

|| “Je neun feinste Ziegenhaarfäden.”

¶ Jacoby hat hier: 84; er pflügt die halben Knoten zu zählen.

** Aus der technischen Zeichnung ersichtlich.

†† Der Teppich ist aus ca. 100 Stücken zusammengesetzt, die zumindest aus zwei Teppichen stammen. Die hier gemachten Angaben betreffen nur die intakte M

‡‡ Von uns nur flüchtig untersucht.

TABELLE I

TYPUS	NR.	KETTE					EINTRAG				KNÜPFUNG								
		MATERIAL	FARBE	FADENZAHL	DREH- RICHTIG.	MATERIAL	FARBE	SCHUSS- ZAHL	FADENZAHL	MATERIAL	FADENZAHL	KNOTENART	RICHTUNG	B	H	QDM	FALLEND STIEGEND	FARBZAHL	AUTOR
I	2	Wolle	gelhbraun (hraunlich-gelb)	4	links	Wolle	rotlich-braun, lichtbraun	3	3, auch 2	Wolle	3, auch 2, selten 4	Senna	links	(36'0) 36	(32'7) 33	(1177) 1180	fallend	3	Troll
	3	Wolle	orange-gelb	4	links	Wolle	gelbbraun	3	3	Wolle	3, auch 4, seltener 2	Senna	links	(36'8) 37	(33'45) 33	(1231) 1230	fallend	3 (+2)	Troll
	7	Wolle	orange-gelb (gelbbraun)	4	links	Wolle	gelbbraun	3	3	Wolle	3	Senna	links	(30'8) 40	(32'1) 32	(1278) 1280	fallend	3	Troll
	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1350	—	3*	Grote-Hasenbalg
	10	Wolle	grün	4	links	Wolle	bellbraun	3	3	Wolle	3, auch 2	Senna	links	(40'6) 41	(32'5) 33	(1320) 1320	fallend	3	Troll
	11	"Kammgarn"	—	4	—	"feines Kammgarn"	—	3	—	"Kammgarn"	—	Senna	links	45	40-43 41'5	(1868) 1870	fallend	3*	Costamagna
II	1	"Kammgarn"	—	3	—	"Kammg. ein-u. zweifach"	?	3	—	"feines Kammgarn"	2	—	—	45	40-44 42	1890	fallend	5 (?)	Schröder
	2	Seide	gelb gefärbt	2	rechts	Wolle	rot	2, selten 3	3	Seide	1	Senna	links	(64'4) 64	(48'6) 49	(3130) 3130	stark fallend	12	Troll
	3	Wolle	zitrongelb	4	links	Wolle	kirschrot	2, auch 3	4, auch 3, selten 5, 6, 7, 2	Wolle	4, auch 3, selten 5, 6, 7, 8, 2	Senna	links	(38'347) 38	(38,162) 38	(1463) 1460	leicht fallend	8	Troll
	4	—	—	—	—	—	lachsrot†	2†	2 (?)†	Wolle	—	Senna‡	—	—	—	2230‡	—	mindest 6	Riefstahl (?)
	5	feine Wolle	gelb	—	links	Wolle	rot	2	—	Wolle	—	Senna	—	(45'2) 45	(39'3) 39	(1776) 1780	fallend	6	Tattersall
	6	Wolle	gelblichweiss	4	—	Wolle	rot	—	3 (?)§	—	—	—	—	40	38	1520||	leicht fallend	6	Erdmann
	7	—	gelbgrün	—	—	—	rot	—	—	—	—	—	—	44	44	1940	gleich	5	Erdmann
	8	—	gelb (?)*	—	—	—	rot*	2 (?)*	—	Wolle¶	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	mindest 7*	—
	10	Wolle	zitrongelb	4	links	Wolle	kirschrot	2	3, auch 4	Wolle	4, auch 3	Senna	links	(39'78) 40	(36'76) 37	(1462) 1460	leicht fallend	mindest 6	Troll
	11	Wolle	zitrongelb	4	links	Wolle	kirschrot	2	3	Wolle	3 bis 6	Senna	links	(39'58) 40	(39'29) 39	(1555) 1560	gleich	mindest 6	Troll

* Nach der Abb. zu schliessen.

† Riefstahl, *Jhrb. d. A. K.*, II, S. 159: "vier lachsrote Schussfäden nach j. Knotenreihe"

‡ Ebenda: "144 Sonnknöten im Quadratzoll."

§ Angabe Dr. Erdmanns in einem Brief a. d. Verf.: "dreifach gewirnt."

¶ "Orientteppiche" (Bilderheft 3 d. Staatl. Museen Berlin): "1700 Knoten auf 10 cm²." Das Flächenausmass, wie überall in diesem Heftchen, irrthümlich statt 1 dm².

|| Guirey u. Migeon, Pl. 15: "Tapis de Laine."

TABELLE II

		KETTE				EINTRAG				KNÜPFUNG									
TYPUS	NR.	MATERIAL	FARBE	FADENZAHL	DREH- RICHTIG.	MATERIAL	FARBE	SCHUSS- ZAHL	FADENZAHL	MATERIAL	FADENZAHL	KNOTENART	RICHTUNG	B	H	QNM	FALLEND STEIGEND	FARBZAHL	AUTOR
III	1*	Wolle	gelblichweiss	2	rechts	Wolle	rot	—	1	Wolle	2	—	—	45	30-32	1350-1400	—	8†	Erdmann
	2	Schafwolle grob	"naturfarbig"	2	—	Baumwolle ordinär	naturfarbig gelb	2	Wellensbuss zweifach gestreckt einfach	Schafwolle grob	2	Senna	links	40	40	1600	gleich	ca. 8‡	Schröder
	3	Wolle	gelblichweiss	2	rechts	Wolle	rosa	2	wahrscheinl. 1	Wolle	3, auch 2	Senna	links	(45'0) 45	(32'2) 32	(1449) 1450	stark fallend	8	Troll
	4	Wolle	weiss	—	rechts	Wolle	braun und rot	2	—	Wolle	—	Senna	—	(43'3) 43	(31'4) 31	(1359'6) 1360	stark fallend	9	Tattersall
	6	Wolle	weiss	2	rechts	Wolle	rosa	2	mehrfach	Wolle	2, auch mehrfach	Senna	links	(47'5) 48	(29'3) 29	(1312) 1310	stark fallend	wahrsch. 9	Troll
IV	1	Wolle	gelbbraun, 8 zitrongelb Kettfäden	4	links	Wolle	gelbbraun	3	3	Wolle	2, auch 4, selten 3, 5	Senna	links	(40'49) 40	(34'9) 35	(1413) 1410	fallend	9, davon 4 vorwiegend	Troll
	2	Wolle	gelblich gefärbt	4	links	Wolle	gelblich gefärbt	3	3	Wolle	2	Senna	links	(30'1) 30	(21'3) 21	(638) 640	stark fallend	7	Troll
	5	"Ziegenhaar"	—	"Zweifach gedreht"§	—	"Ziegenhaar"	—	3||	3||	—	—	—	—	42¶	40	1680	leicht fallend	mindest 7	Jacoby
	6	Wolle sehr fein	gelb	4	links	Wolle	"crimson"	2	—	Wolle	—	Senna**	links**	(62'99) 63	(51'1) 51	(3219) 3220	fallend	8	Tattersall
	8††	Wolle	gelbbraun, urspr. orange	4	links	Wolle	sandgelb; einzelne kirschrote Fäden	3, auch 2	2	Wolle	2, selten 3, seltener 4	Senna	links	(55'7) 57	(43'6) 44	(2472) 2470	stark fallend	mindest 7	Troll
	9	Wolle	lichtbraun gef.	4	links	Wolle	kirschrot	3	4	Wolle	2	Senna	links	(41'1) 41	(34'5) 35	(1418) 1420	fallend	8	Troll
	10	Wolle sehr fein	grün	—	links**	Wolle	"crimson"	3	—	Wolle	—	Senna	links	(47'2) 47	(47'2) 47	(2228) 2230	gleich	6	Tattersall
	11‡‡	Wolle	gelb	4	links	Wolle	rot	2	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Troll

* Die Angaben sind den freundlichen Briefen Dr. Erdmanns an den Verfasser vom 12. und 17. XI. 1936 entnommen.

† Rot, hellblau, gelb, schwarz, rosa, dunkelblau, graublau, weiss (creme).

‡ Nach der Abb. zu schliessen.

§ Zwei oder vier Fäden?

|| Je neun feinste Ziegenhaarfäden.

¶ Jacoby hat hier: 84; er pflügt die halben Knoten zu zählen.

** Aus der technischen Zeichnung ersichtlich.

†† Der Teppich ist aus ca. 100 Stücken zusammengesetzt, die zumindest aus zwei Teppichen stammen. Die hier gemachten Angaben betreffen nur die intakte Mittelpartie.

‡‡ Von uns nur flüchtig untersucht.

LE II

KNÜPFUNG										
HL	MATERIAL	FADENZAHL	KNOTENART	RICHTUNG	B	H	QDM	FALLEND STEIGEND	FARBZAHL	AUTOR
	Wolle	2	—	—	45	30-32	1350-1400	—	8†	Erdmann
huss ch ckt h	Schafwolle grob	2	Senna	links	40	40	1600	gleich	ca. 8‡	Schröder
inl.	Wolle	3, auch 2	Senna	links	(45'0) 45	(32'2) 32	(1449) 1450	stark fallend	8	Troll
	Wolle	—	Senna	—	(43'3) 43	(31'4) 31	(1359'6) 1360	stark fallend	9	Tattersall
ch	Wolle	2, auch mehrfach	Senna	links	(47'5) 48	(29'3) 29	(1312) 1310	stark fallend	wahrsch. 9	Troll
	Wolle	2, auch 4, selten 3, 5	Senna	links	(40'49) 40	(34'9) 35	(1413) 1410	fallend	9, davon 4 vorwiegend	Troll
	Wolle	2	Senna	links	(30'1) 30	(21'3) 21	(638) 640	stark fallend	7	Troll
	—	—	—	—	42¶	40	1680	leicht fallend	mindest 7	Jacoby
	Wolle	—	Senna**	links**	(62'99) 63	(51'1) 51	(3219) 3220	fallend	8	Tattersall
	Wolle	2, selten 3, seltener 4	Senna	links	(56'7) 57	(43'6) 44	(2472) 2470	stark fallend	mindest 7	Troll
	Wolle	2	Senna	links	(41'1) 41	(34'5) 35	(1418) 1420	fallend	8	Troll
	Wolle	—	Senna	links	(47'2) 47	(47'2) 47	(2228) 2230	gleich	6	Tattersall
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Troll

mittelpartie.

2. Der Teppich des ÖM: *AOT* I, 60 (als "Syrier" bezeichnet).
3. Der Teppich Liechtenstein: *Mw*, I, Tafel 75.
4. Der Teppich Tucher: *Mw*, I, Tafel 76.
5. Das Fragment: Jacoby, *a.a.O.*, Tafel 31.
6. Der Teppich des Victoria and Albert Museums, A. F. Kendrick u. C. E. C. Tattersall, *Fine Carpets in the Victoria and Albert Museum*, London, 1924 (gekürzt: *FC*), Pl. IX.
7. Der Teppich Paar: *AOT*, XIV, 17.
8. Fragment im Kunsthandel; siehe Abb. 8.
9. Gebetteppich im Kunsthandel; siehe Abb. 9.
10. Der Teppich mit Medaillon auf wellenbandgeschmücktem Fond: *FC*, Pl. X, u.
11. Das gleiche Stück im ung. Kunstgewerbemuseum in Budapest.

Aus der folgenden Tabelle mag der Einteilung in die vier Gruppen, die im Vorhergehenden nur nach den auffälligsten künstlerischen Merkmalen charakterisiert wurden, vom Technischen her die Berechtigung zuerkannt werden.⁸

Das in den Teppichen der Damaskusgruppe verwendete *Material* betreffend, über das in der Tabelle nur wenig vermerkt werden konnte, ist zu sagen: bei den Untergruppen I, II und IV ist es eine langfaserige, gleichmässige, ziemlich feine, schlichte Schafwolle, beim rotgrundigen Teppich des ÖM (Abb. 2) besonders fein und gleichmässig. Dagegen ist das Material beim Typus III—genauer konnten wir nur das Stück 3 untersuchen—viel weniger fein, in der Kette eher grob. Vor allem bei den Teppichen der beiden ersten Typen ist die Wolle glänzend. Ob sie darin persische Teppiche der Safiwiden-Zeit übertrifft, möchten wir eher bezweifeln. Dass dieser Glanz im Knüpfgarn den meisten Beobachtern auffiel, mag darin seine Ursache haben, dass die Länge des Flors bei gut erhaltenen Stücken ziemlich bedeutend ist und dieser deshalb und wegen der verhältnismässig grossen Breite des Eintrags ziemlich flach zu liegen kommt.⁹ Seide zeigt nur ein einziger Teppich, der des ÖM (Abb. 6) und zwar in der Kette und in den Knüpfäden.

Die meisten Autoren bezeichnen die Wolle—es ist wohl nur die in der Knüpfung verwendete gemeint—als die der Angoraziege oder die des Angoraschafes oder als Angorawolle schlechthin. Flemming hat nicht nur das Material des Grundgewebes, sondern auch das der Knüpfung als Schafwolle erkannt, ohne die Rasse bestimmen zu können.¹⁰

⁸ Quellenkritisch betrachtet sind die Ergebnisse der Forschungen C. E. C. Tattersalls von grösster Verlässlichkeit, nicht ganz so die Angaben E. Flemmings; "Die Technik der Ägyptischen Teppiche," *Jhrb. d. As. K.*, 1924, während die von C. Costamagna und die von S. Schröder nur mit der grössten Zurückhaltung verwendet werden können.

⁹ Sarre, "Die Ägyptischen Teppiche," *Jhrb. d. As. K.*, 1924, I, S. 19, bemerkt richtig: "Die Farbengebung . . . kommt je nach dem Einfall des Lichtes bei der mit der

eigentümlichen Knüpfart zusammenhängenden schrägen Einstellung der Knüpfäden in wechselnden Schattierungen und Reflexen zum Ausdruck" und verweist in einer Fussnote auf den von Flemming verfassten Anhang zu seinem Aufsatz. Dort ist über die Stellung des Flors nichts zu finden.

¹⁰ Bode, *Pr. Jhrb.*, XIII, S. 126 f. (Typus I u. wahrsch. II): "Die Wolle ist in der Regel feines Ziegenhaar, das einen eigentümlich seidenartigen Glanz hat; gelegentlich sind diese Teppiche aber auch ganz aus

Die *Kette* ist nur bei einem Stück von Seide, beim einzigen in Seide geknüpften Teppich, sonst von Wolle. Teppiche mit Wollknüpfung auf seidener Kette sind uns nicht bekannt geworden. Wie aus der Tabelle zu entnehmen ist, ist das Material der Kette bei den Typen I, II und IV gefärbt, bei III naturfarbig weiss, bei I meist orangegelb, zu ockerartigem Gelbbraun geworden, in einem Fall ist Grün, für Typus IV sind in vier Fällen ähnliche braune Töne, zweimal ist Gelb und einmal Grün verzeichnet, für Typus II durchwegs gelbe Töne: zitrongelb, gelblichweiss, gelbgrün, gelb. Gelbgefärbt ist auch die Kette beim Seidenteppich,¹¹ doch finden sich in diesem Stück 29 blaue Kettfäden. Sonst trafen wir Gelbfärbung der wollenen Kette bei keiner Gattung der klassischen Zeit, von den Gruppen der nachklassischen Zeit nur bei kleinasiatischen Teppichen an.¹²

Sehr auffallend ist die Zahl der Teile, aus denen die Kette zusammengedreht ist. Bei Wolle für die Typen I, II und IV: 4, beim Seidenteppich dagegen 2, beim Typus III: 2. Teilzahl 4 findet sich bei wollener Kette einzig und allein bei der Damaskusgruppe.¹³ Bei Seidenkette konnten wir für die klassische Zeit stets die Teilzahl 2 feststellen, mit Ausnahme eines spätclassisch-persischen, eines indischen und bemerkenswerterweise des Teppichs türkischer Hofmanufaktur des ÖM: AOT I, 57.

Das Zusammendrehen dieser Teile geschah bei I, II und IV immer nach *links*, d.h. die zwischen den einzelnen Teilen im Kettfaden vorhandenen Furchen laufen—der Faden in Seitenansicht gedacht—von rechts oben nach links unten.¹⁴ Die Seidenkette des seidenen Damas-

Seide." S. 127: "Feinheit und starken Brüchigkeit des Ziegenhaares." B-K, S. 120 (Typus I, viell. II): "... in der Regel die Wolle des Angoraschafes..." (Typus IV): "... in gleichem Material." Derselbe, *Monatsheft f. Kunstwisch.*, I, 1908, S. 924 f. (wohl für Typus I, II u. IV): "... eine nach ihrer Technik," gemeint ist offenbar das Material, "eigentümliche Gattung, die in Angorawolle (z.T. auf seidener Kette) geknüpften Teppiche..." (Ueber Seidenkette siehe S. 206 dieses Aufsatzes.)

Kühnel, *Kunstwelt*, III, S. 452 (wohl nur für Typus I): "Als Material dient in der Regel eine weiche, glänzende Angorawolle über seidener Kette, wodurch der Zusammenklang der Farben noch milder zum Ausdruck gelangt," was sich wohl nicht auf die Kette bezieht. (Typus IV): "Material, Knüpfart, Farbskala... dieselben." B-K, 2. Aufl., S. 139, 3. Aufl., S. 48 (Typus I): "Das Material ist in der Regel die Wolle des Angoraschafes, die einen eigentümlichen Glanz hat und zur Erhöhung dieser Wirkung in eine seidene Kette geknüpft ist." Sie könnte durch Eintrag und Flor kaum durchwirken. HC, S. 102 (Typus III): "The warp is of coarse white wool..." S. 101 f. (Typus IV): "A warp of very fine yellow wool, apparently that of the Angora goat." S. 102: "The third class (unser Typus I)... Technically they resemble the first group (unsere Gruppe IV) very closely." FC, S. 19 für Pl. IX: "Very fine yellow wool,"

S. 20 für Pl. X: "Very fine green wool." Sarre, *Jhrb. d. As. K.*, I, S. 19: "Seide oder sehr feine Schafwolle, die man irrtümlich Angorawolle genannt hat" (Typus I). E. Flemming, ebenda, S. 24 (Typus I) nennt das "Material für die Kettfäden ein nicht sehr regelmässiges Wollgarn..." das des Eintrags "sehr ungleich im Gespinnst," das der Knüpfäden "ein sehr glänzendes Wollgarn... nicht Angorawolle... sondern eine allerdings sehr gleichmässige Schafwolle mit hohem seidigen Glanz." Erdmann, *Kunstwanderer*, 1930-31, S. 198 (Typus III): "Die verwendete Wolle... hat den seidigen Glanz, wenn auch nicht die Feinheit der aegyptischen (d.h. bei I u. II. Der Verf.)... wäre nicht die schwer zu erklärende Gleichheit der Wolle..." (bei I, II u. III).

¹¹Es scheint, dass die Gelbfärbung der Wolle die bei Seide imitiert und die bei Seide die Naturfarbe der Seide.

¹²Durchgehend bei einem Holbein (Arabesktypus) u. einem Gebetteppich Mischform Ghjordes-Bergama, sonst nur an den Enden gefärbt, dies bei den meisten Ghjordes-Gebetteppichen—die ja die Nachkommen von Teppichen türkischer Hofmanufaktur sind—bei einer Abart der sog. Kolonnenladiks u.a.

¹³Flemming, *a.a.O.*, I, S. 24, vermerkt ebenfalls die Teilzahl 4. Seine Angabe dürfte sich allgemein auf den Typus I beziehen.

¹⁴HC, S. 101 f., bezeichnen diese Drehrichtung:



FIG. 1—SOG. DAMASKUS-TEPPICH, GRUPPE 1
OESTERREICHISCHES MUSEUM, WIEN

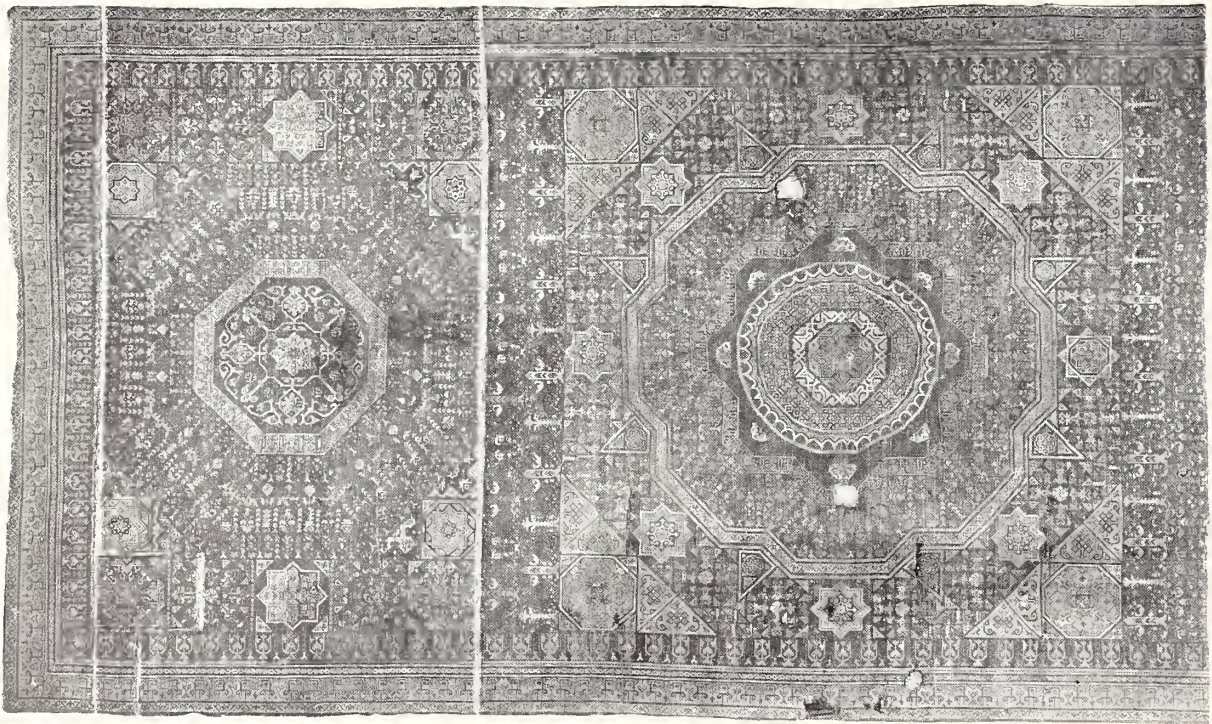


FIG. 2—SOG. DAMASKUS-TEPPICH, GRUPPE II, FRAGMENT
OESTERREICHISCHES MUSEUM, WIEN

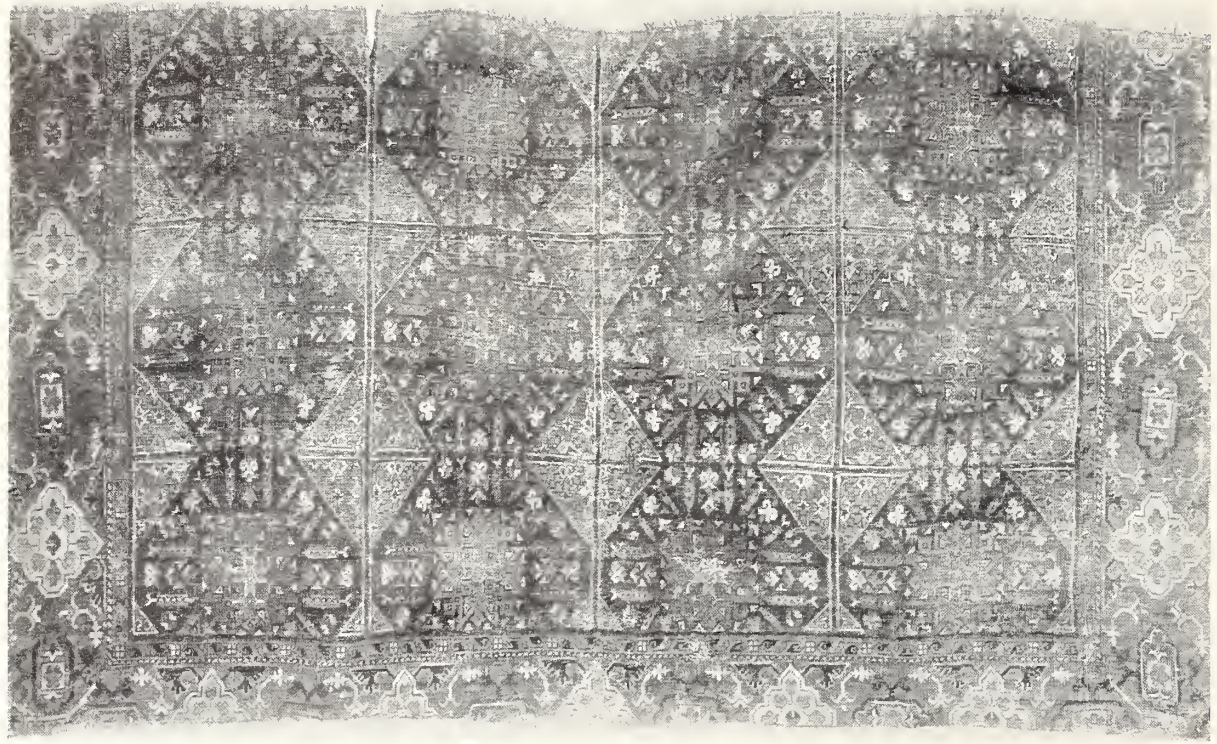


FIG. 3—SOG. DAMASKUS-TEPPICH, GRUPPE III, FRAGMENT
EHEM. SAMMLUNG KRONENBITTER



FIG. 4—SOG. DAMASKUS-TEPPICH, GRUPPE IV
OESTERREICHISCHES MUSEUM, WIEN

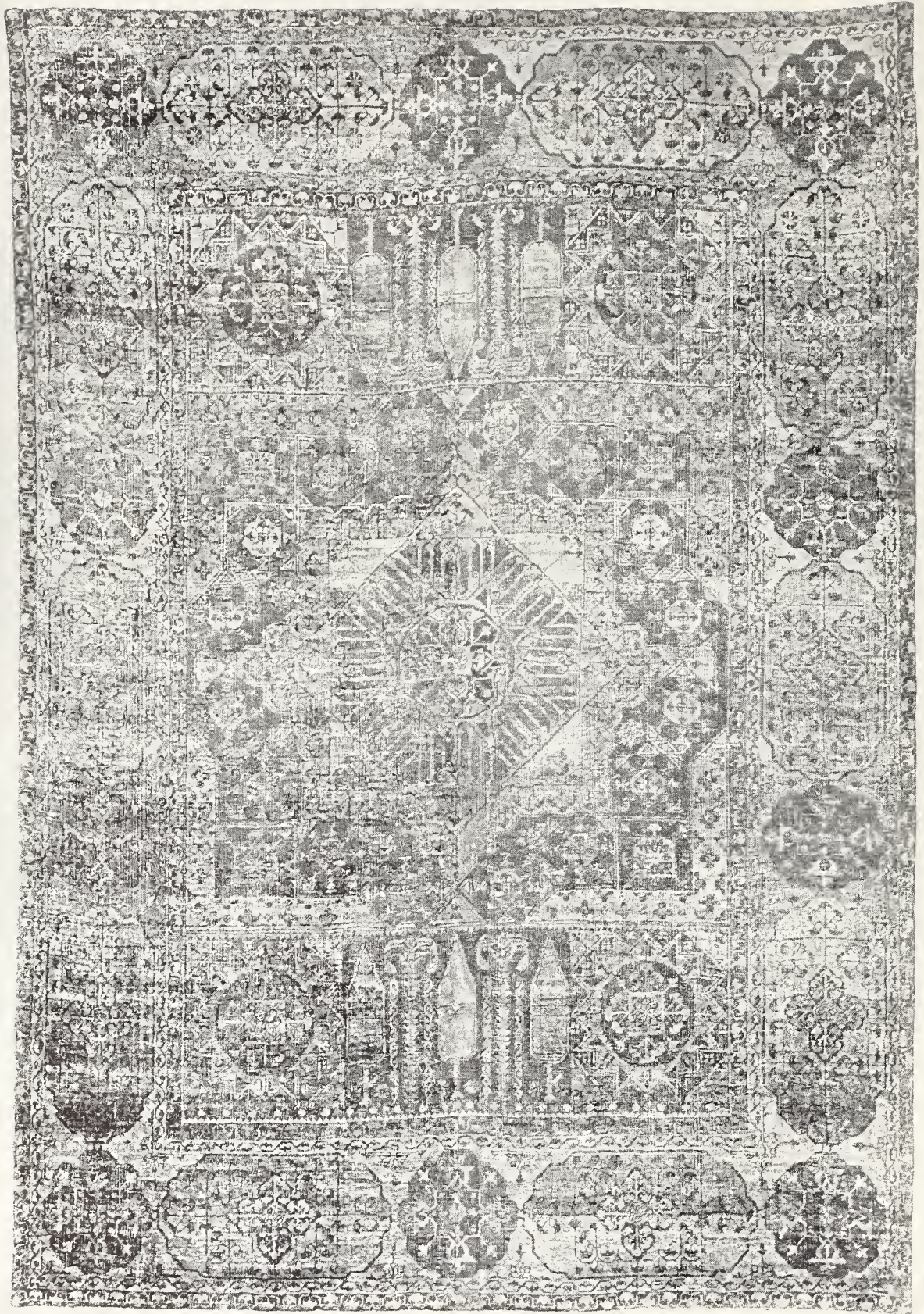


FIG. 5—SOG. DAMASKUS-TEPPICH, GRUPPE I
SAMMLUNG WULFF, KOPENHAGEN

kusteppichs ist *rechts* gedreht. Bei Typus III immer *Rechts*drehung. Linksdrehung konnten wir ausser bei den Damaskusteppichen (mit den erwähnten Ausnahmen) einschliesslich der Untergruppe IV nur noch feststellen bei folgenden Stücken türkischer Hofmanufaktur: dem des ÖM: AOT I, 57 (Seidenkette), dem Gebetteppich, Fragment, des Kunstgewerbemuseums Budapest (Seidenkette) und dem Blitzwolken-teppich des Kaiser Friedrich Museums, AOT II, 53 (Baumwollkette), dagegen zeigt der Gebetteppich AOT I, 56 und der Teppich AOT I, 58–59, beide des ÖM, *Rechts*drehung, wie dies vom Seidenteppeich der Damaskusgruppe erwähnt wurde.

Der *Eintrag* ist stets von Wolle, dies auch beim Seidenteppeich. (Die Angabe bei III 2: "ordinäre Baumwolle" ist anzuzweifeln). Das Material des Eintrags ist stets gefärbt (beim eben erwähnten Teppich ist "naturfarbig gelb" angegeben), bei Typus I in braunen, ockerartigen Tönen, bei Typus II stets rot—bei 3, 10 und 11 kirschrot, beim Seidenteppeich in einem warmen Rot—, bei III in roten Tönen, nach unserer Feststellung rosa. Es ist bemerkenswert, dass Typus II durch vorwiegend roten Grund gekennzeichnet ist und Typus III rosafarbenen Innenfeldgrund zeigt. Die für IV als Beispiele angeführten Stücke haben alle roten Innenfeldfond, dagegen nur vier roten Eintrag. Rotgefärbter Eintrag ist sonst bei klassischen und nachklassischen Teppichen sehr häufig, vor allem bei denen des türkischen Kulturkreises, wie bei den Ghjordes-, den Holbein-, den Uschakteppichen.

Die *Schusszahl* ist für Typus I: stets 3, für II: 2 und im selben Teppich auch 3, für III: stets 2, für IV: 3, selten 2, in einem Teppich 3, daneben auch 2. Für die Teppiche der Typen I, II und IV, die wir untersucht haben, konnten wir feststellen, dass jeder Schuss stets mehrfädig genommen ist, d.h. er besteht aus mehreren nebeneinander liegenden, nicht zusammengedrehten Fäden. Für Typus III konnten wir hierin kein sicheres Urteil gewinnen. Dreischüssiger Eintrag ist bei klassischen Teppichen sonst nur bei denen Persiens und Indiens zu finden.¹⁵ Mehrfädigkeit konnte bei Wolleintrag sonst bei keiner Teppichgruppe festgestellt werden und ist bei Einträgen aus anderem Material nicht häufig.¹⁶

Bei den Teppichen aller vier Typen ist mit Ausnahme des Seidenteppeichs das *Knüpf*garn immer mehrfädig genommen. Es wechselt die Zahl bei ein- und demselben Teppich. Grenzwerte: 2 und 8. Bei I und II sind die Zahlen 3 und 4 am häufigsten, bei III scheint 2 häufiger zu sein als 3.—Höhere Teilzahl als 2 fand sich sonst nur bei indischen Teppichen der klassischen Zeit.

"with a right-handed twist" und vermerken sie für IV und die feinere Gruppe der Hofteppiche und implicite für II (auch I?) und die entgegengesetzte Richtung mit "left-handed twist" und vermerken diese, S. 102, ausdrücklich für Typus III; "right-handed" notieren sie FC, S. 19 f., für die Teppiche, Pl. IX u. X, die trefflichen technischen Zeichnungen verraten aber deutlich, wie dies zu verstehen ist. Vgl. das "vånstertvinnad" in Vivi Sylvans Aufsatz "En orientalisk matta," das rechts gedreht bedeutet. Siehe AOT II, S. 30, Fussnote 12. Flemming, a.a.O., erwähnt die ungewöhnliche Drehrichtung nicht,

seine Zeichnung S. 23 aber scheint Linksdrehung andeuten zu wollen.

¹⁵ Dagegen ist das als seldschukisch geltende türkische Fragment, ausgestellt i.d. türk. Ausst. Wien, 1932, Nr. 155, dreischüssig.

¹⁶ Siehe AOT II, S. 30, Fussnoten 17 u. 20. Flemming, a.a.O., S. 24: "...je drei, mitunter auch vier Fäden zu einem Schuss verwendet, aber nicht zusammengedreht, sondern nur zusammengesput." Siehe auch die Zeichnung, ebenda, S. 23.

Die Knüpfung geschieht über zwei Kettfäden—immer dasselbe Kettfädenpaar—im linksgerichteten Sennaknoten. Der Perser- oder Sennaknoten ist in der Teppichkunst des türkischen Kulturkreises der klassischen Zeit nur bei den feineren, meist auf seidenem Grundgewebe gearbeiteten Teppichen türkischer Hofmanufaktur zu finden, denen ja—wie hier vorweggenommen sein soll—die Teppiche Typus IV nahe verwandt sind (vgl. *HC*, S. 101 f.).—Die Verbindung von Sennaknoten und dreischüssigem Eintrag, wie sie für I und zum guten Teil für II festgestellt ist, ist für aussertürkische Teppiche die Regel, die Verbindung von Sennaknoten und zweischüssigem Eintrag, wie das für III charakteristisch ist (über die Mittelstellung von II siehe oben), ist für die klassische Zeit sonst nur bei der erwähnten feineren Gruppe türkischer Hofmanufaktur und bei vier Teppichen des kaukasisch-persischen Grenzgebietes anzutreffen.¹⁷

Was die Zahl der Knoten auf dem Geviertdezimeter anlangt, so sind die Grenzwerte bei I: 1180 und 1350, bei II: 1480 und 1780 (3130 beim Seident Teppich),¹⁸ bei III: 1310 und 1450, bei IV, vom sehr groben Teppich IV, 2 abgesehen, 1410 und 3220.¹⁹

Die Flächenzahl ist bekanntlich durch Multiplikation der Zahl der Knoten in Horizontal- (Schuss-)richtung (B) und der Zahl der Knotenreihen in Vertikal (Kett-)richtung (H) errechnet. Die Zahlen für B sind bei allen vier Typen für Teppiche mit Wollkette ungewöhnlich hoch. Dies kommt durch die Feinheit und Engstellung der Kette zustande. I: 36–40, II: 39–45 (Seident Teppich: 64), III: 43–48, IV: 40–63.—Es gibt sonst nur wenige auf Wollkette gearbeitete Teppiche, die Breitenzahlen über 40 aufweisen. Es sind dies fein gearbeitete Ghjordes-Gebetteppiche, sog. kleinasiatische Medaillonteppeiche und Kis-Ghjordesteppeiche.²⁰

Charakteristisch für den Damaskusteppich ist, dass das Verhältnis von B zu H ein fallendes²¹ ist, u.zw. bei I mässig, bei II leicht (beim Seident Teppich stark), bei III und IV meist ziemlich stark. Ursache dafür ist neben der Engstellung der Kette und der gut ausgeprägten Zweischichtigkeit vor allem die Breite des immer mehrfädigen Eintrags. Beim Seident Teppich

¹⁷ Näheres in einem demnächst erscheinenden Aufsatz.

¹⁸ Kühnel, *Kunstwelt*, III, S. 452 (wohl vom Wiener Stück): "... in beispiel loser Feinheit." Für einen Seident Teppich muss diese Zahl als niedrig bezeichnet werden (Wiener Jagteppich: 12.700!).

¹⁹ *HC*, S. 102: "The knots average about 80 to the square inch," d.i. 1240, resp.: "85 knots to the square inch," d.i. 1320 auf 1 qdm. Als Zahlen für die feineren Hofteppiche fanden wir: *AOT* I, 56: 5620, *AOT* I, 57: 3250, *AOT* I, 58–59: 3110. *HC*, S. 102, verzeichnet für diese Gruppe: "... on the average 205 knots to the square inch," d.i. 3180 auf 1 qdm., S. 107 für den Teppich Pl. 40 (umgerechnet auf 1 qdm.): 5080.

²⁰ 29–39–43–50, resp. 37–46, resp. 39–43. Jacoby, *a.a.O.*, verzeichnet beim Kolonnenladik (Abart), Tafel 46, als B-Zahl: 80, d.h. 40. Uschaks: 17–34, Holbein: 24–35, "weissgrundige" Teppiche (mit Ausnahme von

Kis-Ghjordes): 27–32, Seibenbürger: 34–36. Auch unter antiken spanischen Teppichen finden sich solche mit hoher B-Zahl.

²¹ Flemming, *Jhrb. d. As. K.*, I, S. 24: "... Zahl der Knüpfungen... auf 10 cm. Breite... bei annähernd der gleichen Knüpfreihenzahl auf das gleiche Mass. Dieses Verhältnis musste schon deshalb innegehalten werden, weil sonst die geometrischen Figuren, aus denen die Musterung zumeist besteht... verzerrt erscheinen würden." Diese Behauptung überträgt Vorstellungen, die aus Beobachtung am volkmässigen Teppich gewonnen sind, auf den höherer Kunst und mutet diesem eine Abhängigkeit des Künstlerischen vom Technischen zu, die in grösserem Mass nicht besteht und speziell bei den wertvolleren Stücken und Untergruppen der Damaskusgattung nicht zu bemerken ist (dagegen III!, vgl. S. ??). Der erwähnte Aufsatz wird.)

ist dieser besonders voll.—Wie wir nachweisen konnten, ist beim antiken Teppich aller Gebiete das steigende Verhältnis das viel häufigere. Bei den feineren, auf Seide gearbeiteten Stücken türkischer Hofmanufaktur ist das beim Damaskusteppich beobachtete Absinken noch deutlicher.²² Dagegen zeigen die nachklassischen Gruppen des kleinasiatischen Teppichs fast durchwegs dieses Verhältnis steigend.

Nach der Zahl der *Farben* des Flors sondert sich die erste Untergruppe deutlich von den übrigen. I: 3, II: 5–8, III: 8–9, IV: 6–9. Beim *Typus I* ist es ein Kirschrot, ein Resedagrün und ein Flachsblau. Beim Teppich 3 finden sich in verschwindend kleinen Mengen noch Zitrongelb und Sandgelb. Es sind beide Farben—sehr bezeichnend—nur in den dem übrigen Dekor fremden Eckmedaillonvierteln verwendet, u.zw. ersteres als Saumstreifen des Medaillons und letzteres in den türkischen Blüten und den Arabesken im Medaillon. Dieser zugefügte Dekor bildet deutlich eine Brücke von I zu IV und dies erklärt das Mehr an Farben. Schon Bode verzeichnet ein, wie es scheint, zusätzliches Gelb.²³ Die anderen Autoren kennen die schon erwähnten drei Farben.²⁴ Ueber den allgemeinen Eindruck dieser Farbenzusammenstellung ist die Schilderung verschieden, meist wird sie als harmonisch empfunden.²⁵

Für 1 der Untergruppe II ist angegeben (*Mw*, Tafel 78): rot (Fond des Innenfelds), lichtblau (Hauptstreifen der Bordüre), sonst: blau, grün, gelb. Bei II, 2 fanden wir: kirschrot (Fond des Innenfelds), grün verschiedener Nuancen (Hauptstreifen der Bordüre), fünf Blau, sandgelb, dunkelgrün, zitrongelb, schwarz, weiss, bei II, 3: kirschrot (Fond des Innenfelds), hellblau, grün, zitrongelb, sandgelb, weiss, schwarz, purpur. (In grün und hellblau der Hauptstreifen der Bordüre.) Bei II, 4 sind verzeichnet (Riefstahl, *a.a.O.*, S. 159): Tiefrot (Innenfeldfond), bläulich-grün (Hauptstreifen der Bordüre), sonst grünlichblau, rot, gelb, olivgrün, blau, bei II, 5: "crimson" (Fond des Innenfelds und beider Begleitstreifen), lichtblau (Hauptstreifen der Bordüre), sonst: grün, gelb, weiss, schwarz.²⁶ Für II, 6 teilt Dr. Erdmann brief-

²² *AOT I*, 57: 67 zu 48, *AOT I*, 58–59: 65 zu 48, *HC*, Pl. 40: 81 zu 63, dagegen *AOT I*, 56: 78 zu 72.

²³ *Pr. Jhrb.*, XIII, S. 126, u. Bode, *Altpers. Knüpf.*, 2. Aufl., S. 48: "... ein mehr oder weniger kräftiges Kirschrot, meist die Farbe des Grundes, ist mit hellem gelblichem Grün, Marineblau und Zitrongelb (als Umränderung) zusammengestellt." Derselbe, *Vorderas. Knüpf.*, S. 120, mit obigen Zitaten fast gleichlautend, doch unter Weglassen des Gelb.

²⁴ *B-K*, 2. Aufl., S. 139, u. 3. Aufl., S. 48: "... ein mehr oder weniger tiefes Kirschrot, meist als Grundton, ist mit hellerem Grün und etwas reinem Blau zusammengestellt." Kühnel, *Kunstwelt*, III, S. 452: "Als koloristisches Gesetz gilt eine Harmonie von Blau, Grün und Kirschrot." Sarre, *Jhrb. d. As. K.*, I, S. 19: "... meist als Grund ein leuchtendes Kirschrot, daneben Hellblau und Gelbgrün." Flemming, ebenda, S. 24: "... bei den meisten Teppichen rot, gelblich-grün u. hellblau." Erdmann, *A.i.A.*, 1930, S. 4: "... red, blue and green. Red

for the background, blue predominating in the pattern and green for the filling, although this color scheme is often changed in its allotment." Derselbe, *Kunstwanderer*, 1930–31, S. 196: "... stets nur drei Farben, ein helles Blau und ein dunkleres Grün und Rot verwendet."

²⁵ *Pr. Jhrb.*, XIII, S. 126, u. Bode, *Altpers. Knüpf.*, 2. Aufl., S. 48, u. ähnl. *B-K.*, S. 120, u. ähnl. *B-K*, 2. Aufl., S. 139, 3. Aufl., S. 48: "... eine eigentümlich harmonische, aber weder besonders ansprechende noch malerische Wirkung..." Riegl, *OT*, S. 12, will beobachtet haben, dass "das Colorit, das namentlich auf abgenützteren Beispielen... einen bläulichen Gesamtton zeigt, während bei tadelloser Erhaltung das dunkle Grün vorschlägt. Sarre, *Mw*, I, Tafel 78: "Die hauptsächliche Farbenwirkung ist auf Grün gestimmt." Kühnel: siehe vorhergehende Fussnote. Grote und Hasenbalg, *a.a.O.*, S. 80: "... erzielen durch ihr vorherrschendes Blaugrün einen prachtvollen Farbeffekt."

²⁶ *HC*, S. 109. Für die Untergruppe (auch I?) ist

lich mit: "Farben 6: rot, hellblau, grün, dunkelgelb, weiss, schwarz," für II, 7: "neben den drei Grundfarben nur noch etwas weiss," während bei Lessing (*a.a.O.*, auf Tafeln 6–8) noch ein ockerartiges Gelbbraun zu sehen ist. Bei II, 8: kirschrot, grün, blau, zitrongelb, sandgelb, weiss, schwarz. Es kommt also dieses Stück (Fragment!) dem Teppich II, 3 in der Farbzahl (nich nur in dieser!) am nächsten. Die für II, 9 verzeichnete Dreizahl "rot, blau und grün (Dr. Erdmann, hdschr. auf Lichtbild) meint wohl nur die Hauptfarben. II, 10 und 11 (winzige Fragmente!) haben: kirschrot (Fond), grün, hellblau, sandgelb, weiss, schwarz.

Für III, 1 ist angegeben ("Orientteppiche," Bilderhefte 3, 1935): "Rotes . . . Feld . . . Blaue Borte." Für III, 2 ist zu vermuten: scharlach, gegen altrosa (Innenfeldfond), mittelblau (Hauptstreifen der Bordüre), sonst: hellblau, gelbbraun, weiss, grünlichblau, violett, schwarz. Für III, 3 fanden wir: altrosa (Innenfeldfond), türkisgrün (Hauptstreifen der Bordüre), hellblau (innerer Begleitstreifen), sonst: mittelblau, elfenbein (lichtbraun), violett, weiss, braun. Für III, 4 ist vermerkt:²⁷ rot (Innenfeldfond), lichtblau (Hauptstreifen der Bordüre), blau (beide Begleitstreifen), sonst: weiss, gelb, braun, schwarz, dunkelblau, purpur. Bei III, 6 konnten wir bei flüchtiger Untersuchung feststellen: rosarot (Innenfeldfond), blassblau (Hauptstreifen der Bordüre), sonst: lichtblau, orange, rot, weiss, grünliches helles Blau, dunkelblau, braun. Die Farbe des Innenfeldfonds ist also meist als rosaartig gesehen, die des Hauptstreifens der Bordüre als lichtblau.

Die Farbskala dieser Untergruppe wurde, nicht sehr mit Recht, meist als mit der von Untergruppe I verwandt angesehen.²⁸

Die Farben bei IV, 1: kirschrot (Innenfeldfond), blaugrün (Hauptstreifen der Bordüre), grün, flachsblau (diese vier Farben vorwiegend), gelbbraun, weingelb, weiss, gelbgrün, blassblau, bei IV, 2: kirschrot (Innenfeld und Hauptstreifen), pfauenblau, flachsblau, blassblau, gelbgrün, orange (jetzt gelbbraun), schwarz. Bei IV, 5 ist verzeichnet: "Taubenblutrot (Innenfeldfond), türkisblau, rembrandtgrün, bernsteingelb, weiss, smaragdgrün, hellblau," bei IV, 6: "crimson" (Innenfeldfond), mittleres Gelb (Hauptstreifen), tiefes Gelb, lichtblau,

ebenda, S. 102, vermerkt: "The average number of different colours is five or six. Those most frequently occurring . . . are:—crimson: green: light blue: yellow: white. Other colours . . . :—blue: black: purple."

²⁷ HC, S. 109. Für die Untergruppe ist ebenda, S. 102 angegeben: "The average number of colours is seven or eight. Those most frequently occurring . . . :—red: light blue, blue, white: yellow: black. Other colours . . . :—brown: purple: dark blue."

²⁸ Riegl, *OT*, S. 14: "... ja bis zu einem gewissen Grad auch die Farbgebung erinnert an den auf Tafel XXXVIII publicierten Teppich" (Typus I). Bode, *Pr. Jhrb.*, XIII, S. 123; *B-K*, S. 104 u. Bode, *Altö. Knüpf.*, 2. Aufl., S. 46: "Der Grund . . . regelmässig ein helles Kirschrot, worin das Muster in Himmelblau eingezeichnet ist, das auch die Grundfarbe der Borte ist." In *B-K*,

2. Aufl., S. 139, 3. Aufl., S. 48, scheint sich die Angabe über die Farbskala (siehe diesen Aufsatz, S. 213, Fussnote 24) auf I und III zu beziehen, doch heisst es S. 142, resp. 49 (Verbindung von I und III): "... durch die typische Färbung . . . unverkennbar" und von III: "Die Borte weicht hier vom Felde (ausser in der Farbe) ausnahmsweise ganz ab." (Gerade doch in dieser! Der Verf.) Sarre, *Zschr. f. b. K.*, 1921, S. 78: "... die koloristische Wirkung mit Kirschrot und Himmelblau als bestimmenden Farbtönen ist die gleiche" (wie bei I. Der Verf.). Erdmann, *Kunstwanderer*, 1930–31, S. 198: "Die Farbgebung ist der der aegyptischen Teppiche verwandt, an die Stelle des Grün tritt häufiger Crème, auch sonst finden sich gelegentlich Erweiterungen der Skala." Dagegen: gleiche Seite, etwas weiter unten: "... Gleichheit . . . der Farbtöne (nicht nur der Farbauswahl)..."

weiss, gelbgrün, grün, dunkelblau, bei IV, 8 stellten wir fest: kirschrot (Innenfeldfond), gelbgrün (Hauptstreifen), mittelblau, mittleres grün, orange, lichtblau, weiss, bei IV, 9: kirschrot (Fond der Nische), bräunlichgelb (Hauptstreifen), rötliches Blau, weiss, grünliches Blau, mittel und hell, hellgrün, blaugrün. Für IV, 10 ist angegeben: "crimson" (Fond des Innenfelds und des Hauptstreifens), weiss, gelb, lichtblau, grün, schwarz.²⁹ Bei allen angeführten elf Teppichen ist die Farbe des Innenfeldfonds rot, zumeist kirschrot, der Mittelstreifen der Bordüre in der gleichen oder in anderer Farbe.

Kaum eine Gruppe des antiken orientalischen Teppichs zeigt im *Format* so reichen Wechsel³⁰ wie die der Damaszener, sowohl im Verhältnis der Masse für Breite und Höhe als auch im Flächenausmass. Bei der geringen Zahl der bisher vorliegenden Angaben über die Teppichmasse lässt sich etwas für die einzelnen Typen Gesetzmässiges nicht oder noch nicht erkennen. Das längste Format fand sich für die hier angeführten Stücke bei II (nämlich für 1): 1:1'3919,³¹ das grösste Flächenmass bei I (nämlich Nr. 2, d.i. *AOT* I, 50): 20'61 qm.³² Bei IV gibt es fast ganz quadratische Stücke, ein Teppich mit in der Komposition den Seiten des Quadrates angesetzten rechteckigen Teilen, letztere als senkrechte Verkleidung eines Tisches bestimmt, im Victoria and Albert Museum.³³ Ein achteckiger, als rund gedachter Teppich in "The Corcoran Gallery of Art," Washington (Abb. 10).³⁴ Dass Stücke wie dieses für europäischen Bedarf gearbeitet wurden, ist wohl ausser Zweifel, vielleicht gilt dies auch für die annähernd quadratischen Teppiche der Typen I und II.³⁵

²⁹ Kühnel, *Kunstwelt*, III, S. 452 (Beziehung von II und wohl auch I zu IV): "Material, Knüpfart und Farbkala sind dieselben (nur dass zu den genannten Tönen noch ein gelber hinzutritt)." *B-K*, 2. Aufl., S. 143, u. ähnl., 3. Aufl., S. 50: "In der Regel tritt bei dieser zweiten Generation (Typus IV! Der Verf.) ein gelber Farbton zu den anderen, die im übrigen ihre alte Nuance genau beibehalten." *HC*, S. 101 f.: "The average number of different colours is seven. Those most frequently occurring . . . are:—crimson: yellow: yellow green: blue: green: light blue: white. Other colours . . . :—deep yellow: dark blue: black."

³⁰ Riegl, *OT*, S. 12 (Typus I): "Charakteristisch . . . eine grosse Abwechslung im Format. Auch das quadratische Format des vorliegenden Teppichs (I, 11. Der Verf.) ist ein für orientalische Teppiche im allgemeinen ungewöhnliches. . . Ein runder Teppich ist auch (Riegl nennt so den Teppich Lessing, *a.a.O.*, Der Verf.) derjenige mit dem Doppelwappen, den das ÖM besitzt." (Nicht vorhanden! Der Verf.)

³¹ Erdmann, *Kunstwanderer*, 1930-31, S. 197 f., teilt die Untergruppe der eigentlichen Damaskusteppiche nach langem und kurzem Format, d.i. zugleich nach mehrfeldigen und einfeldigen Teppichen. Die Grenzwerte der Verhältniszahlen B:H sind für die im vorliegenden Auf-

satz verzeichneten Teppiche, soweit es sich um ganz erhaltene Stücke handelt, bei I: 1:1'069-2'128, II: 1:1'299-3'919, III: 1:1'487-1'904, IV: 1:1'117-1'824.

³² Es folgen: II, 1: 19'67, II, 2: 15'74, I, 3: 13'89, II, 3 (rekonstr.): 12'38.

³³ Hdschrftl. auf einem von Mr. Tattersall gütigst übersandten Lichtbild: "Table-Carpet . . . No. 151-1883." Bode, *Pr. Jhrb.*, XIII, S. 127, u. *Altpers. Knüpfst.*, 2. Aufl., S. 49: "Tischdecken von ganz eigentümlicher Form." Derselbe, *B-K*, S. 120: "... meist von quadratischer Form . . . abgepasste Tischdecken von ganz eigentümlicher Form." *B-K*, 2. Aufl., S. 143, u. 3. Aufl., S. 50: "... auf einigen quadratischen sogenannten Tischdecken."

³⁴ Kat. Nr. 2294. "Rug of the Turkish Court Manufacture." Für die Widmung des Katalogs des genannten Museums und der Fotografie dieses Teppichs sei Herrn Curator Mr. Jeremiah O'Connor verbindlichst gedankt.

³⁵ Erdmann, *Kunstwanderer*, 1930-31, S. 197 f. (wahrsch. Typus I, kurzes Format): "... kleinere Teppiche von fast quadratischem Format und einer durchschnittlichen Grösse von 250 cm² (was auf 25.000 umzubessern wäre. Der Verf.). Diese Einheitlichkeit des Formats ist ungewöhnlich. . . Die Beliebtheit dieser Teppiche im Abendland beruhte vielleicht zum Teil auf ihrer besonderen Eignung zu Tischdecken. . . Vielleicht wurde

Es kann kein Zweifel darüber bestehen, dass die Teppiche aller vier Untergruppen in gut geleiteten *Manufakturen* entstanden sind. Das beweist neben der Güte der Zeichnung—hier sind allerdings in den Kleinmotivfriesen, selbst bei den besten Stücken, kleine Unvollkommenheiten—vor allem aber die Sorgfältigkeit, mit der die Ecken der Bordüre, sogar in den Schmalen Streifen, behandelt sind. Gute Eckführung zeigen auch die Teppiche der Untergruppe III. Das ist umso bemerkenswerter, als dieser Vorzug, von anderen Teppichen Kleinasiens ganz abgesehen, den sog. Uschakteppichen, für die man gewiss auch gute Herkunft annehmen darf, mit wenigen Ausnahmen nicht nachgerühmt werden kann. Bemerkenswert ist auch, dass bei I, II und IV die Unterschiede in der Breite der Bordüre für die Quer- und Längsteile gleich oder annähernd gleich sind, wobei das Mass für erstere das, allerdings fast unmerklich, grössere ist. Bei Untergruppe III ist dieser Breitenunterschied viel deutlicher.

Dass aber die Teppiche dieser Untergruppe aus einer anderen (vielleicht mindereren) Werkstätte stammen als die der anderen drei, scheint uns sehr wahrscheinlich, dagegen können wir für letztere nur gemeinsame Herkunft annehmen. Dies wegen der Gleichheit von Material und Technik trotz der deutlich fühlbaren Qualitätsunterschiede.³⁶ Kühnel³⁷ sieht—mit Recht—bei Annahme gleicher Herkunft der eigentlichen und der blumigen Damaskusgruppe im Wechsel des Dekorsystems Beweis für die Herkunft aus einem grossen Betrieb. Für die feinere Gruppe der türkischen blumigen Teppiche hat man mit vollem Recht die Entstehung in einer Hofwerkstätte angenommen. Die trotz der starken Unterschiede auch in der künstlerischen Qualität unleugbare, schon erwähnte Verwandtschaft der blumigen Damaszener mit diesen—man vergleiche z.B. *AOT* I, 60 mit 57—könnte für diese die gleiche Herkunft vermuten lassen. Für den Seident Teppich wird niemand die beste Abkunft bezweifeln. Im Technischen ausserordentlich nahe steht ihm das Fragment des wollgeknüpften, ebenfalls aus einer Hofmanufaktur stammenden Teppichs des ÖM: *AOT* I, 58–59.

Die Eigenartigkeit der Damaskusgruppe—dies gilt vor allem für die geometrischen Typen—hat die Frage nach ihrer *Herkunft* nicht ruhen lassen, einer Beantwortung aber grosse Schwierigkeiten bereitet. Während Lessing (*a.a.O.*, S. 13), offenbar für I und II, ein "besonderes Herstellungsgebiet" vermutet, so nimmt Riegl³⁸ als Entstehungsland der Gruppe (I und

von den Erzeugern diesen Bedürfnissen des Exportes Rechnung getragen."

³⁶ Riefstahl, *a.a.O.*, S. 159, unterscheidet einen reicheren Typus in der Hofmanufaktur und einen einfacheren, von privaten Werben hergestellt.

³⁷ *Kunstwelt*, III, S. 452 f.: "Die Ablösung der eckigen Kaleidoskopmuster durch diese schwungvollen Pflanzenformen . . . das ist sehr wohl in einem grossen Manufakturbetrieb möglich. . . Bei . . . Handwerk . . . solche Umwälzungen völlig undenkbar." *B-K*, 2. Aufl., S. 151, u. ähnl., 3. Aufl., S. 50: "Aus dem Umstand, dass wir es hier vielleicht mit einer Hofkunst zu tun haben, . . . würde sich . . . der plötzliche Uebergang von dem soge-

nannten Kaleidoskopstil zum vegetabilen Naturalismus erklären."

³⁸ A. Riegl, *Ausstellung orientalischer Teppiche*, Wien, 1891, Katalog, S. 269 (II, 2 betreffend): "Altorientalischer Seidenteppech (Vielleicht spanisch-maurisch)." Derselbe, *OT*, S. 12 u. 14, sieht für I und vielleicht II Verwandtschaft mit marokkanischen Stickereien. Wir konnten sie nicht entdecken. Derselbe, "Ältere orientalische Teppiche aus dem Besitz des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses," *Jhrb. der Kunst. Slg.*, XIII, 1892, S. 325, lehnt spanisch-maurischen Ursprung ab und bezeichnet S. 324, den Teppich II, 2: "Marokkanischer Seidenteppech."

II) Marokko an, wogegen sich Bode (*Pr. Jhrb.*, XIII, S. 127) ausspricht und (für I, vielleicht II und ausdrücklich IV) wegen der Verwandtschaft des Dekors bei IV mit dem der sog. rhodischen Fliesen erst die Heimat in Klein-Asien oder Syrien sucht, sich dann (*Vorderas. Knüpft.*, S. 125, *Altpers. Knüpft.*, 2. Aufl., S. 50) mehr für Syrien bekennt and speziell, zumeist wegen des Vorkommens der Bezeichnung "tappedi damaschini" in Venezianer Inventaren, den Kreis enger ziehend, für Damaskus, freilich als Ausfuhrort, um schliesslich (*Monatsh. f. Kw.*, 1908, S. 924 f.), gegen Martin polemisierend, wegen des Wollmaterials das mittlere Klein-Asien zu bevorzugen. Martin (*A History of Oriental Carpets*, Vienna, 1908, S. 132 f.) trennt die Gruppe der blumigen Damaskusteppiche nicht von der der feineren floraldekorierten Teppiche und weist alle diese einer türkischen, wie er meint höfischen, Manufaktur in Klein-Asien zu. Er bezeichnet (ebenda, S. 113)—ohne die Verwandtschaft der geometrischen und des floralen Typus zu erwähnen—die Teppiche III als nahe verwandt mit den Koniafragmenten und vermerkt bei der einen Teppich dieses Typs wiedergebenden Fig. 282: "Central Asia Minor." Kühnel denkt, ohne näher zu lokalisieren, für I, II und ausdrücklich IV an eine türkische Hofmanufaktur in Klein-Asien als Erzeugungsstätte (*Kunstwelt*, III, S. 452. Bei Abb. 12: "Sog. Damaskusteppich, Türkei"). In Bode und Kühnel (*B-K*, 2. Aufl., S. 145, u. 3. Aufl., S. 50) wird diese, wohl für alle vier Hauptgruppen, "in Anatolien und zwar nicht allzu weit von Konstantinopel" vermutet. Kendrick und Tattersall sehen (*HC*, S. 101) wohl IV als türkisch, die Herkunft von II (wohl auch I) und III aus der Türkei als nicht ganz sicher, wenn auch—aus der Technik—als wahrscheinlich und (S. 51) III als ein Zwischenglied zwischen den Koniafragmenten und verschiedenen kleinasiatischen Gruppen an: "There is something in them, which suggests North Africa or even an approximation to the carpets of Spain, but they may be Asia Minor work. . . . A more intricate design, with similar tendencies (II, vielleicht I) is of equally uncertain origin." In *FC* (S. 19 f.) ist für IV eine örtlich nicht näher zu bestimmende, in den türkischen Dominien gelegene spezielle Hofmanufaktur als wahrscheinlich angenommen. Im *Katalog der Ausstellung* (München, 1910) sind die Teppiche I und II als "Türkische Teppich . . . sog. Damaskusteppiche" bezeichnet und bei den einzelnen Nummern fünfmal Türkei und einmal Klein-Asien angegeben. Im *Katalog der Ausstellung* (Wien, 1920), vermerkt Trenkwald beim Seident Teppich: "Türkei (?)," Leisching im Vorwort: ". . . der türkische Seidenteppeich (Damaskus)." Guiffrey und Migeon benennen den auf Tafel 15 ihres Kelekian-Katalogs abgebildeten Teppich mit "Art Hispano-Moresque." Die nachhaltigste Wirkung haben die Arbeiten Sarres ausgeübt. Erst ist Sarre der Meinung, dass sich im Typ III das im Mittelalter und Klein-Asien gebräuchliche geometrische Muster erhalten habe und sieht in Damaskus den Ausfuhrort.³⁹ Die blumige Damaskusgruppe fasst er mit der feineren blumigen Gruppe zusammen und sucht—ohne die Zusammengehörigkeit mit den geometrischen Damaskusgruppen zu erwähnen—ihren Ursprung in Syrien und speziell in Damaskus, gibt

³⁹ *AOT*, 1908, S. 7. Für den Teppich, Typus III, Tafel XII, 15, verzeichnet er: "Syrien (Damaskus)." Bode bemerkt in "A History of Oriental Carpets before 1800," *Monatsh. f. Kunstwsch.*, 1908, S. 924, dass ihm

Sarre in dieser Ortsbestimmung gefolgt sei und nennt in *Kunst und Kunsthandwerk*, 1910, S. 482, Sarre als Urheber für die Bestimmung von Damaskus als Ausfuhrort.

(*Mw*, I) für die Teppiche: Tafeln 77, 78 und 79 (Typus I und II "Türkei (?)") an, nimmt später (*Kunstwanderer*, 1919–20, S. 447) für den Seident Teppich die Herkunft aus einer türkischen Hofmanufaktur als wahrscheinlich an, äussert die Meinung, "dass dieser Zeichnung ein uraltes Teppichmuster, das des Gartenteppichs, zugrundeliegt," um schliesslich in zwei Aufsätzen (*Zschr. f. b. K.*, 1921, u. *Jhrb. d. As. K.*, I) eine neue Theorie aufzustellen und zu vertreten: die Teppiche Typus I und II sind in einer Manufaktur in Aegypten entstanden; diese wird nach Konstantinopel verlegt; dort werden die Teppiche Typus III und IV und die übrigen Teppiche, die man einer Hofmanufaktur zuschreibt, hergestellt. In Bode und Kühnel (*B-K*, 3. Aufl., S. 49 f.) wird Sarres Vorschlag mit einiger Skepsis, aber als nicht unwillkommen erwähnt. Auch Riefstahl (*a.a.O.*) hegt Zweifel an der Identität der Damaskusteppiche mit in Aegypten hergestellten Teppichen, sieht aber trotzdem im Palmenmotiv des einen Ballard-Teppichs einen Beweis für Aegypten, schliesst aber aus den geometrisch-blumigen Mischformen, dass spätere Stücke türkischen Ursprungs sein müssen. Pope (*a.a.O.*, S. 111) anerkennt, dass man durch Sarres beide Artikel diese Gattung (wohl I) nun mit grosser oder grösserer Sicherheit als irgend einen Teppich des 16. Jahrhunderts bestimmen könne, spricht sich aber in der Einleitung (S. 25) vorbehaltlos zustimmend aus. Sarres Bestimmung wurde von Trenkwald für *AOT* I übernommen. Kühnel beweist (*Berliner Museen*, 1930, S. 143) die Verbindung der einen der drei Holbeingruppen mit der geometrischen Damaskusgruppe, deren Lokalisierung nach Aegyptener kritiklos erwähnt. Auch Erdmann weist (*A.i.A.*, 1930–31, S. 17 ff., u. *Kunstwanderer*, 1930–31, S. 197) auf die Verwandtschaft mit der einem Holbeingruppe und ihren Nachkommen, den sog. Bergamas, hin, erwähnt Sarres Bestimmung im ersten Aufsatz ohne Kritik, sieht im zweiten (S. 197) Sarres Annahme (wohl für I, u. II) für wahrscheinlich an, hält aber die Vermutung für naheliegend, dass die "Teppiche grösseren Formats"—er teilt sie in frühe und solche "der reifen Zeit," zu welcher letzteren er den Seidenteppeich zählt wegen der "Verwendung von Seide in einem Fall . . . teilweise bereits nach der angenommenen Uebertragung der Manufaktur entstanden" seien. Er setzt sich aber ebenda (S. 198) für III durch eine etwas gezwungene Konstruktion für Aegypten ein, sogerne er diese Gruppe als anatolisch ansprechen möchte. In Bilderheft 3, 1935 (S. 6) sagt er von der türkischen Hofmanufaktur: "Sie . . . scheint . . . in technischer Hinsicht weniger auf der im anatolischen Hinterland vorhandenen Volkskunst, als auf der Verbindung mit der Fabrikation Ägyptens (Abb. 33–35) zu fussen," hält also für die geometrischen Gruppen an der These: Aegypten fest. (Die zitierten Abbildungen betreffen Teppiche der Gruppen I, resp. III und II.)

Wir *selbst* waren von der Richtigkeit von Sarres Oertlichkeitsbestimmung nie recht überzeugt, wenn wir sie auch ohne Kritik (für eine solche war keine der beiden Stellen: *Ztschr. f. b. K.*, 1929–30, u. *Hdb. der geeignete Platz*) übernahmen. Sarre geht von dem urkundlichen Bericht aus, der besagt, dass im Jahr 1585 elf Teppichmeister von Kairo nach Stambul an den Hof berufen wurden und vermutet—ohne dafür Belege zu haben—dass schon früher eine solche Uebersiedlung stattgefunden habe und dass die Stambuler Manufaktur von aegyptischen Meistern gegründet worden sei. Für das Bestehen einer aegyptischen Teppichmanufaktur beruft sich Sarre auf: 1.) das Knüpfteppeichfragmentchen aus Fostat, dessen Entstehen

Sarre noch im ersten Jahrtausend vermutet, 2.) die staatliche Webemanufaktur in Tinnis, die im elften Jahrhundert einen Abû qalamûn genannten Changeanstoff herstellte, 3.) das Vorhandensein im Lüster diesen Stoffen ähnlicher Qalamûnî-Teppiche in der Teppichkammer des Kalifen in Kairo, 4.) auf die Kermex-Teppiche der Stadt Siût, 5.) auf das Dokument von 1585, 6.) auf den Bericht des Reisenden Thévenot aus den sechziger Jahren des 17. Jahrhunderts über eine Teppichindustrie in Kairo, deren Erzeugnisse nach Konstantinopel und nach Europa ausgeführt wurden, 7.) auf eine Notiz vom Jahr 1665, die besagt, dass in Stambul verwahrte Gebetteppiche als "aegyptische" bezeichnet wurden und holt es für "erwiesen, dass die schon in der frühislamischen Zeit vorhandene Teppichmanufaktur sich mindestens bis in die zweite Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts in hoher Blüte erhalten" habe "und dass ihre Erzeugnisse als türkische Teppiche über Konstantinopel in den Handel und nach Europa gekommen sind."

Für die Annahme des Vorhandenseins und Fortdauerns nur *einer* Manufaktur und für diese lange Zeit scheint uns schon der Verschiedenheit der Oertlichkeiten wegen das Angeführte nicht überzeugend genug. So bestechend die in den Punkten 5, 6 und 7 wiedergegebenen Nachrichten sind, so fehlt jedoch der urkundliche Beweis der Identität der Erzeugnisse der Kairener und Stambuler Werkstätten mit den Damaskusteppichen. Deshalb sieht sich ja Sarre nach Verwandtschaft dieser Teppiche—gemeint sind die geometrischen Typen—mit den Werken anderen aegyptischen Kunstgewerbes um. Er findet sie: 1.) in Türfüllungen, 2.) in Bucheinbänden, 3.) in Mosaikfußböden, 4.) in Metallarbeiten, 5.) in der Deckenmalerei, u.zw. in einem bestimmten Fall, 6.) im allgemeinen koloristischen Eindruck der Glasfenster und Plafonds der Moscheen und dem Glanz der Vergoldung der letzteren.—Für 1, 2 und 4 findet Sarre eine Aehnlichkeit zwischen dem bei diesen Zweigen des Kunstgewerbes aus Flechtbändern gebildeten Dekor und dem der Damaskusteppiche. Wir können uns nicht dazu überreden, "den gleichen allgemeinen Aufbau des Dekors" zu sehen und "den Dekorationsstil, ein durch verschlungene Flechtbänder gebildetes Gitterwerk" in den Teppichen wiederzufinden, ausser einem nicht näher zu definierenden Strahlenden und sehr geringen, in den Teppichen anzutreffenden Aehnlichkeiten, wie den aus dem Kandelabermotiv gebildeten sternartigen Formen (Zeichnung 36 der Motivtafel) oder dem Vorhandensein von Flechtmotiven überhaupt. Wir geben zu, dass das Dekorationssystem, das in bewundernswert geistreicher Weise unendliche, zackig geführte Bänder verwendet, sich vorwiegend in Aegypten fand, so möchten wir für *Pkt. 1* noch anführen: G. Migeon (*L'Orient Musulman*, Paris, 1922, I, 6, 17, I, 7, 16), G. Migeon (*Manuel d'art Musulman*, Paris, 1927, I, Fig. 82 [Mimbar], 105, 122 [Mihrab], 123 [Mihrab], 124 [Mihrab], 131 [Mimbar], 171), ferner die Fragmente des Mimbars der Ibn Tulûn Moschee, im ÖM verwahrt, können aber nicht an der Tatsache vorbeisehen, dass sich dasselbe Motiv auch anderswo antreffen liess: Martin (*a.a.O.*, Fig. 263): ein Tor "from Upper Mesopotamia," von Migeon (*Manuel*, I, Fig. 141), nach Konia verwiesen, ferner eine Kanzel der Moschee Ala ed Din in Konia (ebenda, Fig. 139) abgesehen von den nicht seltenen Beispielen aus Spanien. *Pkt. 2*: Einige Aehnlichkeit mit dem Teppichdekor sehen wir nur in den Flechtmotiven koptischer Einbände, z.B. Loubier (*Der Bucheinband*, 2.

Aufl., Abb. 104): Gottlieb (*Bucheinbände*, Tafeln 1 und 2). Dass sich in der persischen und von ihr abhängigen türkischen Bucheinbandkunst das geometrische Flechtsystem nicht auffinden liess, kann darin seine Ursache haben, dass wir für Persien in dieser Kunst vor dem 16. Jahrhundert keinen Beleg besitzen.⁴⁰ *Pkt. 3*: Dass Bodenfliesen, vielleicht sogar Mosaik in den Damaskusteppichen nachwirken, scheint durchaus möglich, nur können wir in den beiden angeführten Beispielen (Moschee Sultan Hassan) eine nähere und damit beweisende Beziehung zum Seident Teppich nicht entdecken, ebensowenig in der Bordüre der Fontäne, Migeon (*L'Orient*, I, 4, 11), die ein Flechtmuster zeigt. Zu *Pkt. 4* liessen sich als Eegyptisch noch anführen: Migeon (*Manuel*, II, Fig. 259 u. 260). *Pkt. 5*: Wie bei der aus ohne Zwischenraum an einander schliessenden Sechsecken kassetierten, gemalten Decke und dem achteckgefüllten Gittermuster, bei dem deutlich rautenförmige Ausschnitte übrigbleiben, Verwandtschaft gesehen werden kann, ist uns schwer begreiflich. *Pkt. 6*: Auch in Prisse d'Avennes (*L'art Arabe d'après les Monuments du Caire*, 1877) konnten wir für Sarres Meinung keinen Helfer finden. Ueber den farbigen Eindruck des Moscheeschmucks haben wir keine Vorstellung. In dem schwer definierbaren Glanz und seinen Wirkungen—dies gilt auch für die Qalamûnî-Teppiche—ein beweisendes Vergleichsmoment zu sehen, scheint uns etwas gewagt (siehe S. 219 dieses Aufsatzes).

Es haben also die meisten Autoren af Klein-Asien als Heimat geraten und auch nach dem Erscheinen der Sarre'schen Aufsätze haben Kühnel und Erdmann die Verbindung der Damaskusgruppen mit kleinasiatischen nicht aus dem Auge verloren. Solange als sich nicht stärker zwingende Aehnlichkeiten finden lassen, wagen wir es nicht, der Theorie Sarres zuzustimmen, und möchten, durch die weiteren Beweise der Beziehungen zu Klein-Asien (und Nordpersien), die wir im Folgenden vorbringen können, ermuntert, der Annahme einer Hofwerkstätte im westlichen Klein-Asien zuneigen.

Schwieriger noch als die Bestimmung der Oertlichkeit ist für die Damaskusgruppe die der *Zeit* der Entstehung.

Die sonst für die Datierung so hilfreichen europäischen Maler versagen bei dieser Gruppe: die Darstellung zweier Teppiche auf einem Fresko von Moretto im Palazzo Salvadego in Brescia sind, wie Erdman (*A.i.A.*, 1930, S. 14) mit Recht sagt, die einzigen von irgendeinem dokumentarischen Wert (Typus I, ev. II). Trotzdem sind von den älteren Autoren die Zeitbestimmungen auf solche unsichere Wiedergabe in Bildern hin gemacht. Die Angaben betreffen—die Typen werden nicht immer klar präzisiert—zumeist die geometrischen aber auch den floralen und setzen die Zeit: Ende des 15. bis in das 17. Jahrhundert.

Hiebei ist auf solche bildliche Darstellungen hin, aber auch, wie es scheint, aus der viel-

⁴⁰ Loubier *a.a.O.*, S. 128: "... über die frühere (vor dem 16. Jahrh. Der Verf.) Einbandkunst in den ostislamischen Ländern wissen wir nichts." Kühnel, *Islamische Kleinkunst*, Berlin, 1925, S. 65: "Handelt es sich um reichere Verzierungen, die die ganze Fläche in sternförmig gruppierte Bandverschlingungen oder in reiches

Gitterwerk auflösen ... so liegen fast immer Erzeugnisse der Buchbinderzunft von Kairo vor." Ein einfaches derartiges Flechtmuster ist in den Fussböden und Kuppeln auf vielen Blättern dessicher nicht aegyptischen und reichlich späten—Haemzae-Romans zu sehen.

leicht unbewussten Vorstellung heraus: geometrisch früher als floral, die Gruppe der eigentlichen Damaskusteppiche als die frühere angesehen worden.

Wenn auch Vorstellungen wie diese für die Blütezeit einer Kunst nicht ganz berechtigt erscheinen können, so mag auf die Abbildung von Bodenteppichen in persischen Miniaturen hingewiesen werden.⁴¹ Der Auswertung von Beobachtungen an solchen Darstellungen muss die Untersuchung vorangehen, ob ein porträtmässiges Bild eines Teppichs angestrebt wurde oder ob die den Teppich wiedergebende Fläche ohne Rücksicht auf ein wirkliches oder in Gedanken vorschwebendes Vorbild aus dem vorhandenen Dekorschatz nach Belieben geschmückt wurde. Es sei da als ein Beispiel auf die Darstellung eines Segels auf einem der Wiener Blätter des—eigentlich persischen—Haemzae-Romanes (H. Glück, *Die indischen Miniaturen des Haemzae-Romanes*, Wien, o.J., Tafel 8) hingedeutet, das als ein rotgefütterter Goldbrokat gegeben ist. Ob es sich um ein individuelles Abbild handelt, wird ein Vergleich des Teppichs mit anderen wiedergegebenen Gegenständen, vor allem Textilien klarstellen, wobei freilich bei geometrischem Dekor die Frage: Knüpf- oder Wirkteppich unbeantwortet bleibt. Soweit sich bis jetzt sehen lässt—hier kann nur Spezialforschung das letzte Wort sprechen—scheint die zeitliche Abfolge der Dekorationsschemata im grossen Ganzen die zu sein: Innenfeld leer oder Fliesenmusterung, Bordüre kufisch; Innenfeld durch Längswellenranken in arabeskegefüllte Felder geteilt oder mit Spiralranken (Arabesk- oder Blütenranken oder beides) dekoriert, Bordüre kufisch; Innenfeld und Bordüre floral. Auffällig ist, dass der Dekor der Teppiche häufig (noch) geometrisch ist, während sonst in derselben Miniatur floraler oder arabesker Schmuck verwendet wurde. (Es wäre nicht ganz undenkbar, wenn auch nicht wahrscheinlich, dass man hier Teppiche nichtpersischen Ursprungs vor sich hätte. Dass sie aber nicht volkmässig sind, beweist die gute Führung der Ecken—es sei denn, es läge diese Genauigkeit beim Maler. Für den Damaskusteppich ist aus diesen an persischen Miniaturen gemachten Feststellungen wenig zu erschliessen.

Welche Meinung Sarre vom zeitlichen Nacheinander der Untergruppen hat, ist bereits (S. 218) erwähnt worden, ebenso, dass Erdmann die längeren Stücke (von I und II) für älter hält (S. 218). Seine Annahme würde zu der Erfahrung stimmen, dass die als älteste zu bezeichnenden Stücke des nordpersischen Medaillonteppichs ebenfalls schlankes Format zeigen. Er sieht ferner unter den langen Stücken wieder die für älter an, bei denen in den Nebefeldern nur *eine* Mittelfigur angebracht ist. Zu diesen würde sowohl I, 3, als auch II, 3 gehören. Den Seidenteppeich hält er, wie erwähnt (S. 218), und dies aus mehreren Gründen—mit Recht—für nicht ganz früh, stellt II, 1 näher an diesen als an I, 1, obwohl er, ganz richtig, die Strenge der Zeichnung bei II, 1 hervorhebt. Für die durch den Berliner Teppich, I, 8, repräsentierte Gattung sieht er in der Kartuschenmusterung der Bordüre, mit Recht, Einfluss Persiens, datiert die Gruppe (wohl I), obwohl ihn das Erscheinen dieses Dekors für diese Zeit Wunder nimmt, in das 15. Jahrhundert. Die Teppiche mit der kufischen Bordüre—sie sind, siehe S. 203.

⁴¹ Martin, *a.a.O.*, S. 34, hat soviel wir wissen, erstmalig Miniaturen zur Bestimmung von Teppichen heran-

zusiehen versucht.

Fragmente *eines* Teppichs: II, 3, hält er (*A.i.A.*, S. 22,—ohne Vergleich) für “later.” Riefstahl empfindet (*a.a.O.*, S. 16), mit Recht, im Kleinschmuck von II, 4 gegenüber dem der “späteren Teppiche . . . wie . . . dem Berliner Beispiel” einen “frischen Arabeskencharakter” und datiert den Teppich in “das frühe 16. Jahrhundert.”

Die florale Untergruppe halten die meisten Autoren für später. So betrachten sie Bode und Kühnel (*B-K*, 2. Aufl., S. 143, 3. Aufl., S. 49 f.) als eine “spätere Phase” der geometrischen (wohl I und III) und behaupten: “. . . ist das Mittelmedaillon oft noch im Sinne der älteren Damaskusmuster geometrisch gestaltet (es ist arakesk! Der Verf.) und stellt somit die Entwicklung des einen aus dem anderen ausser Frage.” Diese Untergruppe wird, ebenda, die “zweite Generation” genannt.—Sarre sieht (*Jhrb.*, S. 22) in der Eigentümlichkeit der blumigen Teppiche (IV und wahrsch. der feineren Hofgruppe), von der Verwendung von “Mittlerosette und Eckzwickeln Abstand zu nehmen und eine fortlaufende Musterung zu verwenden,” “Erinnerung an die aegyptischen Teppiche.” Viel eher “könnte, trotz der Verschiedenheit: tapetenartige Musterung—Spiralrankensystem, hierin Verwandtschaft mit den ostpersischen Ranken-Tierteppichen gesucht werden, mit denen sich ja bekanntlich im Dekor soviel Ähnlichkeit nachweisen lässt.

Es bleibt, da bildliche Darstellungen, bis auf die angeführte, nicht herangezogen werden können und da Verbindungen, bei anderen Teppichgruppen so nutzbar, zu zeitlich leichter zu bestimmenden Werken anderen Kunstgewerbes sich für die Damaskusgruppe nicht aufspüren lassen, nur die Möglichkeit, aus der Verwandtschaft im Technischen und, wie näher ausgeführt werden soll, im Ornamentalen Beziehungen zu anderen Teppichgruppen zu entdecken. Hier sind zwei Brücken möglich; einerseits von IV aus zu der so nahe verwandten Gruppe der feineren, meist auf Seide gearbeiteten Teppiche der (oder einer) türkischen Hofwerkstätte und andererseits von II (vielleicht auch III) aus zu den Teppichen mit dem (nach Kühnel) sog. grösseren Holbeinmuster.

Für die Hofgruppe und die besten Stücke der ihr im Dekor so nah versandten Keramik ist die übliche Datierung in das 16. Jahrhundert zweifellos richtig. Es drängen sich nun zwei Fragen auf: IV jünger als die Hofgruppe und I + II älter als IV? Die erste kann ohne Bedenken bejaht werden. Bei der Beantwortung der zweiten könnten vielleicht Beobachtungen an Stücken zu Hilfe kommen, die ein Nebeneinander geometrischen und floralen Dekors zeigen, wenn solche einmal in grösserer Zahl bekannt sein werden.⁴²

Beim hier erstmalig veröffentlichten Stück der Wiener Sammlung I, 3 (Abb. 1), dem einzigen⁴³ dieses Mischstils, das wir genau kennen, sind die Partien blumigen und Arabeskedekors dem in Komposition und Einzelschmuck sonst ganz nach dem Typus I gestalteten Innenfeld wie nachträglich aufgelegt.⁴⁴ Die zugefügten Schmuckformen sind nicht etwa im Jugendsta-

⁴² Eine briefliche Mitteilung Dr. Erdmanns an den Verfasser lässt dies erhoffen.

⁴³ Der S. 215 erwähnte, der Gruppe IV zugehörige Tischteppich der Corcoran Gallery zeigt in der Bordüre Motive, wie sie sich ähnlich bei Teppichen der Gruppen

I und II finden.

⁴⁴ Dieses Aufliegen des Medaillons (siehe S. 202) auch bei der Hofgruppe, wie bei *AOT* I, 57 und 60, was auch Trenkwald bei diesen Tafeln verzeichnet. Siehe auch Troll, *Hdb.*, S. 32. Ein anderes dreifeldiges Stück

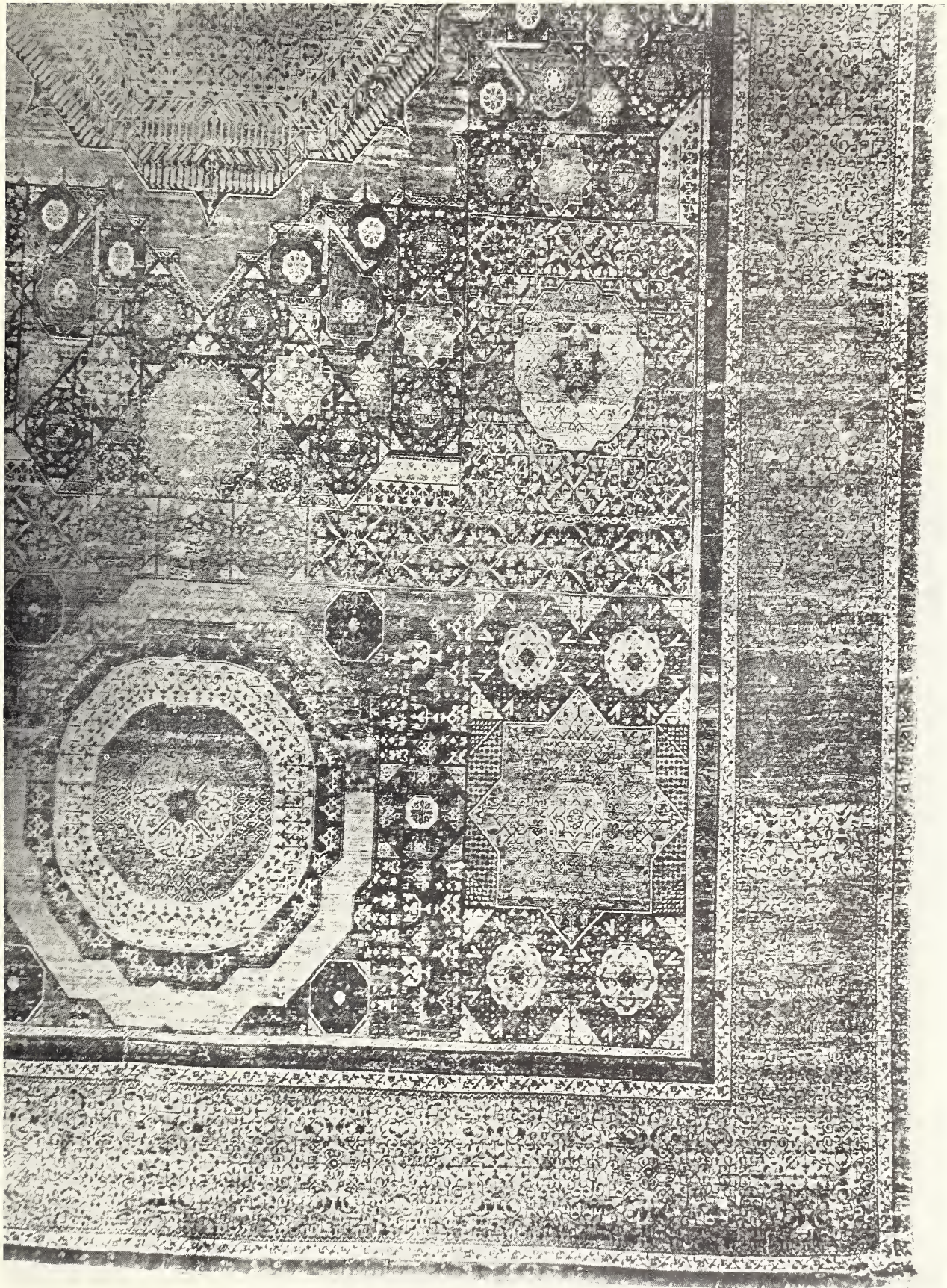


FIG. 6—SOG. DAMASKUS-TEPPICH, SEIDE, GRUPPE II, DETAIL
OESTERREICHISCHES MUSEUM, WIEN



FIG. 8—SOG. DAMASKUS-TEPPICH, GRUPPE IV, FRAGMENT
KUNSTHANDEL



FIG. 7—SOG. DAMASKUS-TEPPICH, GRUPPE II, FRAGMENT
SCHLOSSMUSEUM, BERLIN



FIG. 9—SOG. DAMASKUS-TEPPICH, GRUPPE IV, GEBETTEPPICH
KUNSTHANDEL



FIG. 10—SOG. DAMASKUS-TEPPICH
THE CORCORAN GALLERY OF ART, WASHINGTON

dium, sondern sie zeigen, mit den gleichen Formen bei IV und der feineren Gruppe verglichen, deutlich die Merkmale des Abgesunkenenseins. Wie angedeutet, ist dieses Stück sicher nicht zu den späten seiner Klasse zu rechnen. Diese nahe Verbindung zwischen I und IV lässt sich, wenn die angenommene zeitliche Distanz richtig ist, schwer erklären.

Wir konnten für die rotgrundige Untergruppe im Technischen engere Beziehungen zur feineren floralen Hofgruppe entdecken und halten sie auch künstlerisch dieser Nähe für würdig. Sollte sich nun auch zeitliche Nähe erweisen lassen—man dürfte dann aber für II wohl kaum in das 15. Jahrhundert zurückgehen—, so müsste wegen der erwähnten Verbindung im Dekor von I und IV, da IV sicher jünger ist als die Hofgruppe, auch I für jünger als I angesehen werden—was wir nur begrüssen würden.

Erst die Aufdeckung der Beziehung der Damaskus—zur Holbeingruppe, die Kühnel und Erdmann zu danken ist, gab für die Datierung eine grössere Sicherheit. In "Orientteppiche" ist bei den die einzelnen Gruppen repräsentierenden Beispielen, den N^m 33, resp. 34, resp. 35, resp. 36 und 37 verzeichnet: für I: "15.–16. Jh.," für II: "16. Jh.," für III: "17. Jh.," für IV: "um 1600."

Aus Beobachtungen am *Einzel schmuck* lässt sich die Richtigkeit der aus der Beachtung mehr allgemeiner künstlerischer Tendenzen gewonnenen Gruppierung bestätigen, vor allem die Berechtigung der Aufstellung der rotgrundigen Untergruppe erweisen, Beziehungen zwischen den Untergruppen, aber auch solche zu anderen Teppichgruppen feststellen. Motive, die mit wenigen Ausnahmen nur der *zweiten* Untergruppe eigentümlich sind, sind hauptsächlich folgende:

1.) Die auch in den dreifarbigem Teppichen verwendete, in herzförmige Umrahmung gestellte Schirmblütenstaude, hier in einer fliesenartigen Kombination mit freien solchen Blüten und Lanzettblättern: Motivzeichnung (gekürzt: MZ) 1 für II, 1, fast gleich bei II, 2.

2.) Das bei II, 1 in einer Zone eines der Oktogone verwendete kufische Motiv: MZ 2 in fast der gleichen Form in der Bordüre bei II, 3: MZ 3.

3.) Die die äusserste Zone um das gleiche Oktogon bei II, 1 füllende, feldteilend zu denkende arabeske Ranke mit Verschlingungen: MZ 4, sehr ähnlich in einem Panell bei I, 5.

4.) Das in eine polygonale Umrahmung gestellte Motiv der Bandverschlingung bei II, 1: MZ 5, ähnlich bei II, 5 auch bei II, 4.

5.) Das kandelaberartige Arabeskmotiv, meist friesbildend, bei II, 1: MZ 6, fast in ganz gleicher Form bei II, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 und 7.

6.) Das omegaförmige Wolkenband, in Dreieckform komponiert, eckfüllend verwendet, stark geometrisiert, bei II, 1 und, ursprünglicher, bei II, 2: MZ 7 und II, 3: MZ 8.

7.) In fliesenartige, als solche nicht betonte Quadrate oder Oktogone komponiertes, radial gestelltes Filigranmuster bei II, 1, 2, bei II, 3: MZ 9, bei II, 6, 8, auch 4, 9.—Aehnliches beim Goldschmidt-Teppich (Erdmann, *Kunstwanderer*, 1930–31, Abb. 3 u. 4).

erwähnt Riefstahl (*Jhrb.*, S. 162): im Mittelfeld die türkischen Blumen, in den äusseren der geometrische

Damaskusdekor.

8.) Die bei solchem Dekor häufig verwendete arabeskoide Form: herzartiges, hakenbesetztes Gebilde auf Konsol bei II, 1 findet sich auch bei II, 2, bei II, 3: MZ 10, ferner bei II, 6.

9.) Eine aus zwei Arabesklättern begildete Form mit einer Arabeskform als Konsol bei II, 1: MZ 11, zierlich gezeichnet, findet sich auch bei II, 4 und 6, etwas strenger und schwerer bei II, 5, nicht mehr so klar: MZ 12, bei II, 2 und, in der Hauptform nicht mehr verstanden: MZ 13, bei II, 3.

10.) Ein zierliches Staudenmotiv mit Volutenfuss bei II, 3: MZ 14, ähnlich bei II, 1, 2 und 9, in reduzierter Form bei II, 3: MZ 15, II, 2 und 6.—In beiden Formen *auch bei III*.

11.) Eine kleine herzförmige blüten—oder staudenartige Form, bei II, 1, 2: MZ 16, und 6, in der Form: MZ 17 bei II, 3.

12.) Eine Becherblütenform auf einem vasenartigen Konsol: MZ 18, und 19, bei II, 3. Dieselbe vasenartige Form mit der Blütenstaude: MZ 15 bei II, 2, mit einer winzigen Blütenform bei II, 8.

13.) Die zypressenartigen Bäumchen mit zwei Wurzeln in der Form: MZ 20 mit Innenmuster bei II, 3, im Palmen-Zypressen-Staudenfries mit Arabeskvolutenfuss bei dem gleichen Stück, ungemustert bei II, 8 und 9, mit Wurzelstücken an beiden Enden bei II, 1.—Gemusterte oder doch mit einem Längsmittelstrich versehene Bäumchen auch bei den Teppichen der *Gruppe III*.

14.) Die durch eine arabeskoid-pflanzliche Ranke gebildete Sechseckgitterung: MZ 21 bei II, 2 in fast der gleichen Form bei II, 9, ist in der ursprünglichen Form als Ranke bei II, 4 verwendet.

15.) Eine im Dreieck komponierte Arabeskform kommt in verschiedenen Gestalten vor. In der Form: MZ 22 bei II, 5. Aehnlich bei II, 2 und 4 und Lessing 6–8.

16.) Ein eigenartiger, um Oktogone geführter Doppelsaum: MZ 23 bei II, 5, ähnlich bei II, 4 und 9 und Lessing 6–8.

17.) Eine s-artige Form, im Sinne der intermittierenden Ranke gereiht, als Füllung schmaler Saumstreifen bei II, 2: MZ 24 und II, 3. (In Spuren: raumfüllend, intermittierend, neben der Palme bei I, 4, in vereinfachter Form, ebenso verwendet, aber gleich gerichtet, bei I, 5.)

Als Beispiel für den Wandel und die Variabilität der Schmuckform soll hier nur ein in den beiden ersten Gruppen verwendetes Motiv an einigen Teppichen betrachtet werden. Wie ungemein sensibel und mit wieviel Raumgefühl und wie rassig ist die arabeske Füllung eines der Oktogone bei II, 1: MZ 25, nicht minder zart, doch vielleicht etwas eckiger, bei II, 9. Hier geradezu in genialer Weise Uebergang von der reinen Linienzeichnung zum aus dem Fond geholten Bandornament. Bei II, 2 ist fast das gleiche Ornament schon massiger gezeichnet und mit dem Fond dem Flächenausmass nach so ausgewogen, dass das Auge oft zu zweifeln versucht ist, ob es in der Zeichnung noch die Schmuckform sehen darf. Aehnliches kann beim Goldschmidt-Teppich gesagt werden, den wir aus der Abbildung allein der rotgrundigen Gruppe zuzuweisen nicht gewagt haben. Bei II, 4 ist diese Doppelsinnigkeit in geradezu bewunderswerter Weise erreicht. Die Zeichnung ist in ihrer Subtilität ganz als solche

geblieben, der Fond ist ganz zum Bandornament geworden. Bei II, 3, in den Oktagonen der Seitenfelder, ist diese Reziprozität nicht angestrebt, das Motiv noch zeichnerisch, die Raumbefüllung ohne grosses Feingefühl; in den Eckoktagonen des Mittelfelds in einer Variante gegeben, wieder rein zeichnerisch, und von höchster Qualität. Bei I, 9 rein zeichnerisch und verständlich, stark geometrisiert. Weniger klar und noch eckiger bei I, 1. Es kommt dann zum Ueberbetonen der diagonalen Stäbe durch Einfügung einer Bandverschlingung, I, 6 und I, 7, und, bei gleichzeitigem Schwinden des Wissens um das Wesen der ursprünglichen Form, bei I, 10.

Eines der interessantesten Motive der Damaskusgruppe ist das Palmmotiv, dem Riefstahl, für II, 4, einen Artikel gewidmet hat. (Die Auswertung dieses Motivs für die Lokalisierung nach Aegypten scheint uns ebensowenig berechtigt, wie es z.B. die des Buckelrindes für die nach Indien ware; siehe *Ztschr. f. b. K.*, 1929–30, S. 251 u. 256.) Zusammen mit Zypressen wie hier findet es sich noch bei I, 4 und 5 und, friesbildend, mit zwischen Palmen und Zypressen eingeschobenen zarten Stauden, auf II, 3.

Die einerseits I, resp. II und andererseits III verbindenden Motive wurden schon erwähnt. Beziehungen von I, II und III zu anderen *Teppichgruppen* verraten folgende Motive:

1.) Von II zu dem wundervoll gezeichneten (eckenreinen!) Teppich Williams, der die Verbindung zu den Teppichen mit dem "grösseren Holbeinmuster" herstellt (Erdmann, *A.i.A.*, 1930–31, Fig. 8; Kühnel, *Berliner Museen*, 1930, S. 143, Abb. 5): die Motive: MZ 26 in II, 3, hier in etwas üppigerer Form, ferner das Motiv: MZ 14 und das Zypressenmotiv: MZ 20, hier mit subtil ausgeführtem Wipfel. Kühnel bezeichnet (*a.a.O.*, S. 143) diese Formen als "Lanzettblätter (Zypressen)." Hierbei ist wohl die nicht anders als Wurzel zu deutende gabelartige Bildung der Beachtung Kühnells entgangen, wie auch die Darstellungen von Zypressen in zahllosen Miniaturen, auch Teppichen und anderen Textilien seinem Gedächtnis gerade nicht gegenwärtig gewesen zu sein scheinen.

2.) Die Ranke: MZ 27 in II, 2, die sich ähnlich beim Teppich II, 7 (Lessing, 6–8) und höchst bemerkenswerterweise bei I, 10 findet, ist am ähnlichsten der bei IV, 7: MZ 28 und ist u.E. aus zwei einander überschneidenden Ranken, einer arabesken und einer floralen, entstanden. Am nächsten verwandt die bei dem als Konia "bezeichneten kleinasiatischen Teppich, Wulff, Pl. 16; nahe verwandt die bei dem M. Stern-USchak: Schmutzler, *Altorientalische Teppiche in Siebenbürgen* (Tafel 14): MZ 29. Sie kommt ferner vor bei den Medaillon-USchaks: Teppich Tucher; *B-K* (3 Aufl., Abb. 72), Teppich Wulff, *Katalog* (Pl. 6). Die Urform bei nordpersischen Teppichen: *OT*, XXI, 41 (Schwarzenberg) und vor allem: Martin (*a.a.O.*, Pl. II): MZ 30.

3.) Zu der USchakgruppe brückt von I, 4, das Motiv: MZ 31, das sich ähnlich auch bei II, 1 und 4 findet. Es hat dort die Form: MZ 32, beim Teppich *FC* (Pl. XI), eine ähnliche beim Teppich Hawley, *Oriental Rugs* (Pl. 22).

4.) Die Ranke bei II, 6: MZ 33, ist ähnlich der beim "Holbein" *B-K* (3 Aufl., Abb. 86), und dem Holbein (Oktagonotypus) De Végh-Layer (*Tapis Turcs*, Pl. I).

5.) Die intermittierende Arabeskranke mit der aus einer Bandverschlingung entstande-

nen Rosette bei III, 2: MZ 34, findet sich sehr häufig bei kleinasiatischen Teppichen wieder, so bei dem mit III nahe verwandten Stück, Martin (*a.a.O.*, Fig. 281), beim uschakartigen Teppich (ebenda, Fig. 283), bei dem kleinasiatischen Medaillonteppeich, *Tapis Turcs* (Pl. X), bei dem "Bergama," Jacoby (*a.a.O.*, Tafel 27), bei den Holbein-Teppichen (Arabesktypus); Kühnel (*Kunstwelt*, III, Abb. 16 auf S. 454); Jacoby (*a.a.O.*, Abb. 83); Schmutzler (*a.a.O.*, Tafeln 16, 18 und 19); *Ausst. Kunstgew. Mus. Budapest* (1935, Tafel II, Nr. 3); ferner Wulff (Pl. 10), bez. "Holbein," u.a., bei dem Vogelteppich "Orientteppiche" (Bilderh. 3), Nr. 44.

6.) Die reziprok feldteilende, in nordpersischen Teppichen so häufige Arabeskanke in der Bordüre von III, 1, 3 und 6, kombiniert mit einer rudimentären intermittierenden Blütenranke, findet sich ähnlich bei den sog. kleinasiatischen Medaillonteppeichen, ferner bei Ushaks, vor allem: Pope (*a.a.O.*, Nr. 42).

7.) Auf das "Vogelmotiv" als Bindeglied haben schon Riegl (*OT*, S. 14), und Erdmann (*Kunstwanderer*, 1930-31, S. 198), aufmerksam gemacht. Es ist verwendet einerseits bei III, 1, 3 und 6: MZ 35, andererseits bei IV, 6, bei den wahrscheinlich derselben Untergruppe zuzurechnenden Teppichen *OT*, LXVIII, 86 und *OT*, XV, 19; und Guiffrey (*a.a.O.*, Pl. I) ferner bei den Stücken der feineren Hofklasse: *AOT* I, 58-59, und Lessing, Vorbilderhefte (Heft 13, Tafel 10); ferner Pope (*a.a.O.*, Nr. 37). Es bildet bekanntlich nicht nur den Hauptschmuck der kleinasiatischen sog. Vogelteppiche, sondern ist auch beim Gartenteppich Neugebauer und Troll (*Hdb.*, Tafel 14), ferner in einer nordpersischen Stickerei des Victoria and Albert Museum, "Persian Art" (Souvenir der Londoner Ausstellung, 1931, S. 85), zu finden.

8.) Die S-Ranke, für zwei Teppiche von II erwähnt, findet sich bei den Teppichen der feineren Hofklasse: *AOT* I, 56 (teils im Sinne der intermittierenden Ranke, teils gleichgerichtet), *AOT* I, 57 (intermittierend), ferner bei dem wohl dieser Gruppe zugehörigen Stück *AOT* XXV, 28), beim Gebetteppich der Ballard Collection, Dilley (*a.a.O.*, Pl. XLIX), und dem Fragment des Gebetteppichs im Kunstgewerbemuseum Budapest, *Tapis Turcs* (Pl. XX). Sie ist ferner zu sehen bei den Holbeinteppeichen (Arabesktypus): Pope (*a.a.O.*, Nr. 40); Schmutzler (*a.a.O.*, Tafel 18), und beim Ghjordesteppeich des ÖM, 8372 T.

9.) Eine S-Ranke mit dazwischen gefügten Quadraten, III, 5: MZ 37 kommt ähnlich vor beim Holbein des Oktogontypus: Pope (*a.a.O.*, Nr. 41); *Tapis Turcs* (Pl. II), und Dilley (*a.a.O.*, Pl. XXXIX), beiden Ushaks: dem des ÖM, 5684 und 6728 T, ferner *B-K* (3 Aufl., Abb. 72).

10.) Der Flechtstern bei III, 5: MZ 38, der so typisch für III ist—Flechsterne sonst noch bei II, 2: MZ 39, 3, 7 und 8—findet sich sehr ähnlich beim Teppich "aus dem Inneren Kleinasiens, 18.-19. Jhd." bei Jacoby (*a.a.O.*, Tafel 29).

11.) Geflochtene Oktogone, wie bei I, 10: MZ 40 oder bei I, 2 sind ähnlich anzutreffen bei den Holbeinteppeichen des Oktogontyps, z.B. *Tapis Turcs* (Pl. I: MZ 41).

12.) Zypressen im Wechsel mit Stauden, friesartig verwendet, bei II nicht selten, bei III immer, sind in naturnäherer Gestalt auf Gartenteppichen und Baumteppichen wiederzufinden. Für erstere siehe Hawley (Pl. VI: MZ 42), Dilley (Pl. VII); *HC* (Pl. 2); *Katalog, Ausst.*

Krakau, 1934, Nr. 2; Pope (a.a.O., No. 5); für letztere Martin (a.a.O., Fig. 208). Ein gutes Beispiel ist ferner die Bordüre des Rankenteppichs Schwarzenberg, ebenda, Fig. 202.

13.) Das omegaartige Wolkenband, wie erwähnt, für drei Teppiche der rotgrundigen Untergruppe festgestellt, ist bekanntlich ein bei kleinasiatischen Teppichen der nachklassischen Zeit beliebter Bordürenschnmuck: bei Uschaks, Holbeins des Arabeskentypus, sog. kleinasiatischen Medaillonteppeichen, Tschintamani- und Vogelteppichen und hat seine feiner gezeichneten Vorbilder in persischen Teppichen der Blütezeit.



FIG. II—TAFEL MIT TEPPICHMOTIVEN

WHAT WAS THE BADI' SCRIPT?

BY ERIC SCHROEDER

MANUSCRIPTS IN THE BOSTON MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS*

FROM TIME TO TIME PAGES OF A SINGULARLY BEAUTIFUL SCRIPT HAVE BEEN PUBLISHED, under a variety of appellations; "late Kūfic," "flowering Kūfic," or "East Persian Kūfic" represent the current attributions. The script has been placed in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, derived most often from Persia, but on occasion credited to Cairo. If it were only an *écriture de fantaisie* of the same order as the Manāshir, Badr al-Kamāl, and Hilālī hands, its neglect, in the history of calligraphy, might be accounted a blessing, for there are already known scores of styles whose differentiation is tediously minute. But the style of these pages must rank very high among the Arabic scripts, and may even bid fair to be accounted the most handsome version of the Arabic alphabet ever invented.

It was never executed with the precision of the great round scripts, although its associated illuminations mark the high artistic importance of some surviving examples. Instead of smooth perfection and unvarying virtuosity, this style embodies a tendency in Persian or Arabic calligraphy which was abandoned in the twelfth century, and whose disappearance at the same time in other arts (notably architecture and ceramics) is symptomatic of the Persian *Zeitgeist* before the breakup of the Seldjūq empire. It is a tendency to express dynamic concepts in very strong and even violent forms.

Of the pages which have been published perhaps the finest is a leaf in the Chester Beatty collection exhibited at the Cairo exposition of Persian art, 1935,¹ containing the Sūra "al-Dahā" (No. XCIII), first four verses, with heading. The page which once faced this, containing the rest of the sūra and the heading to Sūra XCIV, is in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. The dynamics of the design will be discussed later, along with the Boston Sūra "Ṭā-Hā." For the moment it is perhaps more important to establish its historical setting. Among other published examples are a page in the Toledo Museum of Art² perhaps from the same manuscript as the Cairo and Boston pages, a page in the Berlin Staatliche Museen,³ and a *Kur'ān* by Abū-Bekr of Ghazna written in or about 566 H. (1170-71 A.D.).⁴ Similar styles have been published from the Ambrosian Library at Milan,⁵ dated Shawwāl 418 H. (1027 A.D.),

* All photographs (with the exception of the right half of Figure 8, which I owe to the kindness of Mr. Chester Beatty) are by courtesy of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy published and discussed briefly folio 19.792 in "Arabic and Turkish Calligraphy," *Boston Mus. Fine Arts Bull.*, XXVII, 1929, pp. 50-56, and folio 20.588 in "Leaf of a Koran," *Boston Mus. Fine Arts Bull.*, XVIII, 1920, pp. 52-53.

¹ G. Wiet, *Exposition d'art persan*, Cairo, 1935, Pl. 72, p. 214. Its connection with the Boston leaf was first observed by Dr. Richard Ettinghausen.

² M. Ziauddin, "Moslem Calligraphy," *Visva Bharati*

Quarterly, I, Pt. IV, 1936, p. 95.

³ E. Kühnel, *Islamische Kleinkunst*, Berlin, 1925, p. 28, Abb. 4.

⁴ Reproduced by B. Moritz, "Arabia," *Encycl. Islam*, Leyden-London, 1913, Pl. V. I refer to the smaller hand, which is Badi'. The larger, on a decorated ground, is in genuine tall Kūfic. The *Kur'ān* is in the Royal Egyptian Library.

⁵ E. Griffini, "Die jungste ambrosianische Sammlung arabischer Handschriften," *Zeitschr. Deutsch. Morgen. Ges.*, LXIX, 1915, p. 63, Taf. III. It is there called "Kufische Schrift der Übergangszeit."

and written by 'Īsā ibn 'Abdallāh ibn Abu 'Abdallāh al-Balkhī, and from the Royal Egyptian Library at Cairo.⁶ A leaf with the script outlined and painted was shown at Munich in 1910.⁷

In these instances the script is called Kūfic, although between it and Kūfic there are critical differences. The most salient of these are the inclination of the "solar letters" (*bā, tā, sīn*, etc.) and the extensive use of a thin line made with a light sideways stroke of the pen. This light line, used for the arms of *ṭā* and *kāf*, and the tails of *rā, mīm, nūn*, and *yā* in the earliest examples, is used also for *hā, sīn, lām*, and *alif*, later. It is never used in Kūfic,⁸ which continued in use, as Abū Bekr of Ghazna's manuscript shows, alongside the new script. It is proposed to call this new script Badi', and it is hoped that the reasons for its identification with that lost writing will appear sufficient as we proceed.

The Boston Museum of Fine Arts is fortunate in possessing a very representative series of Qur'ānic leaves in this style, well distributed in time. One of them (20-884; *Figs. 6, 7*) is an almost complete transcript of the long twentieth Sūra "Ṭā-hā," ending with a colophon, of which various words have been damaged, and one at least rewritten unintelligibly (*Fig. 9*). The colophon runs: "And Shaikh Muḥammad ibn Mas'ūd (Allāh receive him) said 'Verily the section is of the writing of 'Uṭhmān ibn 'Afān (Allāh receive him). Asāmat ibn Zaid, (Allāh receive him) gave it to me,' And it had come to him from Asāmat ibn Zaid, and [to him from] 'Alī ibn Shahāb ibn Mādjit, and it had come to him from Aḥmad ibn Shuraiḥ(?)⁹ the Judge in Baṣra,¹⁰ and it had come to him from 'Alī ibn Shahār al-Halū the Judge in Khaira.¹¹ And Allāh gives success to prayers, and Allāh is that to which we return and in which we have our center." It is necessary to consider the Ḥīra or Khaira mentioned as the town in Fārs, not the better known Lakhmid capital, since Kūfa absorbed the population of the latter in the ninth century,¹² and it can hardly have needed a judge in the tenth or eleventh. 'Uṭhmān ibn 'Afān was a theologian of the early tenth century A.D., who worked in 'Irāq.¹³ His master was Al-Mughīrah ibn Abū Shahāb, who died in 318 H.¹⁴

The colophon, unfortunately, cannot be received as a dispensation. The style of illumination in the manuscript forbids its attribution to the early tenth century; and we must there-

⁶ B. Moritz, *Arabic Palaeography*, Cairo, 1905, Pl. 85.

⁷ F. Sarre and F. Martin, *Meisterwerke Muhammadanischer Kunst*, Munich, 1912, I, Taf. 7. The Bodleian Library possesses a Qur'ān in beautiful late Badi' of which a page was illustrated in the *Friends of the Bodleian, Report*, 1926, Pl. I.

⁸ A neat illustration of the difference between rudimentary Badi' (or 'Adjamī) and a Kūfic of similar proportions is to be found on two contemporary pages. B. Moritz, *op. cit.*, Pl. 45, upper (Badi' or 'Adjamī), Pl. 45, lower (Kūfic).

⁹ F. J. Steingass, *Arabic-English Dictionary*, London, 1884, gives a judge of this name whom I have not been able to identify. It fits the colophon scrawl, though the meaning is a singular one.

¹⁰ The word is much damaged and rewritten. At present it appears to be البصرة

¹¹ Or Ḥīra? P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, Leipzig, 1929, p. 191. G. Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge, 1930, p. 290.

¹² The silence of geographers was explained by the discoveries of Mr. Reitlinger's Oxford excavations. No coins later than the eighth century appeared in the ruins, to give a date of occupation later than 800 A.D. D. Talbot Rice, "The Oxford Excavations at Ḥīra," *Ars Islamica*, I, Pt. I, 1934, pp. 51 ff.

¹³ *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, ed. G. Flügel, II, Leipzig, 1872, p. 24. The Caliph can hardly be intended.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, note, p. 29.

fore reject the opinion of Shaikh Muḥammad ibn Mas'ūd (Allāh receive him!). But since he was presumably quoted as an authority it may be assumed that he had some reason for his mistake; this reason can only be that he associated the script with the early tenth century, and with 'Irāk, perhaps with the Ikhwānu'l-Ṣafā, of whom 'Uḥmān was one. Three of the five brethren of this fraternity named by Shahrazūrī being Persian,¹⁵ and their labors blessed by the Buwaihids, it would have been very likely that a piece of their calligraphy should be found in Fārs, where, if we may trust the colophon in its more credible part, the pages were, about a century before a later owner transcribed Shaikh Muḥammad's opinion.

'Uḥmān does not appear to have been well known as a calligrapher, and since the highly eclectic Persian memory rapidly eliminates authors, heroes, and artists of second rank in its attributions, the colophon (which looks old enough) cannot be dated too late. It may perhaps have been written in the late Seldjūq period,¹⁶ and the manuscript, if Persian, was probably in Fārs at the beginning of that period. The question now arises: what was Shaikh Muḥammad thinking of?

The early tenth century was a period of revolution in hieratic calligraphy, of which rumors reach us confusedly from two sides. In the first place there appear to be no certain Qur'āns from the fourth century of the Hidjra;¹⁷ and after the lacuna dated Qur'āns appear in round scripts.¹⁸ In the second place, it was the period of the celebrated Ibn Muḥla. He began his career as governor in Fārs. Of him it is recorded that he entirely abolished Kūfic in favor of Naskhī.¹⁹ Since round scripts were used for profane writing, in the preceding period, his reformation must have been in Qur'ānic writing. No leaves of Naskhī Qur'āns which could by any possibility be attributed to the tenth century have survived, and the authority for this statement²⁰ is late enough to be confused.

Ibn Muḥla is credited with two other inventions. He invented a geometrical control to regulate writing (a circle, in which the letters were inscribed, rather than the rectangle of later authorities, is supposed to have been his system);²¹ and he invented the Badī' script. What that was is nowhere plain. The word means "new" or "marvelous," but the Oriental authorities who laud Ibn Muḥla to the skies for inventing the script do not evince any knowledge of what it may be.²² After Ibn Muḥla, "Ali ibn Hilāl known as Ibn al-Bawwāb became conspicuous. And he gave a definitive form to the rules of Badī' script in a final arrangement of its

¹⁵ E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, London, 1909, I, p. 293.

¹⁶ It is on the back of an unfinished leaf of the Djuz', in a hand unequal to but apparently contemporary with the main part.

¹⁷ Moritz, "Arabia,"

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 388. Qur'āns of 427 H. (Brit. Mus. Cat., II, p. 53) and 499 H. (Cairo).

¹⁹ C. Huart, *Les Calligraphes et les Miniaturistes de l'Orient musulmane*, Paris, 1908, pp. 74-75.

²⁰ Mirzā Habīb, *Khatt wa Khattātīn*, Constantinople, 1889, p. 38. His sources are from the sixteenth century.

²¹ Huart, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

²² Haft Ḳalamī, who appears to follow Ḥādjdjī Khalifa (ed. G. Flügel, Leipzig, 1835-58, III, pp. 150-153) writes that "Ibn Muḥla was the first person to invent and practise the rules of the Badī' script. Therefore the name of his excellence is in the circle of life, so that the skirts of his immortality are infinite," *Tadhkirah-i Khūshnavīsān*, ed. Muḥammad Hidāyat Ḥusain, Calcutta, 1910, p. 23.

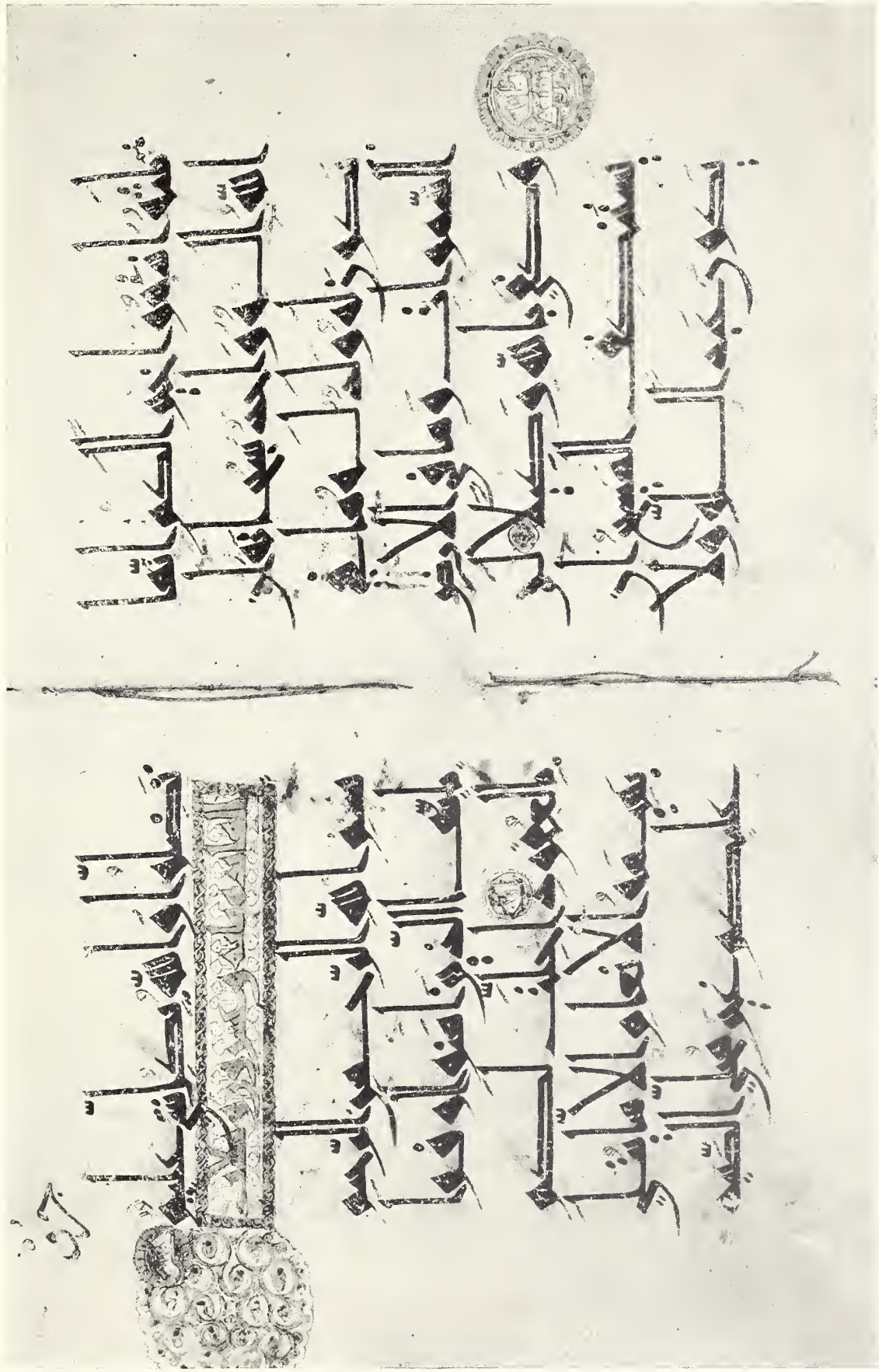


FIG. 1.—*K̄itr'ān* PAGES, SŪRA OF THE "TABLE SPREAD," EARLY FOURTH CENTURY, BADI' (?), BOSTON, MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS



FIG. 6—*Qur'ân* PAGES, SŪRA "TĀ-HĀ." VERSES 105-107, BOSTON, MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

perfections. He died in the year 413 H. In the past never was a person found to surpass or equal him in respect of arrangement and design, and the fresh fluency of the pen. However, Ibn Muḳla was the first inventor of this form."²³ It is plain from Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa's list that Badī' ranked as a major style; it is placed by him between Kūfic and Naskhī.²⁴ The *Fihrist*, a much earlier authority, says of Ibn Muḳla and his brother, a scarcely less celebrated calligrapher, that they wrote according to the chirography of their father, Muḳla.²⁵

A difficulty in the identification proposed is the lack of any mention of Badī' in the *Fihrist*, a difficulty at first sight conclusive, since the *Fihrist's* catalogue of hieratic scripts is very full. It is plain that the various scripts which we call indiscriminately "Kūfic" were at that time well differentiated and named. After giving fifteen names, of which Kūfī is an undistinguished one, the *Fihrist* mentions "Ḳīrāmūzī, and from that is developed 'Adjamī and in that style they write *Hadīth* and *Ḳur'āns*, and it is in a certain sense the same as Nāsirī and Mudūr."²⁶ *Ḳīrāmūzī* is apparently a Persian word, meaning "the pitch-black learned script," and is so-called in distinction from the very light Persian secular script of the time.²⁷ 'Adjamī, of course, means "Persian"; and the passage implies that it was the regular hieratic script of the tenth century. Ibn Muḳla must have written script in an individualized style, since it is referred to by the encyclopedist in two places²⁸ simply as "the writing of Ibn Muḳla." The name Badī' must have been given when the style was regularized by Ibn al-Bawwāb. It would therefore be more accurate to call the tenth century hieratic script 'Adjamī and its eleventh century form Badī'.

These traditions can be twisted into coherence, on the supposition that in the early tenth century Ibn Muḳla developed certain tendencies of the Persian Kūfic of his time into a new script, which he called Badī'. He abolished the old long Kūfic in favor of Badī', as a hieratic style, which reached its perfection in the early eleventh century, the *floruit* of Ibn al-Bawwāb, and was replaced by Naskhī under the Seldjūks. Historically, therefore, Badī' was the script par excellence of the Buwaihid régime.

The pages of the accompanying illustrations fit chronologically with absolute precision. For dating, since the script itself is the point in dispute,²⁹ we must have recourse to the illuminations and materials, which did not make the same abrupt change but evolved naturally. It will be seen that the materials and illumination of the earliest of these manuscripts are indistinguishable from those of true Kūfic *Ḳur'āns* of the late third or early fourth century of

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *op. cit.*, III, p. 151.

²⁵ *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, ed. cit., II, p. 9.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 7. Is Nāsirī a mistake for Baṣrī?

²⁷ D. S. Margoliouth, "Early Documents in the Persian Language," *Journ. Royal Asiat. Soc.*, 1903, p. 761; illus. opposite p. 770.

²⁸ *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, ed. cit., II, p. 42, note 7.

²⁹ Even the script cannot be disputed on the score of its elongated proportions. The very elongated Kūfic of a

third-century *Ḳur'ān*, Moritz, *Arabic Palaeography*, Pl. 44, a textile from Fārs formerly in the Elsberg collection dated 305 H., A. R. Guest, "Further Arabic Inscriptions on Textiles," *Journ. Royal Asiat. Soc.*, 1931, pp. 130-131, and even more striking, an inscription at Antinoë (a place known in pre-Islamic times as a diffusion center of Persian influence) which is dated 117 H., Moritz., *op. cit.*, Pls. 108-110, settle the question. It is a Persian instinct to attenuate the forms they borrow (the Hellenistic column, the arabesque, etc.).

the Hidjra. The illuminations of the later manuscripts are similar to those of dated Seldjūk *Ḳur'āns*.

The Boston sūra of the "Table Spread" (No. XXX:4, *Fig. 1*) is on parchment, like the *Ḳur'āns* of the third century. The vowel marks (in red) are complete and mature, and are executed in so inferior an ink that they can hardly be accounted contemporary with the writing. The diacritical system is somewhat archaic (cf. *infra*). The sūra heading is on a narrow tabula, drawn in brown ink and partly filled with gold. The *ansa* consists of gold scrolls drawn directly on the vellum without a ground, for which there are abundant early parallels, and, outside the Maghrib, no late ones.³⁰ The simple plaited border is a common early and late device; its form in this leaf resembles the earlier in a certain careless roundness. The "peacock" units of the top of the *ansa*, and of the margin-rondel border have second- and third-century parallels.³¹ The hatched background of the sūra title, however, with its small lined leaves, is more easily paralleled in later³² than in earlier illuminations, although earlier luster painting³³ contains similar devices in its repertoire, and the later parallels are not simply hatched, but crosshatched. (We are therefore perhaps near the beginning of the usage.)

In the fourth century H. parchment gave place to paper. The latter was certainly a familiar alternative at the very beginning of the century,³⁴ and it is to such an early period that we may perhaps refer the Boston leaves 19.780 (*Fig. 2*). If the writing is similar to that of the sūra of the "Table Spread," it is far less powerful. The diacritical and vowel systems are archaic, and the verse-points are of an extremely odd form, reminiscent of the magical or decorative twists on the joints of Central Asiatic bronzes.³⁵

In the sūra of the "Criterion" (Sūra XXV. Boston leaf 27.565, *Fig. 3*) although the diacritical system is almost mature, the illumination is unmistakably archaic. The sūra heading is in black-outlined gold, without tabula, and is almost exactly like that of a third- or fourth-century H. example,³⁶ even to the open *'ain*.

The sūra of the "Tidings" (Sūra LXXVIII. Boston 19.792, *Fig. 4*) and the leaf 29.126 (*Fig. 5*) are similarly beautiful but hardly regularized scripts. In the illuminations of the former, a greater solidity in the rondels, and the rectangular label opposite the heading of Sūra LXXVIII, a greater excitability in the blue outline of the vase-shaped five-verse marks and sūra mark, and a richness of color given by putting washes of green and red over the solid gold

³⁰ Moritz, *op. cit.*, Pls. 3, 4, 5, show early examples. A much closer example, however, is Pl. 41, of the third century H.

³¹ *Ibid.*, Pl. 31, *ansa*. For the strap-border cf. Pl. 35.

³² Cf. Boston Sūra "Ṭā-Hā." Also Sarre and Martin, *op. cit.*, I, Taf. 7.

³³ F. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, *Die Keramik von Samarra*, "Ausgrabungen von Samarra," II, Berlin, 1925, Taf. XIII, 2.

³⁴ Mas'ūdī at Iṣṭakhr in 303 H. could not tell whether the Sassanian portrait-book was on parchment or on very

beautiful paper; cf. H. H. Schaeder, "Über das Bilderbuch der Sasaniden-Könige," *Jhrb. d. Pr. Kunstsrg.* LVII, Hft. IV, 1936, p. 232. The whole question of paper origins is dealt with by A. F. R. Hoernle, "Who was the Inventor of Rag Paper?," *Journ. R. As. Soc.*, 1903, pp. 663 ff. Second-century paper is common.

³⁵ E.g. A. Salmony, *Sino-Siberian Art in the Collection of C. T. Loo*, Paris, 1933, Pls. XI (4), XIV (5), XIX (10).

³⁶ Moritz, *op. cit.*, Pl. 45, lower.

ground to detach the elements of the design, all signify the evolution of style toward the glories of the Seldjūk period.³⁷

The influence of 'Adjamī or Badī' on other styles is demonstrated by Figure 5. It appears to represent a variation of Kūfic (ṭā, kāl, final mīm) but final nūn and yā show the influence of the newer script. The illuminations suggest an Egyptian provenance.

The approach to the Seldjūk illumination style is even more marked in the splendid pages of the Boston Sūra "Ṭā-Hā" and the Chester Beatty and Boston leaves of the sūra of the "Morning Hours" (Boston 20.884, *Figs. 6, 7*, and Boston 20.588, *Fig. 8*, left, respectively). Of the two, the long Sūra "Ṭā-Hā" may be slightly earlier,³⁸ but they can be treated together.

If the illuminations are analyzed, it will be seen that these pages combine elements from known 'Abbāsīd and Seldjūk decoration. The general proportions of the sūra headings are less refined than those of the Philadelphia *Ḳur'ān*, dated 559 H. (1164 A.D.), and the pages have a curious capricious boldness, got by throwing large uncompromising forms into crowded space, which marks their kinship with the earlier Kūfic rather than with the Mongol *Ḳur'āns*. The character of the foliation at first sight recalls that of known later miniature illumination,³⁹ rather than that of the Philadelphia *Ḳur'ān*. A critical detail indicates decisively that these illuminations must belong to a period earlier than either. In no instance, not even in the dense elaboration of the sūra heading of "Morning Hours," does a secondary scroll lie behind the main arabesque unit, nor does so much as a bud or tendril ever cross or interlace with another stem. These tricks occur even on archaistic foliation of the thirteenth century in Mesopotamia.⁴⁰ If the Badī pages were written in Persia they can hardly be put later than the inscription of *Khargīrd*,⁴¹ and should probably be put considerably earlier than the *Ālp Arslān Salver* of 459 H. (1066-67 A.D.), on which the interlacings seem almost to develop a secondary pattern fitfully distinct from the stronger stems.⁴²

Indeed, if the illumination of fine manuscripts is actually a part of the style of their time and place, so that plasterers, illuminators, and draftsmen may be counted on to express things in the same way, and if the place of these pages be Persia, then the time must be the early part of the eleventh century. If the place be 'Irāq, it might conceivably be later, although it is only our ignorance which permits doubt to extend further in that quarter. The well-known 'Irāqī manuscript of *Ya-ḳūt al-Musta'ṣimī*, illuminated in the late seventh cen-

³⁷ R. Ettinghausen has published the finest Seldjūk *Ḳur'ān* hitherto discovered. It is in Philadelphia in the University Museum, "A Signed and Dated Seljuq Qur'an," *Bull. Amer. Inst. Persian Art and Archaeol.*, IV, No. 2, 1935, pp. 92 ff.

³⁸ It contains no round script, whereas the title of Sūra XCIV on the reverse of the Boston leaf of "Morning Hours" is in round script; also the title of "Morning Hours" has corner spandrels with a very minute guard-stripe. For a late twelfth-century parallel, cf. Ettinghausen, *ibid.*, p. 100, *Figs. d* and *f*.

³⁹ E.g. 1222 A.D. Hariri MS. and "Schefer" Hariri MS. E. Blochet, *Les Enluminures des Manuscrits orientaux*, Paris, 1926, Pls. IV, V, X, XI, XIII.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, Pl. X.

⁴¹ H. Glück and E. Diez, *Die Kunst des Islam*, Berlin, 1925, p. 292.

⁴² A. K. Coomaraswamy, "An Eleventh Century Silver Salver," *Boston Mus. Fine Arts Bull.*, XXXII, No. 192, 1934, p. 58.

ture,⁴³ is more akin in style to Sulṭān-ābād pottery of the eighth; and Persian *Ḳur'āns* of the sixth⁴⁴ and early eighth⁴⁵ centuries show that illumination was abreast or even ahead of the other branches of decorative art. Style, in this large sense, lagged in *Khūrāsān* and the east during the Seldjūḳ period; hence perhaps we have the conservative illumination and script of the *Ḳur'ān* of Abū Bekr of *Ghazna*.⁴⁶

Other elements, besides the foliate scrolls, common to these *Badī'* pages and the illumination of early pages are a border of compressed undulations, used on a ten-verse mark in *Sūra* "Ṭā-Hā" and also on a third-century *Kūfic Ḳur'ān*,⁴⁷ the border composed of lines and dots like long-tailed commas, common to many *Badī'* verse marks and perhaps characteristic with the style, which occurs as a border element in the third century.⁴⁸

To summarize the information conveyed by these illuminations is to realize that we have here a script beginning in the early fourth century, distinct from the *Kūfic* of its own time, a script which reached its mature form in the early fifth century, and was still in occasional use in the middle sixth century.⁴⁹ It was a script which, in the east, replaced *Kūfic* with mysterious suddenness, although the latter was still used for architectural epigraphy and occasionally in *Kūr'ānic* *sūra* titles and ceremonial pages. Its invention therefore was during the *floruit* of Ibn Muḳla, its perfection during the *floruit* of Ibn Bawwāb. It replaced *Kūfic*, and gave way to *Naskhī*. It can only be *Badī'*.

The contagion of contemporary *Kūfic* produced sad disfigurements in this noble style. During the sixth century it was twisted and blistered with embellishments (*Fig. 9*); *ṣād*, *ṭā*, and *kāf* are the worst sufferers. The script of the Cairo sixth-century Persian *Ḳur'ān* shows less blatant but still unmistakable signs of degeneration.⁵⁰

CHARACTER OF *BADĪ'*

Badī' represents a reaction of energy and eccentricity against the solemn monumentality of *Kūfic*. What *Kūfic* had intoned, *Badī'* uttered with dramatic emphasis. To limit its life with similes, and see in those exciting pages the spears, flags, and arrows of a ceremonious battle, the haughty personalities of a great procession, would be to miss the very quality of its greatness. It is like nothing on earth other than itself; and its beauties are so remote from any well-formulated human analogy that to throw words at them is not likely to result in hitting the mark.

The letters are without fluid quality: the eye passes without following them. There

⁴³ Blochet, *op. cit.*, Pl. XVI.

⁴⁴ Ettinghausen, *loc. cit.*

⁴⁵ Sarre and Martin, *op. cit.*, I, Taf. 9. This should be compared with *Kāshī* decoration of the late eighth century.

⁴⁶ Moritz, "Arabia," Pl. V.

⁴⁷ Sarre and Martin, *op. cit.*, I, Taf. 2 upper.

⁴⁸ Moritz, *Arabic Palaeography*, Pl. 45, upper. A much closer parallel is found on a third-fourth century page

belonging to *Khān Rahīmī*.

⁴⁹ The smaller script of Abū Bekr of *Ghazna* is simply a small-scale version of the script of the "Ṭā-Hā" and "Morning Hours" *sūras*. The only difference I can detect is a curved and less archaic initial *'ain*. The Philadelphia *Ḳur'ān* has some *sūra* titles in *Badī'*.

⁵⁰ Moritz, *op. cit.*, Pl. 85. Note especially the corrupt elaborations of the *kāfs* and the meaningless curls on *sīn*, *sād*, and *'ain*.

إِنَّمَا سُبْحَانَكَ اللَّهُمَّ
عَمَّا يُشْرِكُونَ
وَمَا يَكْفُرُ أَكْفَارًا
وَأَن تَكْفُرَ أَكْفَارًا
وَمَا يَكْفُرُ أَكْفَارًا

FIG. 7.—*Qur'ān* PAGE, SŪRA "TĀ-HĀ," VERSE 71, BOSTON, MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

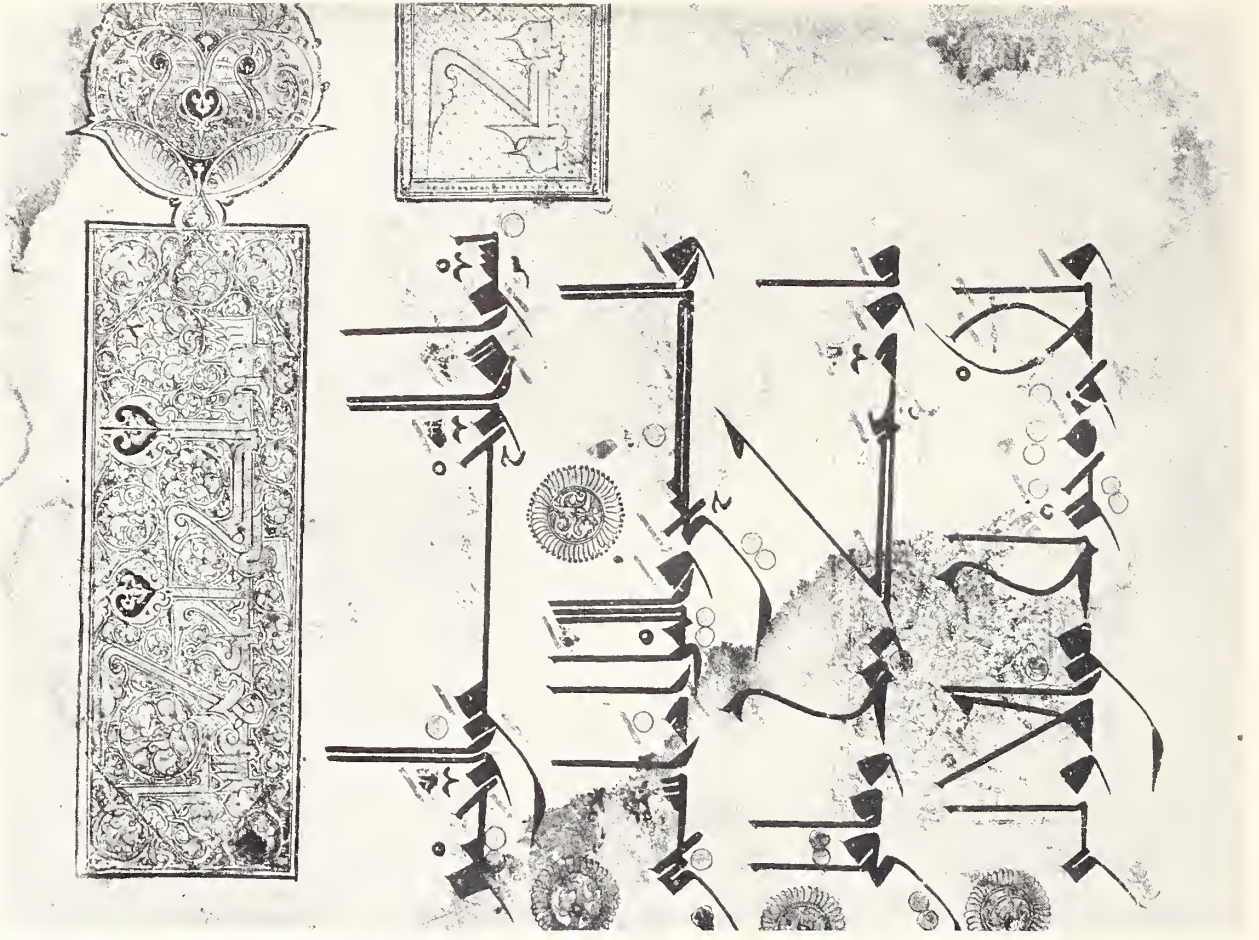
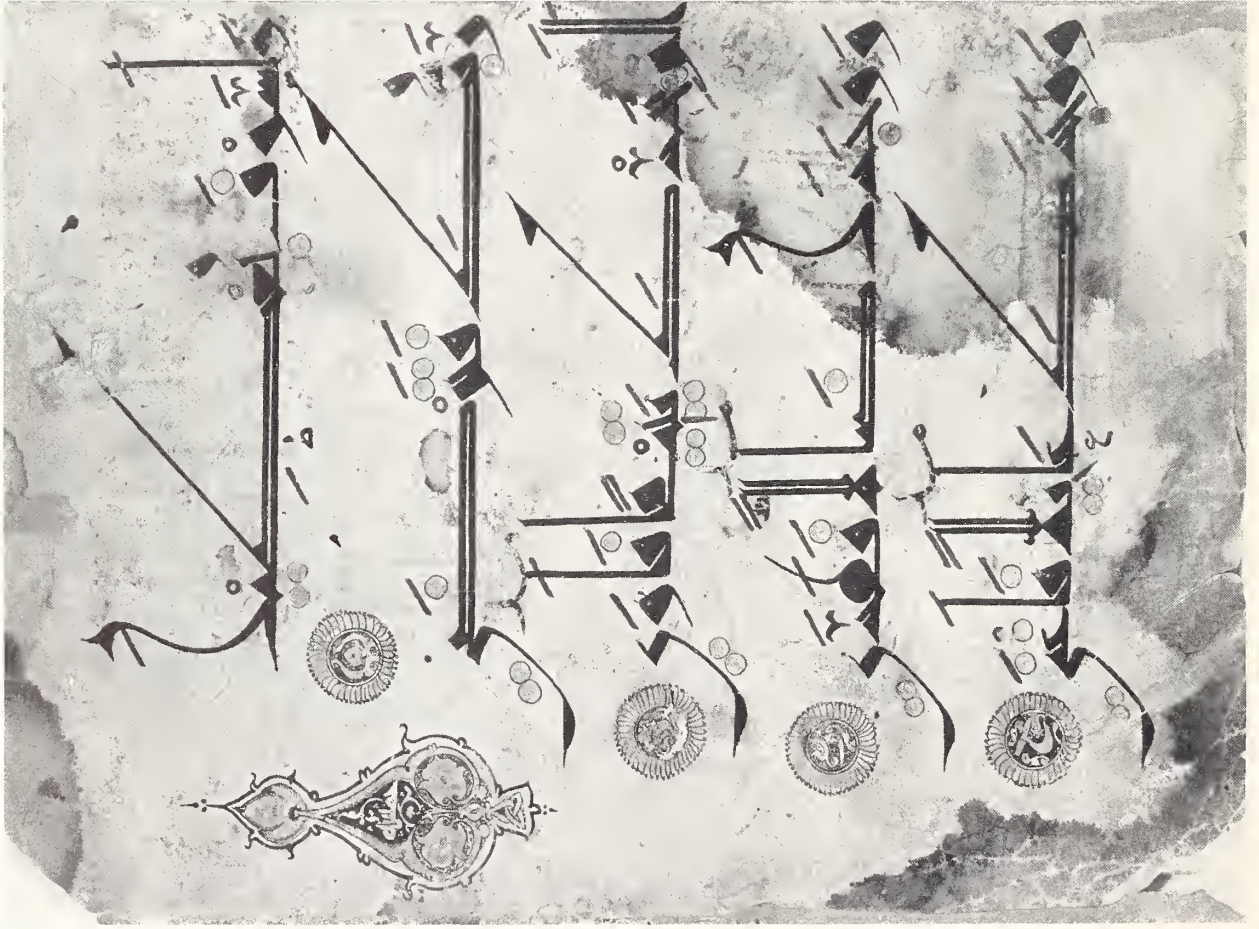


FIG. 8—*Kur'ân* PAGES. LEFT—SŪRA OF THE "MORNING HOURS," BADI' (?), EARLY FIFTH CENTURY (?), BOSTON, MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS. RIGHT—SŪRA OF THE "MORNING HOURS" X. (1)
 BADI' (?), EARLY FIFTH CENTURY, CHESTER BEATTY COLLECTION



FIG. 9—*Kur'ān* PAGE, BOSTON, MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

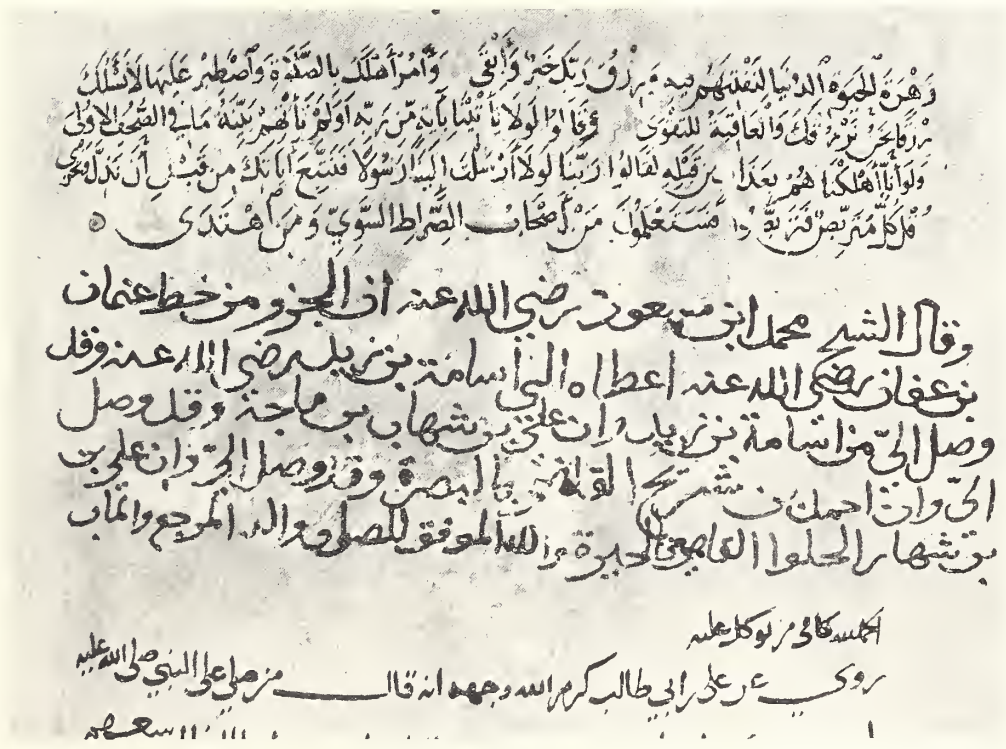


FIG. 11—*Kur'ān* PAGE, COLOPHON OF SŪRA "TĀ-HĀ." BOSTON, MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

appear to be not more than four modes of activity represented: on the line, intensifications, or resistances, and accelerations; standing up from the line, affirmations and brandishings. The diacritical circles appear to be whirling in a planetary movement, in quite different planes from the plane of the letters, whereas the vowel signs shoot toward the line, irrationally but unanimously.

A deliberate and extraordinary usage in Badi', never practiced in any other Arabic script, is its variation, to express by emotional character the emotional charge of the words written. Before describing subtle variations where this histrionic activity might be skeptically denied, I call attention to an evident case, where it cannot.

Verses 105-7 of Sūra "Ṭā-Hā" read:

"They will ask thee of the mountains (on that day). Say: My Lord will break them into scattered dust.

And leave it as an empty plain,

Wherein thou seest neither curve nor ruggedness."⁵¹

The Arabic words here translated "empty plain," *Ḳā'ān ṣafṣafān*, are immensely elongated, and the line occupied (entirely!) by *ṣafṣafān* is quite empty of any vertical incident. The *fā* lies upon the stretching *ṣāds* like a stone on the desert's surface. The initial *ṣād* is 56 mm. long, although the average length of *ṣād* in these pages is under 30 mm., and the letter shrinks occasionally to 17 mm. We have a line of five letters in a manuscript where the average line contains twenty. Obliteration is deliberately represented.

If the calligraphist has deliberately made a flat empty line where the necessary letters permitted him to express directly the flat emptiness of the word's meaning, we are at liberty to see art, not accident, wherever else the writing has a plastic value corresponding to meaning, and, even where the composition is more abstract, to see it as composition.

As histrionic composition I should class the speech of Pharaoh in verse 71, Sūra "Ṭā-Hā." After the contest in which the wizards of Egypt are defeated by Aaron and Moses the former are "flung down prostrate, crying: We believe in the Lord of Aaron and Moses.

[Pharaoh] said: Ye put faith in him before I give you leave. Lo! *he* is your chief, who taught you magic. And *I* now surely shall cut off your hands and your feet alternately, and I shall crucify you on the trunks of palm trees, and ye shall find out which of us gives harder or longer punishment, he or I."

The merciless and snarling speech is written in a series of elongations extraordinarily appropriate (*Fig. 7*).

Allāh's oath "By the Morning Hours! And by the Night!" at the beginning of the other sūra (*Fig. 8*) is also highly pictorial in the open horizon of the lengthened *Dahā* and in the crowded tall darkness of *al-Lail*; but the pages of this sūra are more consciously aesthetic and abstract.

To appreciate the ingenuity of the composition one must first realize the limited varia-

⁵¹ This translation is founded on M. Pickthall, *The Meaning of the Glorious Koran*, New York, 1930.

bility of the script. Like all other Arabic scripts, and like arabesque, its beauty is in the main a beauty of repetitions; and variables are few in number. They may be noted as follows:

Lām-alif has three forms, of which two are "sub-varied."

Sīn has a declining and a level-toothed form.

Ṣād, *ḍād*, *ṭā*, and *ẓā*, and *kāf*, as well as the interlinear base line, are indefinitely extensible. The *ṣād* form varies between 17 and 56 mm., the *ṭā* form between 12 and 44 mm. (115 mm. in the title of the *sūra*!), and *kāf* between 13 and 55 mm.

Kāf has five forms, of which "Morning Hours" uses three.

Final *yā* has its normal projected and refracted forms.

The composition of the "Morning Hours" is asymmetrical, of necessity, not only because nothing can balance the *sūra* heading but because the whole descending right-to-left movement of the inclined vowels, tails, etc., leads to asymmetry. The spacing gives an alternating sense of compression and release. The most potent factors in the design are the four final *yās* on the left, a very visible rhyme, and five carefully arranged *kāfs* in the lower three lines on both pages—three rectilinear *kāfs* forming a triangle into which the two curvilinear *kāfs* are fitted. To carry out elsewhere the centrifugal movement of the final (lower left) corner, a refracted *lām-alif* and a curvilinear *kāf* are used in the lower right and upper left corners. The final centrifugal movement is partly neutralized by the use of the most affirmative and stabilizing form of *lām-alif* in the latter part of the lines. The four uprights immediately before the end have a visual immobility greater than the forces of movement in the preceding *kāf* and subsequent *yā*.

It seems fairly certain that a page of this quality must have been sketched before it was written out. Its principles of alternating violences and strengths produce a kind of drama and demand a peculiarly wakeful and courageous type of artist. The difficulty may account for the disappearance of this script.

It is not easy to give a scientific account of the script's formal character, since its proportions are not exact, and variations in the curved elements are considerable. There seems to be, however, a rough control of the curved elements by means of a circle described with an *alif* as diameter, which encloses final *nūn* and final *yā*, and gives an approximate speed for the curvature of the curvilinear *lām-alifs* and *kāfs*. The angle of incidence of the *kāf*, *ṭā*, and *ẓā* stems, and of the straighter part of final *nūn* and *yā* tails, is plainly meant to be 45 degrees (*Fig. 10*).

That this circle control was the personal invention credited to Ibn Muḳla (to be found in his hand in the early tenth century, but generalized in the eleventh) I suggest without emphasis. It is too variable to be first-class evidence; but the whole of the foregoing identification rests upon indirect evidence, copious though it may be. It may serve, however, to make a little more known an art form of singular beauty, the greatest vehicle of the Islamic Word of God, and perhaps one fruit of the national revival which gave Īrān, in the tenth century, a great dynasty, a great literature, and a great architecture.

EARLY TURKISH TILE REVETMENTS IN EDIRNE*

BY RUDOLF M. RIEFSTAHL

I. TURKISH CERAMIC ART DURING THE PERIOD OF THE EMIRATES

DURING THE SELDJŪK PERIOD, WHICH ENDED ABOUT 1310 A.D., TURKISH CERAMIC ART HAD reached a high state of excellence. Although the art of Anatolia developed differently from that of Persia,¹ there cannot be any doubt that Persian influence played a considerable role in its development.

The period of the Emirates, which covers, roughly speaking, the fourteenth century, is one of political division and inner strife, finally brought to an end by the establishment of Ottoman supremacy. In all fields of art the period is one of scattered effort and of decadence. This is true also of the field of ceramics. Both ceramics applied to architecture and to wheel-turned pottery made for domestic use show symptoms of decadence.

CERAMICS APPLIED TO ARCHITECTURE

The Seldjūk period created important wall decorations in tiles, faïence mosaic, and brick mosaic, and employed the same techniques for the decoration of minarets, cenotaphs, and prayer niches. The Persian luster technique was hardly known, but the so-called *minai*, or "Rhages polychrome" technique was practiced in Asia Minor. The colors employed in Seldjūk ceramics (excluding the richer color scale of the muffle kiln, employed in the *minai* technique) are turquoise blue, cobalt blue, white, manganese purple, and black and, finally, surface gilding. Underglaze painting in cobalt and black under transparent white glaze and black underglaze painting under turquoise or greenish glaze also occur. As a whole, the period shows a great wealth of imagination and creative spontaneity.

The last great mihrāb of Seldjūk tradition is that in the mosque of Birge, dated 712 H. (1312-13 A.D.),² which is executed in faïence mosaic. Another great ensemble, which precedes the mihrāb of Birge by only a few years, is the faïence decoration of the Eshref Oghlū Djāmi' in Beyshehir.³ Then follows a period of darkness; ceramic wall decorations, with the exception of revetments in tiles of plain color, disappear. The shafts of the somewhat heavy minarets of the fourteenth century are characterized by simple geometric patterns executed in brick

* I am greatly indebted to Dr. Richard Ettinghausen for reading this article, helping me in checking the references, and for certain suggestions which have been incorporated in the text.—Elizabeth Riefstahl.

¹ This problem is dealt with in Rudolf M. Riefstahl's "Persian Influence in Seljuk Art," which is to appear in the *Survey of Persian Art*, ed. by A. U. Pope, Oxford Univ. Press.

² Published in Rudolf M. Riefstahl, *Turkish Architec-*

ture in Southwestern Anatolia, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard Univ. Press, 1931, p. 27, Fig. 36 (also published in *Art Studies*, VIII, 1930-31).

³ The mosque itself dates from 697 H. (1297-98 A.D.), I discovered in the octagonal turbeh adjacent to the mosque a ceiling executed in faïence mosaic, which may be qualified as the finest ceramic ensemble in Anatolia. This turbeh is dated 701 H. (1301-02 A.D.).

enameled on one edge. The colors employed are a little more developed than during the Seldjūk period: bottle green and buff are added to turquoise, cobalt, and manganese black.⁴ Faïence-decorated miḥrābs disappear, along with the other refinements of Seldjūk ceramic decorations.

WHEEL-TURNED POTTERY

The picture of Seldjūk wheel-turned pottery is not clear. I cannot ascertain whether or not the luster and *minai* techniques were used for tableware during the Seldjūk period. In the fourteenth century, however, it seems clear that Anatolian ceramic wares hardly went beyond peasant pottery of a type which, as pleasant as the sturdiness of the simple designs may be to modern eyes that yearn toward the primitive, is decidedly crude. The ceramic finds of Miletus are particularly interesting in this connection;⁵ the fragments show a coarse red or buff clay covered with a white slip, which is decorated with simple designs in black and cobalt blue.

It is of course to be anticipated that, even in those days of political decomposition, the rich and powerful used on their tables a somewhat better ware than that represented by the Miletus fragments. I do not hesitate to assume that imports of Chinese porcelain filled the gap. Sarre, through his discoveries in Sāmarrā, has proved that, as early as the ninth century, Chinese porcelaneous stonewares were imported into 'Irāk, then at the height of its power and wealth.⁶ The rubbish heaps of Cairo and Fustāt have yielded fragments of celadon porcelain of the Sung type, which cannot have been imported later than the end of the thirteenth century.⁷ The continuity of these importations in later periods is proved by the enormous collection of Chinese porcelain preserved at Topkapu Sarai in Istanbul.⁸ This collection, which is said to comprise about eight thousand specimens, contains a few pieces of Sung and Yüan celadon, which attest that the beginning of the series must reach at least into the fourteenth century. The prevailing type is blue-and-white of the Ming period and later. It would be erroneous to think that this accumulation of porcelain represents anything other than the remains of the tableware of the court of the Sultans. The Sultans were not "collectors." The

⁴ The minarets of Ulū Djāmi' in Manisa, Ulū Djāmi' in Birge, Yeshil 'Imāret in Tire, and 'Arab Djāmi' in Bergama are characteristic of this type.

⁵ The Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin owns a large collection of Miletus pottery fragments, a survey of which has been published by F. Sarre: "Seljuk and Early Osmanli Pottery of Miletus," *Trans. Oriental Ceramic Soc.*, London, 1930-31, pp. 20 ff. Another quite important series is in the Museum of Ismir (Smyrna) and has been briefly described in Riefstahl, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-71, Figs. 128-29. R. Ettinghausen has called my attention to the following literature pertinent to the subject, which has been published since this article was written: F. Sarre, "Die Keramik der islamischen Zeit von Milet" in K. Wulzinger, P. Wittek and F. Sarre, *Das Islamische Milet* (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Milet...),

hrsg. von Theodor Wiegand, Berlin-Leipzig, 1935, III, Hft. 4, pp. 69-88, Pls. 49-53; R. M. Riefstahl, "Remarks on the Glazed Pottery Fragments found at the Alisar Mound," in H. H. von der Osten . . . , *The Alishar Hüyük. Seasons of 1930-32*, "Oriental Institute Publications," XXX, Pt. 3, pp. 205-09.

⁶ F. Sarre, *Die Keramik von Samarra*, "Die Ausgrabungen von Samarra," II, Berlin, 1925, pp. 54-64.

⁷ Cf. Fichtner, "Chinesische Sung Seladone und ihre Nachbildungen in Fustat," *Ostasiat. Zeitschr.*, XVI, 2, 1930, pp. 74-86, Pls. 9-12.

⁸ Cf. E. Zimmerman, "Die Porzellanschätze des Kaiserlichen Schatzhauses und des Museums zu Konstantinopel," *Cicerone*, III, 1911, pp. 496-503; also *idem*, "Die Porzellanschätze des alten Serai in Konstantinopel," *Ostasiat. Zeitschr.*, XIV, 3, 1928, pp. 134 ff.

great celadon dishes were acquired solely to hold the pilau of the Commander of the Faithful and his retainers, and were particularly desirable in that they were reputed to have the power of neutralizing poisons.⁹ All this evidence of the frequency of import of Chinese porcelain into the Near East since the ninth century makes possible the assumption that it existed in Turkey also during the period of the Emirates, an assumption that is strengthened by the fact that the earliest Turkish-made tableware of fine quality which we possess must, as we shall see later, be called a copy of Chinese blue-and-white.

II. THE REVIVAL OF TURKISH CERAMIC ART IN THE LATE FOURTEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER

In 1326 A.D. the young and energetic Ottoman state conquered Brussa and established its capital in that city. By 1365 the conquest of the Balkans was all but finished, and Edirne (Adrianople) became the capital. Success and prosperity aroused a desire for the refinements of life and for the embellishment of public buildings, and the aid of the ceramist was sought for the attainment of these ends.

There cannot be any doubt that the renaissance of Turkish ceramic art in Anatolia was due to several waves of Persian influence or, if I may express it less academically, to the activities of Persian ceramists in Asia Minor and Turkey-in-Europe.¹⁰

The first wave of Persian influence manifests itself in the minaret of *Yeshīl Djāmi'* in Isnik, which, according to its inscription, was built from 780 to 794 H. (1378-79 to 1391-92 A.D.); the second, in the group of buildings erected by Meḥmed Čelebī in Brussa—*Yeshīl Turbeh*, *Yeshīl Djāmi'*, and *Yeshīl Madrasa*. It is the merit of the late Gaston Migeon and of Arménag Bey Sakisian to have first pointed out the part played by Persian workmen in the ceramic decoration of these buildings.¹¹

PERSIAN CERAMIC WORKERS IN BRUSSA, *circa* 1420 A.D.

According to the inscription over the door, *Yeshīl Djāmi'* in Isnik was finished in 822 H. (1419 A.D.). Meḥmed Čelebī, under whom it was built, died in 824 H. (1421 A.D.). His turbeh must, therefore, have been constructed at about the same period as the mosque, and we may assume approximately the same date also for the neighboring madrasa that bears his name. It is certain that the ceramic decorations of all three buildings were executed by the same workmen. That these workmen were Persians is definitely established by a faïence

⁹ Cf. W. G. Gulland, *Chinese Porcelain*, London, 1911, I, p. 139.

¹⁰ I have discussed these diverse waves of Persian influence in the chapter, "Persian Influence in Turkish Ottoman Art," in the *Survey of Persian Art*, mentioned above.

¹¹ Cf. G. Migeon and A. Sakisian, "La céramique d'Asie Mineure et de Constantinople du XIV^e au XVIII^e

siècle," Paris, 1923, a reprint from the *Revue de l'Art ancien et moderne*, XLIII-XLIV, 1923. This excellent study will long remain our guide in the study of Ottoman ceramic art, and the findings of the present article merely help to corroborate what these two scholars have previously established. Migeon and Sakisian treat separately ceramics applied to architecture and wheel-turned pottery. I follow the same course.

niche in *Yeshil Djāmi'*, which bears, in faïence, above the capital of the small column to the right, the following inscription:

Have made (it) the masters from Tabrīz.

A second inscription, in the lodge of the Sultan, reads

Muḥammad al-Maḍjnūn has made (it).

These two inscriptions¹² establish beyond doubt that, in or before 1419 A.D., a group of Persian workmen, among them one "Muḥammad al-Maḍjnūn," executed the ceramic decorations of *Yeshil Djāmi'*; and, as I have stated, we are entitled to assume that the same group of workmen executed also the faïence of *Yeshil Turbeh* and *Yeshil Madrasa*.

These Persian workmen were masters of a considerable variety of techniques: we find monochrome tiles, mainly hexagonal in shape; numerous elements executed in the *cuërda seca* technique;¹³ and, finally, tiles with underglaze painting, which sometimes resemble closely the *cuërda seca* elements, but must be clearly distinguished from them.¹⁴

The palette of the artists of Brussa is much richer than that of the ceramists of the *Seldjūk* period. First, several colors, such as cobalt blue or mauve, appear in shades of varying intensity; secondly, lemon yellow and apple green are added to the *Seldjūk* list. The mauve, which appears in a number of shades, has apparently no relationship with the *Seldjūk* manganese purple.

Migeon and Sakisian do not mention another style of ceramic decoration, the place of which in the Brussa ensemble I hope to be able to establish—the imitations of Chinese blue-and-white wares executed in cobalt blue underglaze paint. In order to prove that the few specimens of cobalt blue underglaze paint preserved in Brussa belong to the work done by Maḍjnūn and his Tabrīz companions, we need acquaintanceship with the ceramic discoveries I have made in the mosques of Edirne.

¹² Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 12 ff.

¹³ In this technique, unknown in the *Seldjūk* period, the design is traced on the tile, slightly incised, and the incision filled with a substance which burns in the kiln to a slightly roughened black contour, the *cuërda seca*, as it is called in reference to Hispano-Moresque tiles, where the technique frequently occurs. The *cuërda seca* forms compartments, which may be likened to the compartments formed by the small metal strips in cloisonné enamel. The compartments are filled with enamel colors which, after firing, appear slightly raised and remain separated by the *cuërda seca*. The technique was apparently intended to be an imitation of faïence mosaic. It

seems not to occur in Persia before the second half of the fourteenth century. Its relation to faïence mosaic is made particularly clear in the portal of *Yeshil Turbeh*, where the plain surfaces are treated in faïence mosaic and the curved ones, the larger architectonically formed pieces, in *cuërda seca*.

¹⁴ Figure 28 shows one of the windows of *Yeshil Turbeh*. The frame of the window is executed in *cuërda seca* tiles (very much restored), but the spandrel above the window and its border are executed in underglaze painting; the crackle of the transparent surface glaze goes through both the background and the white *Thulth* letters of the inscription.

THE TILE FIELDS OF UČ SHEREFELİ DJĀMİ', EDIRNE

In late August and early September, 1929, I found, in the mosques of Uč Sherefelī and Murādīye, important tile ensembles, in the photography and observation of which I was aided by my friend and assistant, Mr. Martin A. Charles of Princeton University, and by Mrs. Frances Pollak, then of New York University. Gurlitt, who published an account of the architecture of Edirne,¹⁵ was prevented, probably by reason of the fact that he encountered difficulties with the inhabitants of the town, from giving attention to these ceramic decorations, which are of the utmost importance.

The ceramic remains in Edirne consist of three groups: (1) two tile fields in the courtyard of the mosque Uč Sherefelī, (2) about six hundred blue-and-white tiles in two tile fields in the mosque Murādīye; (3) the mihrāb in the same mosque, mainly in *cuerda seca* technique.

The mosque of Uč Sherefelī, i.e., "Three Balconies," referring to the three balconies on the minarets, was constructed, according to tradition, by Mūsā, the son of Sulṭān Bāyazīd I and the rival of Meḥmed Čelebī, his own brother. The year 813 H. (1410 A.D.) is given as the year of foundation.¹⁶ In that same year Mūsā wrested Adrianople from the hands of his brother Sulaimān and held it as his capital until, three years later, in 816 H. (1413 A.D.) he was in turn defeated by his brother, Meḥmed Čelebī. The mosque was apparently not finished by Mūsā. We know that it was reconstructed (or completed) by Murād II from 1437 to 1447 A.D.,¹⁷ a fact supported by the inscription, "Murād, son of Meḥmed," on two of the painted decorations of the domes of the courtyard, which I shall discuss elsewhere, and by inscriptions with the name of the same sovereign on two of the tile fields described in this article.

Of the eighteen windows from the courtyard six open into the mosque, four open out of the east and west walls, and eight open on the north. No doubt all these windows were once surmounted by pointed-arch panels of tilework, but only the panels above the two windows east of the entrance in the north wall of the courtyard have been preserved.¹⁸ The design of both panels is practically the same; only the coloring is different (*Fig. 1*). The center field is filled with an inscription in tall Thulth characters, which reads:

اللهم تقبل من السلطان ابن السلطان مراد ابن
محمد خان

O Gott nimm es an von dem Sultan und Sultanssohn Murād, Sohn des Meḥmed Ĥan.¹⁹

¹⁵ L. Gurlitt, "Die Bauten Adrianopels," *Oriental. Archiv*, I, No. 1, pp. 1-4; No. 2, pp. 51-60.

¹⁶ See Osman Rifaat Bey, *Guide d'Andrinople* (in Turkish, with French summary), Andrinople, 1920, p. 6. The author bases his statement on Evliya Čelebī.

¹⁷ J. Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire de l'Empire otto-*

man, Paris, 1835-43, II, pp. 143, 152-55. Rifaat Osman, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

¹⁸ Each of these panels is 115 cm. high and 200 cm. wide: these measurements may perhaps permit the identification of panels from this mosque, if there are any in Western collections.

¹⁹ I am indebted for this reading to Dr. Paul Wittek.

Through the shafts of the Thulth letters runs a second inscription in Kūfic letters, which reads:

الجنة دار الاسخياء

Darüber die Kufi-Inschrift: Das Paradies ist die Wohnung der Hochherzigen.

The letters are set on a background decorated with a large spiral that fills almost the entire field, the portion not inscribed by the spiral itself being filled with tendrils, or minor spirals, that shoot off from the main spiral. The stems are decorated with small scroll leaves, with lancet leaves, and even with leaf formations that have almost the shape of a miniature palmette. We encounter here the same spiral design which is indicated by Migeon and Sakisian as the typical design of the wares of the Golden Horn.²⁰ As a result of the size of the field, the execution of the spiral is clumsier than in the plate reproduced by the two authors or in a tile with a design entirely identical with that plate, which I have seen in an Istanbul collection. Although the swing of the lettering is rather pleasant, the design does not show a particular sensitiveness. The border, separated from the center field by several water lines, is divided by two interlaced bands into cartouches decorated in the Chinese manner; from a central rosette issue two intertwined, undulated stems, to which are attached serrated arabesque leaves and five- or seven-petaled flowers, designed like Chinese peonies with pointed petals.

Although the design is the same in both panels, the color arrangement is different; however, it is always limited to the same three colors: cobalt blue, turquoise, and manganese purple—a combination to be kept in mind. The panel nearest the door shows white ground, the Thulth lettering in cobalt blue, the Kūfic in turquoise, the spirals in cobalt; the border is cobalt on white, and the water lines framing it are partly cobalt–white–cobalt, partly cobalt–turquoise–cobalt. No manganese purple is used in this panel.

The second panel shows the color values reversed: the background is cobalt, the Thulth and Kūfic lettering are white bordered by a black outline; the border shows white stems and flowers with touches of cobalt, outlined in black on a purple background, and the water lines are the same as in the first panel. It is to be noted that the black outline in this panel is painted under the glaze and not executed in *cuerdá seca* technique: no roughness of outline is apparent to the touch.

Both panels are very important. They show that during the years from 1437 to 1447 A.D., there were made in Turkey tile decorations in which, as in Chinese Ming porcelain, blue and white are the prevailing colors, though turquoise and purple are used in addition. It is also to be noted that the decoration mingles motifs of the Chinese floral style with motifs belonging to the older stock of Near Eastern decoration.

²⁰ Migeon and Sakisian, *op. cit.*, pp. 31–32.



FIG. 1—ARCH PANEL, EDIRNE, UÇ SHERFELİ MOSQUE

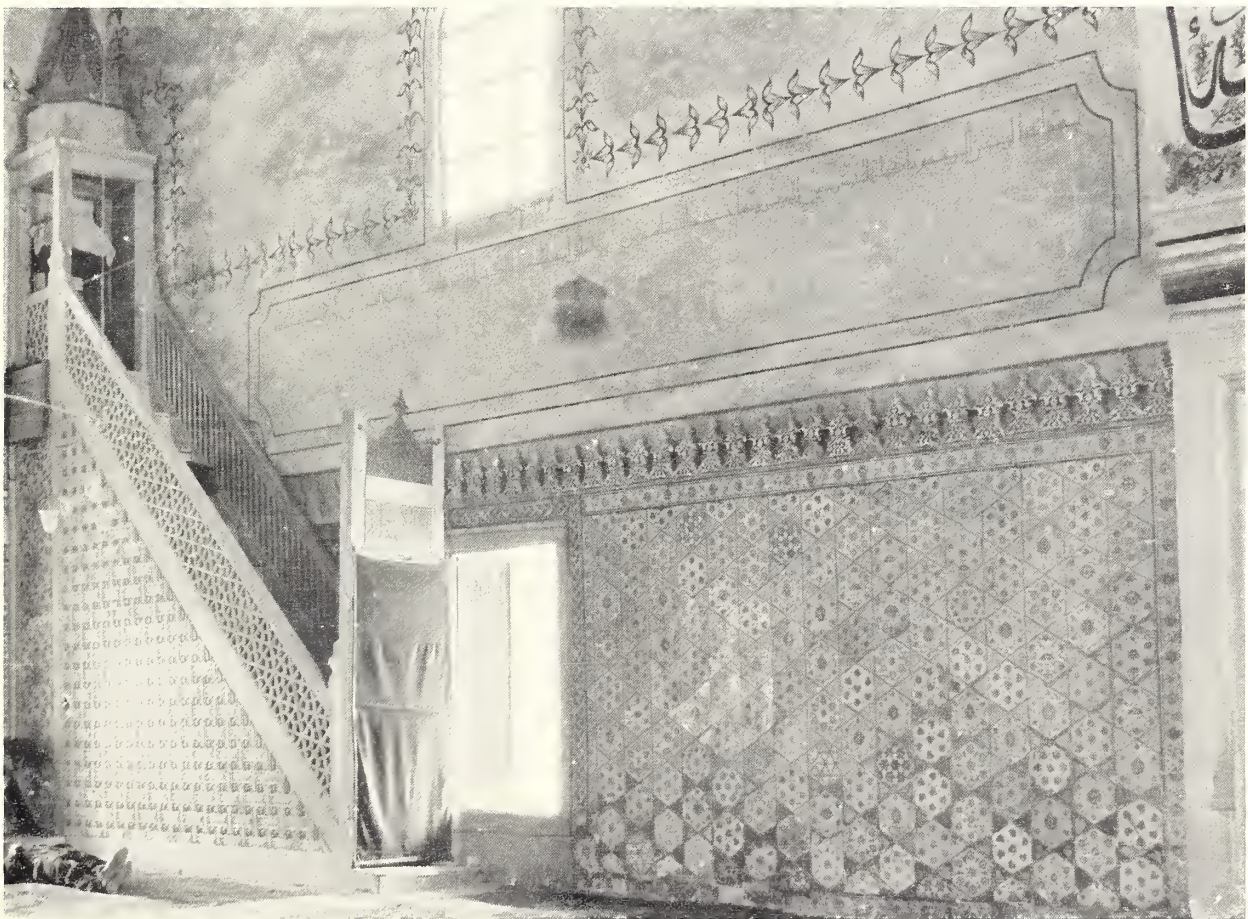


FIG. 2—FAÏENCE DECORATION, 1433 A.D., EDIRNE, MURĀDIYE DJĀMI



FIG. 3



FIG. 4

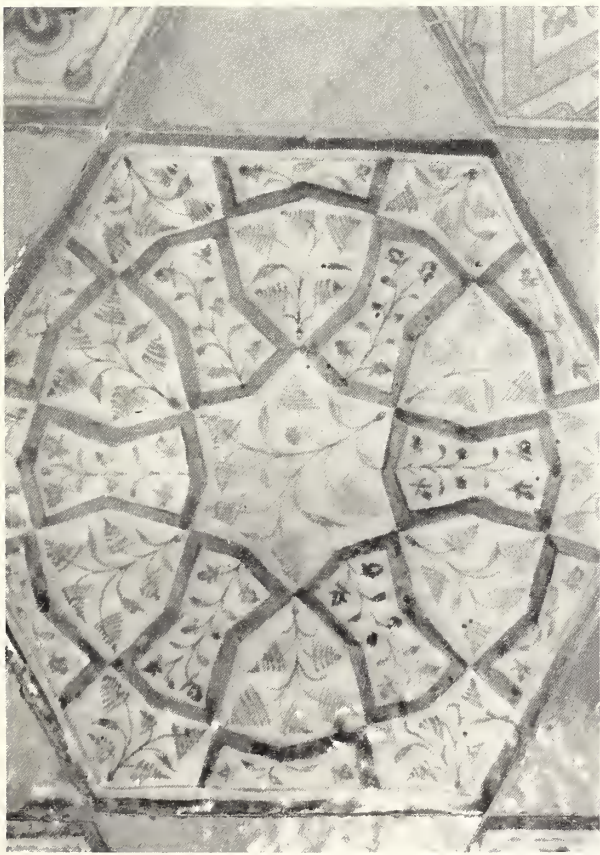


FIG. 5

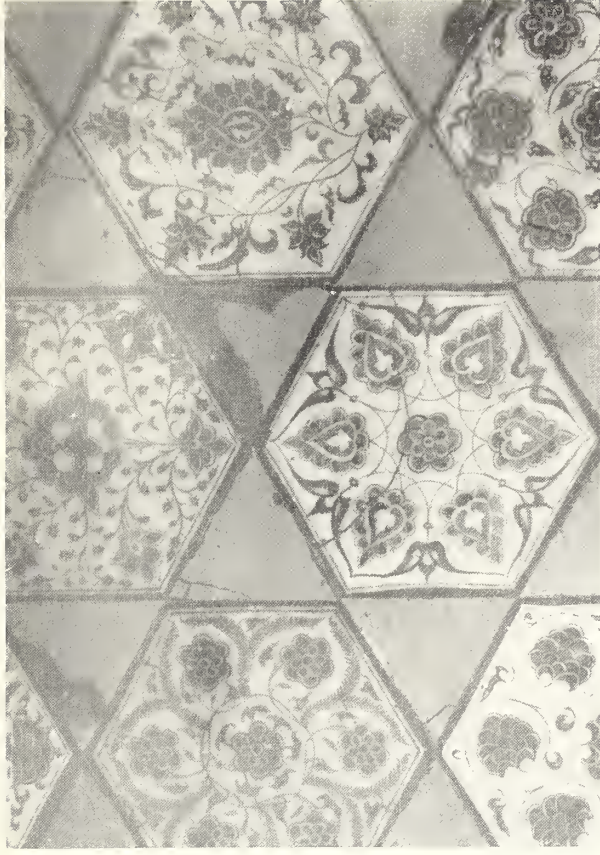


FIG. 6

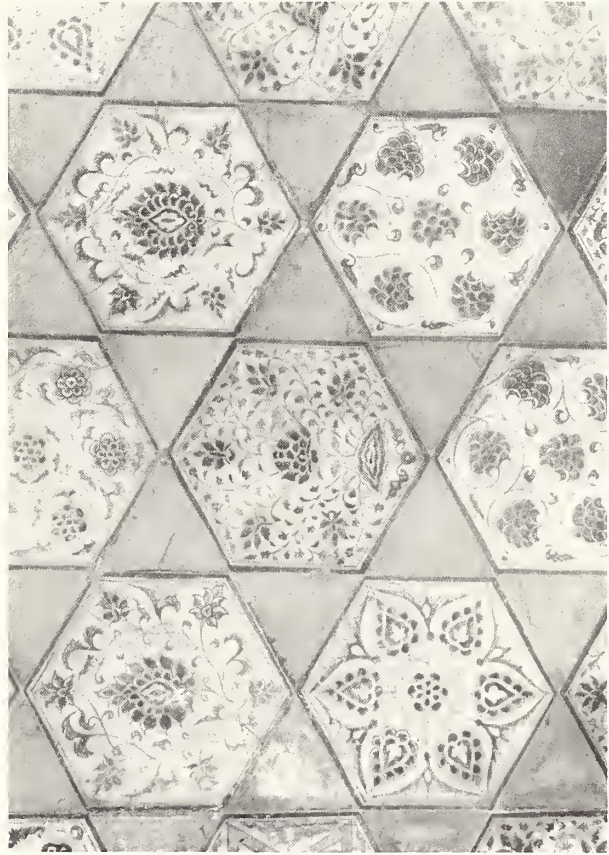


FIG. 7

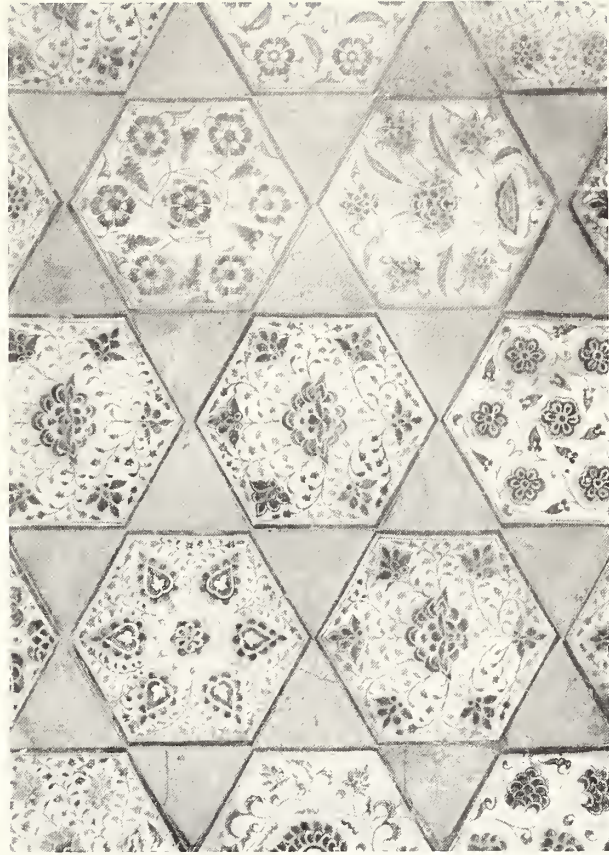


FIG. 8



FIG. 9



FIG. 10

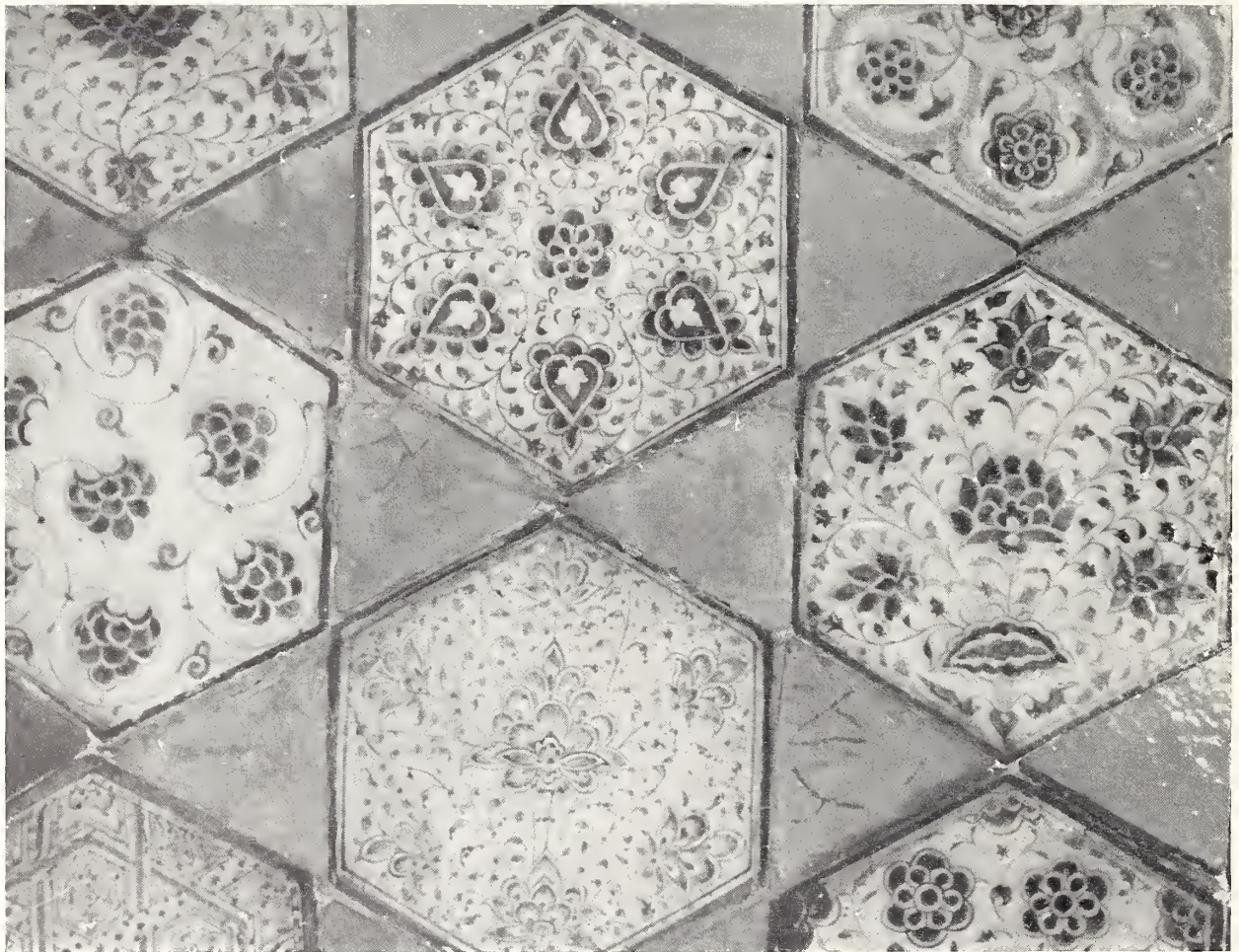


FIG. 11

TILES OF FAÏENCE DECORATION, 1433 A.D., EDIRNE, MURĀDIYE DĪĀMI'

THE BLUE-AND-WHITE TILE FIELDS IN MURĀDĪYE DJĀMI', EDIRNE

Murādīye Djāmi' was constructed, according to its inscription, in 1433 A.D. It is built on the typical Early Ottoman plan of the "inverted T." The central aisle is covered by two domes, and to right and left of the northern dome is a domed chamber which communicates with the central aisle by a wide bay. The faïence decoration is found in the space covered by the southern dome of the central aisle. In the center of the south wall is a tall faïence mihrāb between two windows. The small space on each side between window and corner is occupied, on the west by the mimbar, and on the east by tile decoration forming a unit with the decoration of the adjoining east wall, which, with the exception of the space occupied by a single window, is entirely covered with blue-and-white tiles. The west wall shows a similar decoration (*Fig. 2*), though it is impossible to say whether the decoration at the southern end, concealed by the mimbar, is still *in situ*.

The field is composed of hexagonal and triangular tiles. The hexagonal tiles (each 25.5 cm. in diameter) are all decorated in cobalt blue underglaze painting on creamy white ground. In each of the four panels there are eight rows of blue-and-white tiles, counting from top to bottom, each containing from fourteen to sixteen tiles, a total of about one hundred and fifty tiles in each panel, or an ensemble of more than six hundred tiles for the whole decoration. The spaces between the hexagons are filled with the triangular tiles, plain greenish turquoise in color, which develop each hexagon into a star. The color effect of the alternation of these greenish turquoise triangles with the blue-and-white hexagons is exceedingly pleasant and harmonious. Each tile field is framed by a border in cobalt blue and white, of two different designs; one shows undulated vines with attached flowers in the Chinese manner—Chinese palmettes with scalloped petals and Chinese palmettes with pointed leaves like the leaf of the woodbine (*Fig. 3*); the other shows lancet-shaped arabesque leaves, the stems of which seem to be braided so as to produce continuity of design (*Fig. 7*). The whole is surmounted by a battlement frieze decorated in relief with cobalt blue on white.

The designs on the hexagonal tiles are exceedingly varied. Although a number of them are repeated, the repetition is never mechanical nor slavish. One feels very clearly that several workmen of different grades of skill were employed; for sometimes a design is mechanical and at other times the same design is interpreted with considerable sensitiveness. Similar degrees of skill are to be observed in the coloring. Some tiles are decorated in deep cobalt, others in a lighter shade, and still others (*Figs. 4 and 5*) show a skillful combination of light and dark tones, or flowers executed in hatching, which brings a new nuance into design and color.

Several types of design are to be distinguished. In one, six units corresponding to the six points of the hexagon are grouped symmetrically around the center of the tile. This type, naturally, has no top nor base. One such design, showing a central rosette surrounded by six palmettes (*Fig. 6*), is found in various grades of skill of execution. Another frequent design consists of a vine of six undulations to which are attached, by means of spiral tendrils, six scaled palmettes, while a seventh palmette occupies the center of the composition (*Fig. 7*). This design is of particular interest as it shows a survival of designs known at a very early

period. Practically the same design occurs in the ornaments of the third style of Sāmarrā (ninth century).²¹

Beside these very simple symmetrical designs the Edirne tiles show more complex symmetrical designs based on the geometric star or geometric interlacing. The hexagram pattern of Figure 4 and the interlaced circle of Figure 5 are among the most skillful designs of the whole group. Another symmetrical pattern to be noted is the allover design of rosettes shown in the upper right corner of Figure 8.

The second group of compositions, in contrast with those discussed above, is marked by having a distinct top and base, the latter indicated by the roots of a flower shrub or by a central palmette of clear orientation. The most current design in this group shows a flowering shrub that issues from an almond- or rosette-shaped motif in one corner of the hexagon, which may be interpreted as a piece of soil (*Figs. 8 and 9*). This motif is entirely unknown in Turkish ornamental design, but is, on the contrary, a very frequent motif in Persian textiles, where such a "piece of land" or often a miniature pond gives rise to a blossoming flower shrub surrounded by birds and butterflies.

The Edirne tiles show many variations of this orientated composition. The central palmette is sometimes formed of many pointed leaves (*Fig. 10*); sometimes it is of a decidedly Chinese design, with each petal curved backward in a small hook motif (*Fig. 6*); sometimes it is another type of Chinese palmette, with horizontal leaf motifs at the base of an otherwise almost rosette-like flower (*Fig. 10*, upper center). Considerable skill is displayed in the design of the palmette in Figure 11 (lower center), which is executed in pale blue, with skillful hatchings to give nuance to the petals. Finally, there is a group in the making of which the designer employed all his talent: In Figure 9, for example, appears a particularly rich variety of the flower-shrub design with palmettes of elaborate and decidedly Chinese character. Here the palmette with pointed leaves (the "lotus" palmette) is used, while in Figure 12 the Chinese palmette with rounded leaves (the "peony" palmette) is preferred. Still more interesting is Figure 13, which mingles with a central, typically Near Eastern motif of three cypress trees, freely interpreted, swirling, serpentine leaf sprays, suggestive of seaweed in water. This design is particularly significant in comparison with the tiles of al-Tawīzī in Damascus, discussed below.

Taken as a whole the designs are rather formal in character—whatever "impressionistic" element there may be, if, indeed, there be any, is much restrained. While flowers and foliation of pure arabesque character occur, the Chinese floral style prevails, though restrained and

²¹ A design of eight vine leaves surrounding a ninth central leaf, the whole composed into a hexagon, is found in E. Herzfeld, *Der Wandschmuck der Bauten von Samarra*, "Die Ausgrabungen von Samarra," I, Berlin, 1923, Fig. 300, and Pl. XCV, while exactly the same composition as that of the Edirne tiles—six leaves surrounding a seventh central leaf, but composed into a six-lobed me-

dallion—is found on Figure 305 and Plate XCIV of the same publication. Figure 6, described above, illustrates a variety of this design found in the Edirne tiles that is still more closely related to the Sāmarrā ornaments, in that the six units of the design surrounding the central unit are rosettes instead of palmettes.

forced into a prim rhythm by the conventionalizing Near Eastern tradition, which brings even the freest Chinese designs, after playing with them for a time, into calligraphic swing.

THE MIHRĀB OF MURĀDĪYE DJĀMI' IN EDIRNE

The mihrāb of Murādīye Djāmi' is perhaps the largest faïence mihrāb of its kind in Anatolia (*Fig. 14*).²² It is rectangular, surmounted by a battlement frieze, similar to that which crowns the tile fields of the mosque, with relief decoration of arabesques in white on cobalt blue. The rectangle is put in relief by a beveled edge, which consists of a narrow border of tiles decorated with cobalt underglaze painting on white in a pattern of undulating vines of Chinese style held between lines of cobalt and apple green. This edge is followed by three wide borders, the innermost enclosing the niche proper and the rectangular panel of calligraphy above the niche.

The borders.—The first wide border is a cavetto molding, ornamented with a beautiful inscription in fluid Naskhī characters in white enamel, which stand in relief against a cobalt background (*Fig. 15*). Through the shafts of these characters runs a second inscription, of a religious nature, in yellow enamel, very slightly raised. The blue background is overgrown with a well-designed system of turquoise spirals with little yellow accents. Through this combination of colors as much as through its fine design, the border achieves balance and beauty.

The second wide border is formed by a stalactite cornice. Such cornices (illogically but effectively turning also to frame door or window openings) occur, carved in stone, in Seldjūk and Early Ottoman architecture, a fine example being that at the entrance of Yeshīl Djāmi' in Isnik. In our mihrāb, the "niches" of the stalactites are yellow in the recesses, white on the sides, with turquoise and cobalt outlines. The spaces between the "niches" are decorated, now with white arabesques on cobalt blue ground, now with cobalt vines on white ground. Here, for the first time, we encounter the combination of the polychrome *cuerva seca* decoration with cobalt blue underglaze paint on white.

These two wide borders frame the mihrāb on top and sides. The third wide border runs entirely around the rectangle, though narrowing somewhat to cross the base, and also intersects it, at about two-thirds of its height, to separate the niche from the panel of calligraphy above it (*Figs. 15 and 16*). This border is formed of geometrical interlacing enclosing small polygonal compartments. The ribs forming the interlacing are in strong relief and are painted white on cobalt. The decoration in the polygonal compartments consists of white arabesque patterns in slightly raised white on a cobalt ground.

The panel of calligraphy.—The panel over the niche, set off from the surrounding border of geometric interlacing by a beveled edge showing a blue meander on yellow ground, exhibits a curious play of calligraphy. The entire field is filled with bold Thulth writing, in white relief on cobalt ground, one line at the base, another upside down at the top, the shafts of the letters dovetailing or sometimes performing a double function, a single shaft running through the

²² I estimate the height at about 6.30 m., the width at about 3.85 m.

entire field to serve a letter in each line.²³ Midway between the two rows of writing runs a third row of smaller Naskhī characters in white relief, which is in turn separated from the two outer rows by two lines of Kūfic in yellow. The background is decorated with spirals in turquoise with touches of yellow. In short, the panel is very similar in color and design to the outer wide border, but is much more intricate. The tughra below the panel is that of Sulṭān Maḥmūd II (1808–39 A.D.) and, of course, a late and base insertion.

The recess of the miḥrāb is held together by the wide border of geometric interlacing described above, which frames it entirely. This border is followed by a very narrow border of bold color, which shows a Chinese undulated vine with attached Chinese rosettes and palmettes alternating, the vine cobalt, the ground bright yellow, the flowers with mauve petals touched with turquoise and centers green or yellow, set on cobalt with turquoise dots (*Fig. 17*). The whole border is held between turquoise stripes with cobalt blue water lines.

The recess of the miḥrāb divides itself into two parts, the upper consisting of the stalactite, the spandrels, and a narrow surrounding border; the lower part consists of three rectangular panels and, on either side, the columns supporting the stalactite arch.

The border of the upper part (*Fig. 16*) is decorated in cobalt underglaze painting on white with feathered arabesque leaves forming a braided design, the same that has been observed in some of the borders of the tile panels. The spandrels have a beveled edge, banded inside and out with cobalt and yellow. The ground of the spandrels, cobalt blue, is overgrown by spiral and tangential vines in turquoise and white, to which are attached large white and apple green arabesque leaves of calligraphic swing and feathery leaves capriciously designed in the Chinese manner and colored either in deep mauve, shading out to white, with green and yellow dots at the base, or in shaded cobalt with green and yellow leaflets at the base. Weaving through the spirals are broad bands of yellow, boldly intertwined to form interlaced knots, a motif (frequent in Turkish art of the fifteenth century) that inspired the knot designs of Leonardo and Dürer. The interstices of the knots are colored a rich manganese purple. The entire design is bold and of beautiful rhythm; the coloring is of indescribable richness.

The stalactites form a strong contrast with this overwhelming wealth of design and color. The "niches" contain small palmette shrubs in cobalt underglaze painting on white; the floral designs of the "corbels" are sometimes in the same colors, sometimes in black under a translucent turquoise glaze. In spite of these touches of turquoise, the impression is of cool blue-and-white, somewhat—perhaps intentionally—harsh in contrast with the rich coloring of the spandrels.

In the lower part of the miḥrāb, we observe first the columns supporting the arch (*Figs. 15 and 17*). Capitals and bases are in stalactites, with faceted or hollowed niches, the whole decorated in an exotic harmony of cobalt, turquoise, mauve, yellow, and apple green. The

²³ A similar calligraphic play may be observed in one of the epigraphic panels of the mimbar of the Ulū Djāmi' of Manisa, dated 778 H. (1376 A.D.). Cf. Riefstahl, *Turkish Architecture*, Fig. 13a, insc. 31. This inscription will

be further commented upon by Dr. Paul Wittek in my forthcoming publication, "An Archaeological Journey in Southwestern Anatolia."

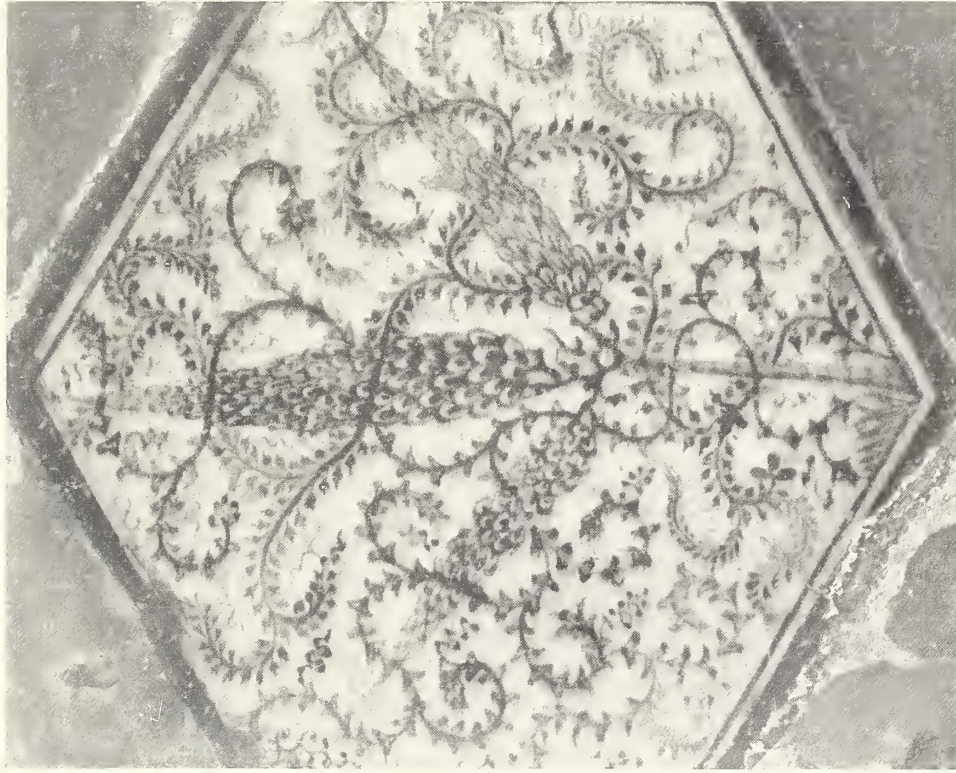


FIG. 13

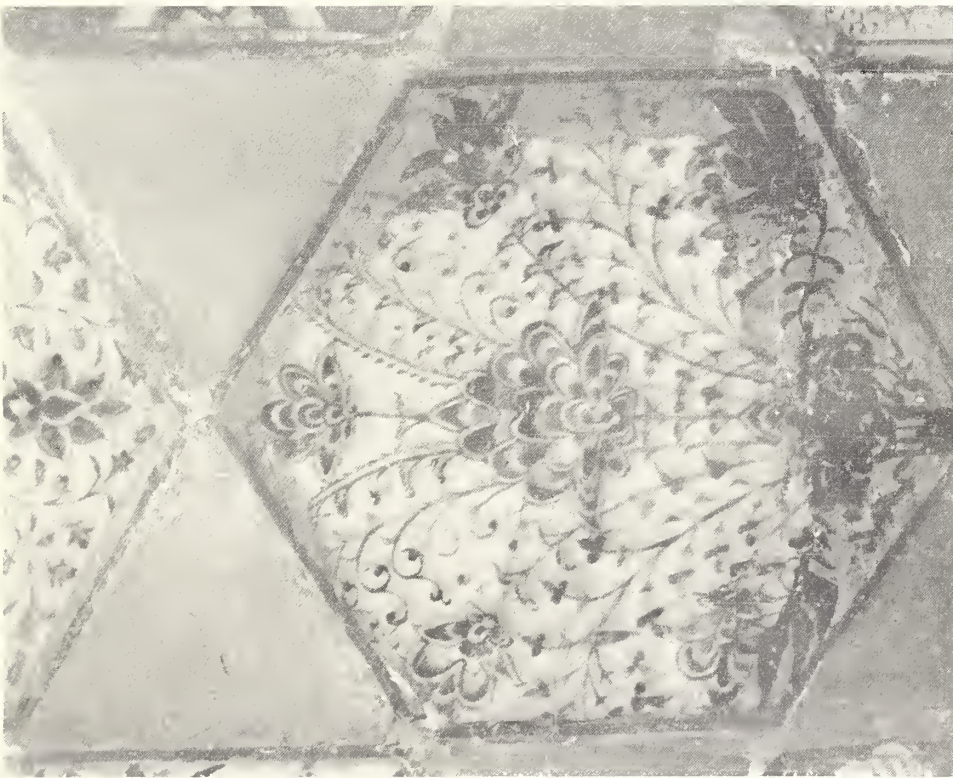


FIG. 12

TILES OF FAÏENCE DECORATION, 1433 A.D., EDIRNE, MURĀDĪYE DĪMĪ

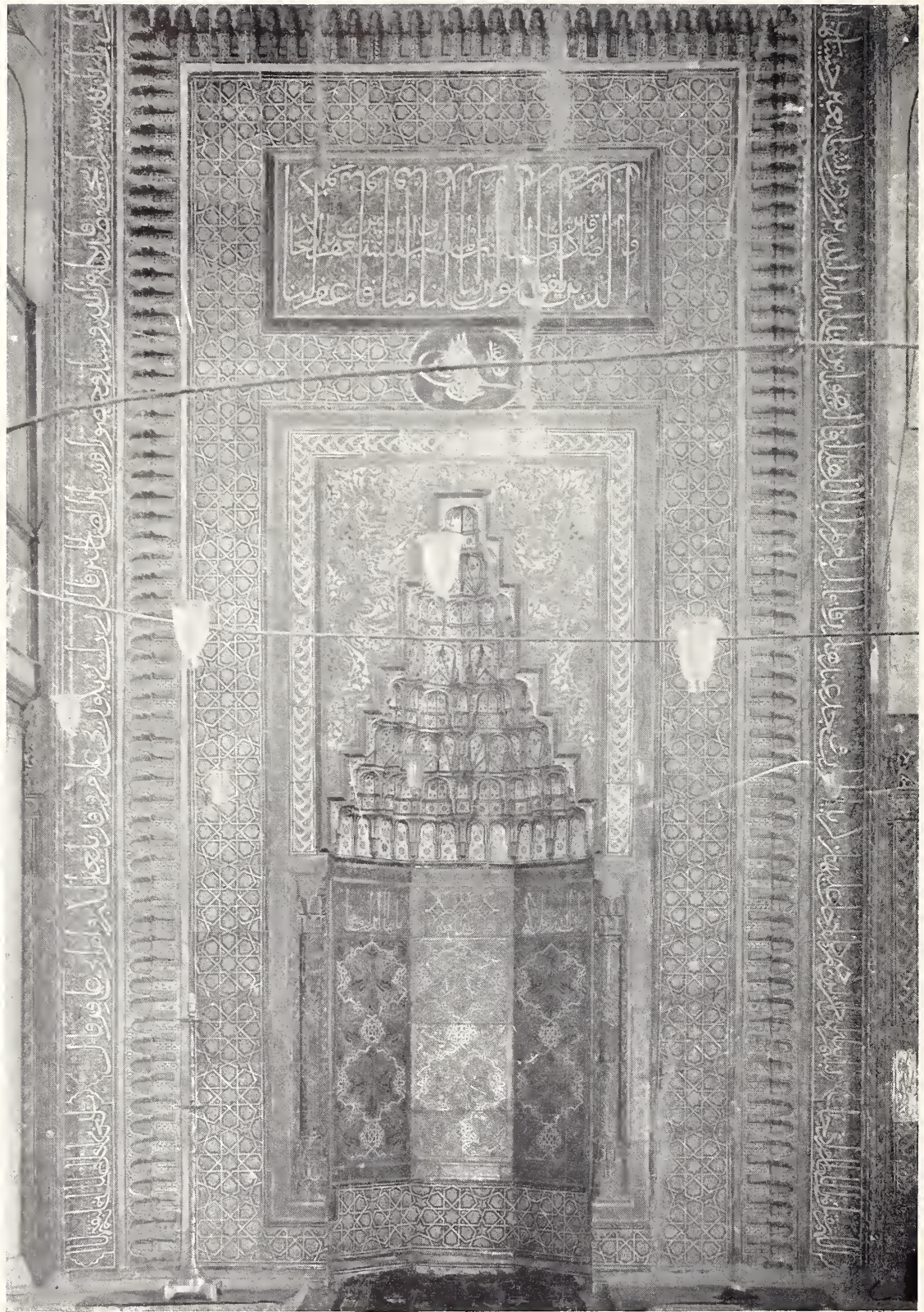


FIG. 14—MIHRĀB, 1433 A.D., EDIRNE, MURĀDIYE DJĀMI

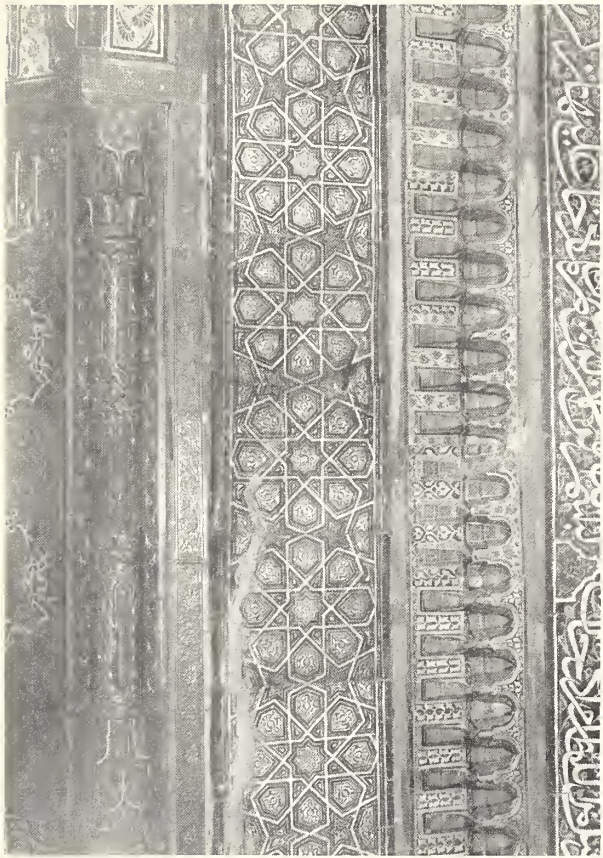


FIG. 15

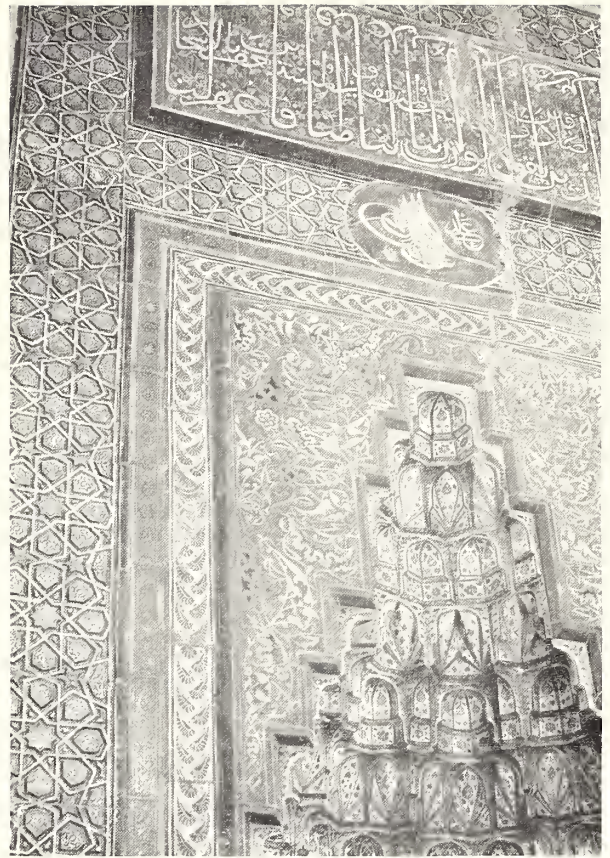


FIG. 16



FIG. 17



FIG. 18



FIG. 19—VELVET, PROBABLY VENETIAN, FIFTEENTH CENTURY



FIG. 20—FRAGMENT OF PAINTED WALL-DECORATION, 1433 A.D.
EDİRNE, MURĀDİYE DJĀMİ'



FIG. 21—TOMBSTONE, FIFTEENTH CENTURY
EDİRNE, MUSEUM

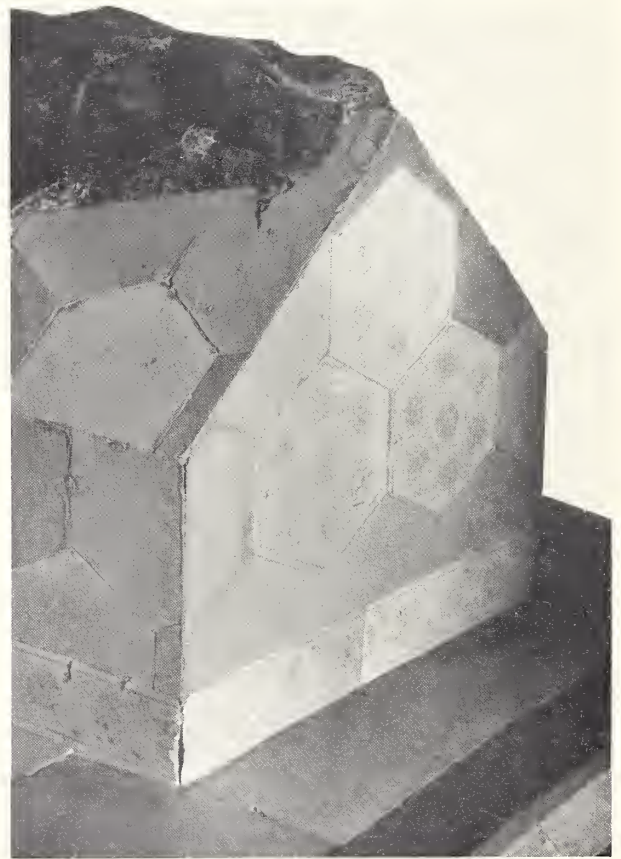


FIG. 22—TILES OF CENOTAPH OF SITTE KHĀTŪN, AFTER
1421 A.D., BRUSSA, YESİL TURBEH

shafts of the columns are ornamented by bands in low relief which are braided into two knots, dividing the columns into thirds. This greatly enriches the design. The interlaced bands show arabesque patterns, white, green and cobalt, cobalt and purple, and cobalt and yellow.

The three panels that form the recess of the niche are identical in decoration (*Fig. 18*). They measure each 110 by 49 cm., and are composed of exceedingly large tiles, measuring 43 by 49 cm. At the top of each panel is a strip of inscription: that on the panels to right and left is in bold Naskhī writing, not in relief but in *cuerda seca* technique, intermingled with a smaller line of Kūfic in yellow, the whole on a cobalt blue ground with turquoise spiral vines and attached yellow leaflets—the scheme which forms the first wide border of the rectangle, described above. The central panel shows, in similar color combination, a beautiful band of conventionalized Kūfic lettering, the white shafts of the letters ornamentally intertwined.

The decoration of the fields of the panels is similar to that of spandrels, but richer. Each panel shows a repeated pattern of what might be called ogives, formed by white bands that run through the field in capricious interlacing, united in inextricable knots and separate, to find one another again in the next knot of the repeat. A second pattern runs discretely in the background; on the rich cobalt ground are elegantly curved stems with attached single or forked arabesque leaves of delicately shaded turquoise, cobalt, and purple with touches of yellow—again a pattern of sumptuous richness of color and design.

This is a type of design by no means unique in Turkish art. A group of velvets, some of which may be of Turkish origin, others of Turkish inspiration, but woven in Venice, are of similar composition. Figure 19, probably of Venetian origin, is a good example of the type, though the knotting of the stems, observed in other representatives of the group, does not occur. Much closer in style to the mihrāb panels are two other documents, both from Edirne. One is a fragment of painted wall decoration in the Murādīye (*Fig. 20*), which must go back to the period of the construction of the mosque. Only where a kind fate has torn from the wall a recent stucco coating with very ugly decorations is this early painting visible. Its design like that of the mihrāb panels, is based on curved arabesque stems and elaborately knotted bands. The other document, a tombstone in the museum of Edirne (*Fig. 21*), which must also date from the period of the founding of Murādīye, shows a similar pattern.

SUMMARY OF THE TECHNIQUES OBSERVED IN THE TILES OF EDIRNE

We observe in the tiles of Edirne two techniques: the *cuerda seca* technique, employing a developed range of colors, including mauve, apple green, and yellow; the technique of underglaze painting, showing (*a*) cobalt blue on white ground under transparent white glaze (the mihrāb and tiles of Murādīye), (*b*) black under translucent turquoise glaze (the mihrāb of Murādīye), (*c*) cobalt, turquoise, manganese purple, and black under transparent white glaze (Uç Şherefelī).

There cannot be any doubt that the group of workmen who made the mihrāb of Murādīye were the same as those who made the six hundred tiles. The blue-and-white technique of the tiles occurs also, as has been noted, in the mihrāb, and the same border of arabesque leaves in

a braided effect is found in both mihrāb and tile fields. Whoever the makers were, they were in full command of the techniques of underglaze painting and of *cuerta seca*. If we may assume as a working hypothesis, however, that the mihrāb, like the faïence in the buildings of Meḥmed Čelebī in Brussa, is the work of Persians, we must admit that there are such wide variations of skill in the execution of the single tiles as to make it probable that the Persians perhaps employed some local help. The collaboration of unskilled hands seems still more probable in the rather coarse tiles of Uč Šherrefelī, which also date from the period of Murād II.

THE COMMON IDENTITY OF THE MAKERS OF THE EDIRNE AND BRUSSA TILES

Ceramic work of the early fifteenth century is very rare in Turkey. As yet we know only the following monuments:

1. *Yeshīl Djāmi'* in Brussa (1419 A.D.)

The niche of the mihrāb is composed of tiles of standard pattern; otherwise the decoration of the mihrāb is very rich.²⁴ As important as the mihrāb are other rich decorations of *Yeshīl Djāmi'*. Those of the Sultan's lodge in the second story and of another lodge on the ground floor are particularly significant, and some of the lateral chambers also contain fairly important faïence decoration.²⁵

2. *Yeshīl Turbeh* in Brussa (the tomb of Meḥmed Čelebī, d. 1421 A.D.)

This turbeh contains the most beautiful mihrāb in Turkey, with extraordinary floral decoration in the mihrāb niche. The interior walls of the turbeh have a dado of tiles. In the center stands the large cenotaph of Meḥmed Čelebī, in *cuerta seca* technique, surrounded by other cenotaphs. On the exterior is an elaborate faïence entrance niche.

3. Mosque of Murād II in Brussa (built 1447 A.D.)²⁶

The central dome of the porch is supported by a decoration of faïence units, molded and enameled, which produce a stalactite effect. The pointed-arch fields above the windows of the porch are decorated in faïence mosaic.

4. The Imaret in Karamān (built 836 H.—1432 A.D.)²⁷

The admirable mihrāb from this imaret has now been transferred to the Činīlī Köşk Museum in Istanbul.²⁸ The monochrome tiles in the south iwān, surrounding the place where

²⁴ H. Saladin, *Manuel d'art musulman, L'Architecture*, Paris, 1907, Fig. 363.

²⁵ It is to be noted that the French architect Parvillée made extensive restorations in the mosque in the late nineteenth century. His skill and the energy of the governor saved the mosque, which was badly damaged in the earthquake of 1855, from the demolition to which it had been condemned. The stores of the Evkaf still contain about 17,000 tiles of diverse types, which were made

in France for the repair of the mosque at the period of restoration.

²⁶ See H. Wilde, *Brussa*, Berlin, 1909, p. 51.

²⁷ See M. van Berchem, *Inscripciones aus Syrien, Mesopotamien und Kleinasien*, ges. v. Max Frieher v. Oppenheim, Leipzig, 1909, I, pp. 127-28.

²⁸ F. Sarre, *Erzeugnisse Islamischer Kunst, Seldschukische Kleinkunst*, Leipzig, 1909, Pl. XVIII.

it stood, are still partly *in situ*. This mihrāb is executed in *cuerta seca* technique and contains, in addition to the colors mentioned above, details which were gilded, surrounded by a thin, slightly raised line of coral red. This same feature is to be observed in the mihrāb of Yeshil Turbeh. The mihrāb of Ḳaramān, however, does not employ the shading (mauve, blue, and apple green in tones of varying intensity) which adds to the richness of the faïence of Edirne and Brussa.

To this list must now be added:

5. The mosque of Uç Sherefeli, Edirne
6. The mosque of Murād II, Edirne;
and a few minor monuments of Brussa which are enumerated below

In comparing the most important monuments of this group, I find that the mihrāb of Ḳaramān shows slight variations in style from the Brussa group, but that, on the other hand, the resemblance of the style of the faïence in Yeshil Djāmi' and Yeshil Turbeh to that of the mihrāb of Murādiye in Edirne is so striking as to make almost inevitable the assumption that the same Persian faïence workers were the authors of both.

I support this point by the following observations: (a) The scale of colors is the same in Brussa and in Edirne. The same shading of cobalt, apple green, and mauve is employed. The only difference is that gilding is employed in Brussa and not in Edirne. (b) The composition of the wide borders of all three mihrābs is the same. In every case, the outer border is a cavetto molding containing elaborate calligraphy on a background of floral scrolls. This is followed in all three mihrābs by a border formed by a stalactite cornice and, finally, by an inner border decorated in geometric interlacing. The mihrāb of Ḳaramān shows a different treatment of the borders, but the borders of the other three mihrābs show a similarity of design and arrangement that is difficult to explain if we do not assume that the same workmen made them. (c) A number of decorative motifs found in Edirne are identical with those occurring in Brussa. The border of the large tile fields of Murādiye, which shows (in blue-and-white) an undulated vine with Chinese palmettes and rosettes attached in alternation (*Fig. 10*), occurs repeatedly in Brussa. I find it, though in different colors, on the border of an outside window of Yeshil Turbeh, also on the frieze surmounting its dado, and in the border that frames the north side of the Sultan's lodge in Yeshil Djāmi'. (d) The colonnettes supporting the arch of the mihrāb are almost identical in Yeshil Turbeh and Murādiye: the same stalactite capitals and bases, the same braidings of the shafts.

In view of these four striking points of resemblance, I feel justified in ascribing the mihrāb of Edirne to the same Persian workmen who executed the faïence decoration of Yeshil Djāmi' and Yeshil Turbeh.

BLUE-AND-WHITE TILES MADE BY PERSIAN WORKMEN IN EDIRNE AND BRUSSA

We have observed that the mihrāb of Edirne combines *cuerta seca* work with underglaze painting in blue and white. Having established that the mihrāb was made by Persian work-

men, we must conclude also that the same Persian workmen are responsible for the panels of blue-and-white tiles in the same mosque.

Such a conclusion seems somewhat daring; for, to my knowledge, while Persian blue-and-white wheel-turned potteries are found, no blue-and-white *tiles* of the early fifteenth century or earlier have as yet come out of Persia or Transoxiana. On the other hand, the fact that no such tiles are as yet known may be a mere coincidence: the evidence may present itself once it is looked for, and the mere fact that it has not as yet been produced cannot be considered as a denial of Persian authorship for the blue-and-white tiles of Edirne.

The question arises, if the Persian workmen used the blue-and-white underglaze painting in Edirne, why not also in Brussa? As a matter of fact, they did. A careful survey which I have made of the monuments of Brussa has yielded very interesting material in tiles of this technique. These monuments must be added to the list, begun above, of important ceramic works of Turkey dating from the period around 1420 A.D. They are, to continue the enumeration of that list, as follows:

7. Blue-and-white tiles of the cenotaph of Sitte Khātūn in Yeshīl Turbeh, Brussa (after 1421 A.D.)

East of the cenotaph of Meḥmed Čelebī is a cenotaph said to be that of Sitte Khātūn, one of the consorts of Meḥmed Čelebī, which may be assumed to have been erected some time after 1421 A.D. It consists of a rectangular base surmounted by a coffin-shaped superstructure (*Fig. 22*). Both base and superstructure are covered with tiles, for the most part monochrome turquoise or cobalt, some hexagonal, some triangular, some square, and some rectangular. The upper rim of the base has a molded edge decorated with an undulated vine with attached leaves in cobalt blue underglaze painting on white. The lower edge of the superstructure is bordered by a frieze of tiles in the same technique, which show, in delicate design, an undulated vine with attached flowers, quinquepetaloid flowers alternating with rosettes, both designed in the Chinese manner. We are already familiar with this design, which appears both in Edirne and elsewhere in Brussa (page 260, *c*). On the end of the cenotaph, at the head, are three hexagonal tiles in the same technique, which show six floral motifs of scale design attached to an undulated vine, with a seventh floral motif in the center of the tile. This design, it will be remembered, is one of the frequently repeated standard patterns of the tile fields of Murādiye in Edirne (*Figs. 7 and 10*). Thus we have another link in the chain of evidence connecting the tiles of Murādiye with the faïence of Brussa.

8. Blue-and-white tiles in the turbeh of Muṣṭafā, son of Fātiḥ (d. 879 H.—1474–75 A.D.)

An inscription over the door clearly identifies this tomb as that of Muṣṭafā, the son of Fātiḥ.²⁹ The tile decoration, which must date from the period of Muṣṭafā, is thus later than

²⁹ This tomb is the first of the famous group of turbehs near the mosque of Murād II in Brussa. It has been published by Wilde (*op. cit.*, p. 68) as the tomb of Prince Mūsā, son of Bāyazīd I, who died in 1413 A.D. Wilde reproduces the blue-and-white tiles (Pl. III, 9).

Another turbeh of the group, which contains the tomb of Muṣṭafā, son of Sulaimān Ḳānūnī, who died in 960 H. (1552–53 A.D.), decorated in tiles characteristic of the period of Sulaimān Ḳānūnī, is ascribed by Wilde to Muṣṭafā, son of Fātiḥ (*ibid.*, p. 74).

the tiles we have been studying. The tomb contains a frieze of tiles with cobalt underglaze painting on white ground of stems forming ogives and enriched with knot motifs. The ogives enclose palmettes framed by arabesque leaves. The design is vaguely reminiscent of the decoration of the niche of the mihrāb in Murādīye, Edirne. I do not venture, however, to decide whether they were the work of the Persians who worked in Brussa or of Turkish ceramists who had taken their inspiration from the Persians.

9. Blue-and-white tiles in the turbeh of Shāhzāde Maḥmūd

I have no information as to the identity of this Prince Maḥmūd. One Maḥmūd is mentioned among the sons of Bāyazīd I. Another Maḥmūd, son of Bāyazīd II, died in 913 H. Still another, son of Sulaimān Ḳānūnī, died in 927 H.³⁰ As I shall show, there is a certain probability that this Maḥmūd was the son of Bāyazīd I.

To judge from the style of decoration, the turbeh seems to be of the period of that of Prince Djem; for these two turbehs are the only ones in the entire group that show a decoration in slightly raised stucco, covered with canvas and painted. The turbeh of Prince Djem is, however, from at least 1429 A.D., as it contains the cenotaph of a prince who died at that date. If, on account of their identical decoration, we can assign the two tombs to an identical period, then that of Shāhzāde Maḥmūd must also be put in the period around 1429 A.D.

The tomb of Shāhzāde has a tile revetment, the borders of which are decorated in light blue underglaze painting of arabesques connected by stems forming elaborate knots and enclosing "Chinese" palmettes.³¹ The style of this design could place it in the first as well as in the second half of the fifteenth century.

10. Tile decorations in the tomb of Prince Djem

Prince Djem, a romantic figure of the fifteenth century, was assassinated in 900 H. (1495 A.D.), but the turbeh in which his cenotaph is found is much older; for it contains the cenotaph of a prince who died in 1429 A.D.³²

The lower part of the inner walls of the turbeh is covered with hexagonal monochrome tiles, turquoise and cobalt, covered with rich gilding. The tile fields are bordered by a frieze consisting of superposed units of arabesque leaves enclosing palmettes, in white, cobalt, and purple. The colors have run together, a sign of technical negligence. In the pointed-arch niches above the doors and windows are fields of monochrome tiles with, in the center of each field, a single tile decorated in underglaze painting, cobalt blue, heightened with purple. The technical execution is rather poor, the colors dull.

I have noted four different designs. One, reproduced by Wilde,³³ is based on the principle of geometric interlacing. A hexagonal star containing a rosette in white outlined by cobalt on a purple field, is completed into a hexagon by six lozenge-shaped compartments containing a quatrefoil in cobalt blue. On the outside of the hexagon, filling the remaining space of the tile,

³⁰ See genealogical table O in E. de Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie*, Hanover, 1927.

³¹ *Ibid.*, Pl. II, 3.

³² This valuable information is given by Migeon and Sakisian, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

³³ *Op. cit.*, Pl. IV, Fig. 1.

are smaller compartments containing, alternately, a third of the pattern of the central star and half that of a lozenge-shaped compartment. A field of tiles of this pattern thus forms a repeat design, the unit of repeat being only a portion of the single tile. The second design shows a central rosette from which six palmettes issue into the six corners of the tile. The colors are cobalt blue with touches of manganese on white. The third design is similar to the first. A central hexagonal star containing a rosette, white with cobalt outlines on purple ground, is surrounded by six hexagons enclosing small rosettes in white on cobalt ground. Between the hexagons are triangular compartments. The corners of the tile take up one-third of the pattern of the central star and the hexagonal motifs in such a way that the meeting of three tiles builds up a repeat of the central motif.

The fourth pattern forms a hexagram with lines connecting first the even, then the odd points of the hexagon. The diagonal lines form a small central hexagon with a rosette design on blue. The triangular points of the hexagon show a rosette design on mauve, and the triangles between the points, with one side of the tile as base, contain each two arabesque leaves on mauve ground. Where two tiles meet, these latter triangles are completed into lozenges filled with the well-known design of four forked arabesque leaves around a central kernel. Almost the same design occurs on one of the tiles in Murādiye, Edirne (*Fig. 4*). I cannot say, however, whether these rather poor tiles are of Persian workmanship or the first attempts of local imitation.

11. Tiles with fine spiral design

Migeon and Sakisian justly emphasize the importance of the fine spiral designs with attached leaflets which they ascribe (in my opinion, incorrectly) to the kilns of the Golden Horn and to the sixteenth century.³⁴ I have seen in a Constantinople collection a square tile with this design, which I am inclined to ascribe to the fifteenth century.

TURKISH WHEEL-TURNED POTTERY IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

It has been noted that the wheel-turned wares produced in Turkey during the fourteenth century were, so far as can be determined from the fragments available for study, of a decidedly inferior quality. Though a definite date can be given for the revival of Turkish ceramic art as applied to architecture, it is very difficult to determine just when the movement that found its culmination in the fine wheel-turned potteries of the sixteenth century came to life.

Migeon and Sakisian discuss³⁵ a group of mosque lamps and other wares, such as large, deep bowls, dishes, etc., decorated in cobalt underglaze painting on a white ground, which were formerly, without any particular reason, ascribed to Kutāhiye. Pointing out the severe form of the pottery mosque lamps, which is practically identical with that of Egyptian mosque lamps of the fourteenth century, Migeon and Sakisian come to the conclusion that they, with the other wares of the group, must date from the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century.

³⁴ Migeon and Sakisian, *op. cit.*, p. 32, Fig. 17.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 28 ff.

I am inclined to think that the wares were produced by the same Persian ceramists who made the blue-and-white faïence of Brussa and Edirne. If my supposition is correct, the beginning of the series must be dated considerably earlier than the period to which they have formerly been assigned, that is, from about 1420 A.D., from which date they continued until the beginning of the sixteenth century, when there was created a new style of painted floral decoration in which manganese purple, leaf green, turquoise, and cobalt are the leading colors, while the coral red, that glory of a later period, had not yet come to life.

In the blue-and-white potteries, two different styles are apparent: in one arabesque motifs alone are used in combination with Kūfic lettering; in the other appear a number of motifs of the Chinese floral style. My dating is derived purely from the argument of style, based particularly on a comparison of the wares with the blue-and-white tiles of the tomb of Sitte Khātūn and those of Murādīye in Edirne. The only recorded dates that we have are of the early sixteenth century: a ewer in the Godman collection has an Armenian inscription assigning it to 1510 A.D.³⁶ It is said, furthermore, that two of the blue-and-white lamps in Činīlī Kōshk Museum in Istanbul come from the tomb of Bāyazīd II, who died in 918 H. (1512 A.D.). I find, however, the stylistic argument sufficient for dating the beginning of the series somewhat earlier.

Persian workmanship for at least a part of the production is made probable by the fact that one piece, a mosque lamp,³⁷ was made by a Shi'ite, as the name of 'Alī is associated with those of Allāh and Muḥammad in the decorative inscription.

There cannot be any doubt that the type was developed as an imitation of the Chinese blue-and-white Ming porcelain, so favored for tableware in the Near East. Although the color scheme remained Chinese, the designs followed Near Eastern tradition, and Chinese motifs were introduced only to a limited extent. On the whole, these early blue-and-white wheel-turned potteries were a very successful attempt at producing in the country wares higher in quality than the rough peasant potteries of the previous age and able to compete with imported Chinese porcelain. I am convinced that this technical achievement was first realized with the aid of Persians, from whom the native ceramists of Anatolia learned the processes involved in the making and decorating of fine pottery.

III. BLUE-AND-WHITE TILES MADE, PROBABLY BY PERSIAN WORKMEN, IN SYRIA AND EGYPT

DAMASCUS

Syria boasted in the fifteenth century workshops that produced tiles of blue-and-white design in considerable quantity. These tiles, as will appear below, were most likely made, at least in the beginning of the industry, by Persian workmen.

³⁶ F. Godman, *Catalogue of the Godman Collection of Oriental and Spanish Pottery and Glass*, London, 1901, p. 52, No. 7: cf. R. L. Hobson, *A Guide to the Islamic Pottery of the Near East*, British Museum, London,

1932, p. 80.

³⁷ In the Činīlī Kōshk Museum; see Migeon and Sakisian, *op. cit.*, p. 29, Fig. 14.

One group of Syrian tiles consists of the important fields of blue-and-white tiles in the Victoria and Albert Museum (museum numbers: 408, 411-1898; 295-1900; *Figs. 23* and *24*). These tiles are somewhat different from those in Murādiye, Edirne—more skillful in design, and enlivened by small bird motifs, sometimes a single crane, sometimes affronted birds flanking a central motif. Polygonal patterns, on the other hand (octagons in stars) have a certain resemblance to designs found in Edirne, and the pattern of six palmettes attached to spiral stems and grouped around a seventh central palmette (a frequent motif in Edirne) occurs several times. The flower-shrub designs are more frequent and more skillfully executed than in Edirne. Motifs similar to the “seaweed” design, at least one example of which we observed in Edirne (*Fig. 13*), also occur.³⁸

These tile fields are said to have been in the Great Mosque of Damascus before the great fire. We have more exact information as to the date of origin of the fields preserved in the turbeh of al-Tawrīzī in Damascus, which was built in 825 H. (1423 A.D.). The tiles that decorate the turbeh are doubtless of the period of foundation (*Fig. 25*). In the mosque itself, a coarser and later type of tile has been used. I was told that there had been tiles of the blue-and-white family in the *hammām* adjacent to the mosque until the political disturbances of a few years past, during which, according to Damascus gossip, they disappeared.³⁹

Like the tiles in the Murādiye, Edirne, and those in the turbeh of Sitte Khātūn, the tiles in the turbeh of al-Tawrīzī are hexagonal (*Fig. 25*), and, like the tiles of Murādiye, they are used in combination with pale green triangular tiles that transform the hexagons into stars. The occurrence of this combination in both Edirne and Damascus is significant. According to Watzinger and Wulzinger,⁴⁰ each side of the hexagon measures 14.5 cm., which makes the distance from corner to corner 29 cm., slightly greater than the diagonal of the Edirne tiles, which measures only 25.5 cm. The tiles are painted in deep cobalt, with, in only a few instances, occasional geometric lines in grayish brown.

Watzinger and Wulzinger praise the ease with which the al-Tawrīzī tiles are designed. Although the designs are charming, I do not find that they are executed with particular skill. Watzinger and Wulzinger distinguish four types of design:

1. The center held by a large rosette of fifteen to thirty petals, around which are

³⁸ If we take this characteristic “seaweed” pattern from the blue-and-white tiles of Damascus as a guide motif to detect other, analogous pieces, a plate in the Metropolitan Museum might be mentioned, which shows three small boarlike animals running towards right in a high thicket of eleven seaweeds slightly turned to the right by a wind (*Fig. 29*). The design is painted in about two to three shades of cobalt blue under a glaze. It might very well be that this plate represents the early phase of the Irano-Chinese blue-and-white pottery style, and that it dates perhaps even from the fifteenth century.

³⁹ Another group of blue-and-white tiles is found in the mosque of Dervīshīye (see K. Watzinger and C. Wulzinger, *Damaskus, die Islamische Stadt*, Berlin-Leip-

zig, 1924, pp. 68 ff., Pls. 38-39), built in 779 H. (1571 A.D.). They are, however, in part of inferior workmanship (I suspect them of being a patchwork of older and later tiles used at a later period for the decoration of the courtyard) and add nothing to what the tiles of the turbeh of al-Tawrīzī permit in the way of conclusions; so I shall confine my discussion to the fields in the turbeh of al-Tawrīzī.

⁴⁰ For this group of tiles, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 12-15, 91 ff., Pls. 28-29. I studied the tiles in the spring of 1929. For the photographs reproduced here, I am indebted to my friend, Eustache de Lorey, and to Lucien Cavro, of the French Institute in Damascus, whose kindness I gratefully acknowledge.

grouped minor floral sprays, radiating from the center, but curved. It will be remembered that certain of the Murādīye tiles were also decorated with a design focusing on the center, without top or base.

2. Designs showing plants growing from one corner of the tile to the top. Watzinger and Wulzinger compare these designs very happily with seaweeds and fantastic ferns, mosses, and the scouring rush. A similar type of composition occurs in the Murādīye tiles, but there, however, the plant forms are much more conventionalized, much more nearly approaching Near Eastern arabesque plant motifs. While the al-Tawrīzī tiles generally show several independent stems starting from the base, the Murādīye tiles provide a "patch of land" in which the conventionalized plant is rooted. Only one (*Fig. 13*) shows a strange agglomeration of seaweed motifs similar to those of al-Tawrīzī.

3. Patterns formed on a basis of geometric composition. A small hexagon, for instance, decorates the center of a hexagonal tile. This hexagon is developed into a hexagonal star by white triangles. The remaining obtuse triangles, the bases of which are formed by the sides of the hexagonal tile, can be combined with an adjoining tile to form lozenges. This type of composition, discussed in connection with the tiles of the turbeh of Djem in Brussa, occurs in several variations in al-Tawrīzī, where the star designs are so grouped as to form large hexagons, composed of six tiles, with a seventh in the center.

4. Animal designs (etc.). There are several tiles in al-Tawrīzī with a design of flying cranes. I think that these designs give the solution even for the seaweed patterns, for there can be no doubt that the crane designs are originally of a Chinese-Mongolian inspiration, and I think it possible to prove that the strange seaweed and similar patterns also go back to plant designs borrowed from Ming blue-and-white porcelains and crossed with the calligraphic style of Near Eastern plant design. Several other tiles are ornamented with a ewer, a motif often used in Near Eastern art which is found, for example, on Anatolian rugs of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The blue-and-white tiles of Dervīshīye are, as I have said, usually coarser than those of al-Tawrīzī. Some follow the type of geometric star composition; some, even, were ornamented with the "Turkish flowers," i.e., the tulip, rosebud, hyacinth, starflower, and zinnia-like rose, so frequently found in combination in Turkish decoration. I found in the Damascus market similar tiles of cruder execution and in the Constantinople market still cruder examples said to have come from Damascus.

The similarity of technique between the al-Tawrīzī and the Murādīye tiles permits the conclusion that both types were originally created by Persian workmen. It seems clear, however, that Persian tradition was later taken up by native tile workers of Damascus, just as in Turkey it was assimilated and developed in the kilns of Isnik or Kutāhiye.

CAIRO

Ceramic art in Egyptian architecture has been the object of a thorough study by Claude Prost. His work,⁴¹ dealing in the first instance with the monuments of Cairo, states that until the middle of the fourteenth century the faïence revetments of Egypt were executed in faïence mosaic, that monuments decorated in faïence are unknown between 749 H. (1348 A.D.) and 901 H. (1495 A.D.), and that when the use of faïence finally came back in 901 H., it was in the form of tiles.⁴² Since no traces of pottery such as used in the faïence mosaic appear in the rubbish-heaps of Fuṣṭāṭ, and since even wheel-turned potteries of the period often bear the names of foreign workmen,⁴³ Prost is of the opinion that the revetments in faïence mosaic were made by foreign workmen. Among the tiles used for revetment after 901 H., decoration with cobalt underglaze painting often occurs. The following list of the most important examples is after Prost, but I add to it my own commentary, relating the examples to the problem of the Turkish and Syrian blue-and-white tiles.

1. Panel above the door of the sebīl of Ḳā'it Bāy (*Fig. 26*), now in the Cairo Museum.⁴⁴ Decoration of spiral vines with attached leaflets; at the end of each vine a large palmette of "Chinese" design. The central cartouche bears the name of Ḳā'it Bāy (873–901 H.). The sebīl was erected in 901 H. (1495–99 A.D.). I do not recall any Turkish blue-and-white tiles of analogous design. The resemblance with the spiral frieze on the body of the mosque lamp from the turbeh of Bāyazīd II, now in Činīlī Köşk Museum,⁴⁵ may be mentioned.

2. A panel identical with that from the sebīl of Ḳā'it Bāy but coming from the madrasa of Sulṭān Džānbalat (now in the Cairo Museum). This madrasa is dated 905 H. (1500–01 A.D.).⁴⁶

3. Frieze from the mausoleum of Ḳaṣuḥ al-Ghurī, now in the Cairo Museum.⁴⁷ This frieze shows large white Thulth lettering, bordered by black outlines on blue ground. Unfortunately neither Prost nor Herz Bey states the shade of blue, and the word "blue" without the qualification "turquoise" or "cobalt" is all but useless.

4. Mausoleum of the Amīr Sulaimān, built 951 H. (1544–45 A.D.).⁴⁸ Large Thulth lettering, white on "blue" ground.

5. Tomb and Zāwiya of Sīdī 'Alī Nadjm, undated, assigned by Prost to the sixteenth century (*Fig. 27*). From this tomb come hexagonal tiles with blue floral ornament on white

⁴¹ Claude Prost, *Les Revêtements céramiques dans les Monuments musulmans de l'Égypte*, "Mém. Inst. français d'Archéol. orientale du Caire," Vol. 40, 1917.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 10, footnote, cites the names of foreign workmen on wheel-turned pottery, quoted after D. Fouquet, *Contribution à l'Étude de la Céramique Orientale*, Cairo, 1900, pp. 44, 117–18. Among these signatures are those of an "al-Tawrizī," an "Adjāmī" (i.e., Persian),

and of several Syrians.

⁴⁴ Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 11, Pl. IV, 1; Herz Bey, *Catalogue of the National Museum of Arab Art*, Cairo, 1907, p. 221, Fig. 40.

⁴⁵ Migeon and Sakisian, *op. cit.*, Fig. 13.

⁴⁶ Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 12–13, Pl. IV, 2; Herz Bey, *op. cit.*, p. 223, Fig. 41.

⁴⁸ Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 14, Pl. V.

ground⁴⁹ and tiles with a similar decoration "in black on green ground." I am inclined to think that the latter are in the well-known technique of black, on white slip, covered by a translucent turquoise lead glaze. These tiles are exceedingly important. First, we find the same combination of blue (probably cobalt) painting on white slip under lead glaze and black on white slip under turquoise glaze, as we observed in the mihrāb of Murādiye in Edirne. Second, the floral designs reproduced by Prost happen to be almost identical with the most frequent type of tiles found in the turbeh of al-Tawrīzī, Damascus, and the hexagonal-star pattern which we observed in Damascus is also found in Sīdī 'Alī Nadjīm. The series of tiles in the mausoleum thus links up with the blue-and-white tiles of Turkey and Syria.

6. Mausoleum of Sayida Nefisa. This mausoleum, of very early date, was decorated with faïence at a later period. From it comes a large faïence plaque (*Fig. 28*) decorated in blue or, in some of the minor compartments, black on white.⁵⁰ Without giving any specific reasons, Prost assigns this plaque to the sixteenth century. Herz Bey says it is "most probably fifteenth century," and I am of his opinion. The design, with interlaced ribbons forming knots, seems to point to the fifteenth century. The plaque is especially important in that it bears the inscription "Made by 'Isā ibn Tabrīzī." We have here, if not a man from Tabrīz, at least the descendant of a man from Tabrīz, and thus another instance of the influence of the ceramic industry of Persia exerting itself in a Mediterranean country. This signature is a further corroboration of the theory that Persians were instrumental in developing the blue-and-white faïence decoration which appeared in the Near East about 1420 A.D.⁵¹

IV. SUMMARY

Ceramic art was in a condition of stagnation in Asia Minor during the fourteenth century. While wheel-turned potteries were produced in Syria and Egypt during this period, tile decorations cannot be shown in Egypt before the fifteenth century, and their use in Syria before that period remains to be investigated. In the beginning of the fifteenth century, two new

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 15, Pl. VI, 1. Prost says: "Sur un fond blanc, une décoration florale et de rinceaux en bleu . . . se détache sous une épaisse couche vitreuse." Either the blue is painted on white slip and covered with a transparent lead glaze, or it is painted *on top* of a stanniferous glaze, which, on account of its content of tin, must be opaque. In the first case, we have what is called a "semi-faïence," in the second, a faïence properly speaking. Painting under a stanniferous glaze is impossible.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 39, Pl. X, 1; Herz Bey, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

⁵¹ Another product of a potter from Tabrīz working outside Persia, in approximately the period under discussion, is a mosque lamp in the Edward C. Moore collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (No. 91.1.95). Its main decoration consists of a large Naskhī inscription on the upper part of the body and the neck; this inscription is reserved in white from a black back-

ground enlivened by fine arabesque scrollwork. The lower part of the body and the foot show, instead of the inscription, large flowers with cobalt blue centers; this blue color occurs also on other parts of the lamp, being especially used for the dividing lines between the different sections of the lamp, for the polylobed medallions around the suspension lugs, and for the centers of flowers and for arabesques in the interstices of the inscription. In the interior of the lamp the slightly greenish glaze is laid over the undecorated white slip, but inside the foot is a large Naskhī inscription in black, with blurred blue dots and arabesques in the interstices, indicating that this lamp is the "Work of Ibn al-Ghaibī at-Tawrīzī" (see M. S. Dimand, *A Handbook of Mohammedan Decorative Arts*, New York, 1930, p. 166 and Fig. 102, where this piece is attributed to Syria, fourteenth-fifteenth century).

styles of ceramic revetments spread from Persia over the Nearer East, the one polychrome, in *cuerda seca* technique, the other in cobalt blue-and-white underglaze decoration. The *cuerda seca* technique is found in various cities of Anatolia. I do not know of any specimens from Syria or Egypt. The technique of cobalt blue underglaze painting on white ground, however, inspired by Chinese blue-and-white Ming porcelain, spread (seemingly from Persia) over all three countries. As yet, though Persian blue-and-white wheel-turned potteries of this period are fairly frequent, no Persian blue-and-white tiles of the fifteenth century have, so far as my knowledge goes, come to light in Persia. We know so little about the ceramic art of Persia that further investigation may well yield examples. I am strongly of the opinion that both the *cuerda seca* and the blue-and-white technique were first made in the Nearer East by Persian workmen. Gradually, these workmen were supplanted by native craftsmen, though the date will be difficult to determine.

APPENDIX

TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE MURĀDĪYE DJĀMĪ' IN EDIRNE

For the reading of the following inscriptions, I am indebted to my friend and colleague, Dr. Paul Wittek, formerly of the German Archaeological Institute in Istanbul, and now of the Institute of Philology and Oriental History of the Free University of Brussels, Belgium. For transcription of and information concerning the inscription of the mihrāb, I wish also to thank my friends, Essad Fuad Bey and H. Kemal of Istanbul.—R. M. R.

Adrianopel, Murādīye-Moschee, Mihrāb.

Die den Mihrāb rahmende Inschriftborte enthält zwei parallel laufende Schriftbänder vor einer zarten Blütenranke als Untergrund. Das helle Schriftband, in sehr kursivem Naskhī geschrieben, hält sich vorzugsweise an den inneren Rand und reicht an den äusseren Rand fast nur mit seinen schlanken Schäften; das dunkle Schriftband, in Kufī, begleitet den äusseren Rand und durchsetzt die Schäfte des Naskhī-bandes. Durch Kartuschen ist rechts und links unten deutlich je eine Partie abgesondert, und zwar wiederholt die linke in Spiegelschrift genau den Wortlaut der rechten. Dieser lautet:

اللهم تقبل من السلطان مراد خان
بن محمد بن بايزيد خان نصره الله

O Gott, nimm [es] an von dem Sulṭān Murād Khān, Sohn des Mehemmed,
Sohnes des Bayazīd Khān, leihe ihm Gott seinen Beistand!

Das von diesen beiden unteren Partien eingeschlossene Mittelstück enthält im Naskhīteil *Ḳor.* III 32 von *kullamā* bis 35 'āḳir ḳāla, im Kūfīteil, den zu lesen die Photographie nicht ausreicht, vermutlich dessen Fortsetzung.

Die rechteckige Tafel über der Nische enthält 3 Zeilen Naskhī, davon die oberste als Fortsetzung der untersten auf dem Kopfe stehend zum Anfang der Zeile zurückläuft. Die

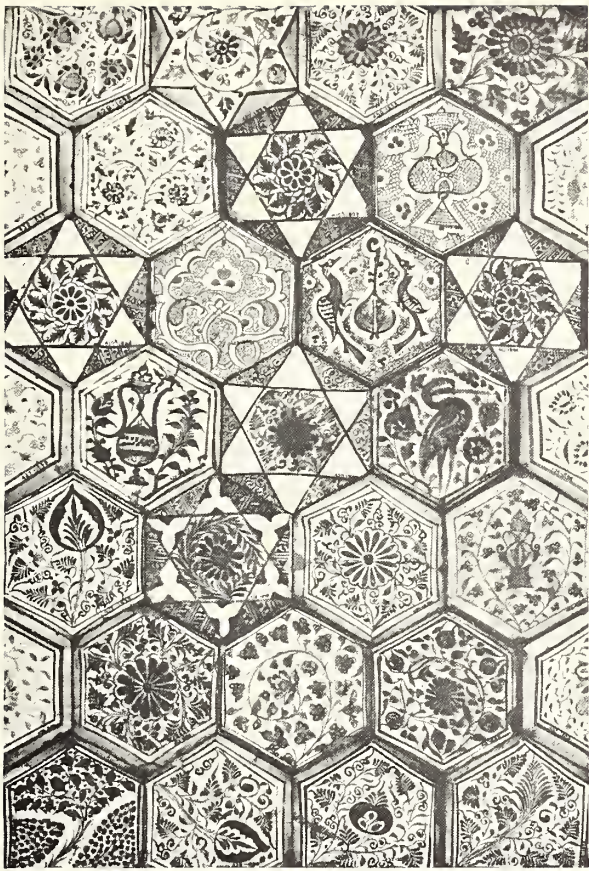


FIG. 23



FIG. 24

WALL TILES, SYRIAN, FIFTEENTH CENTURY, LONDON, VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM

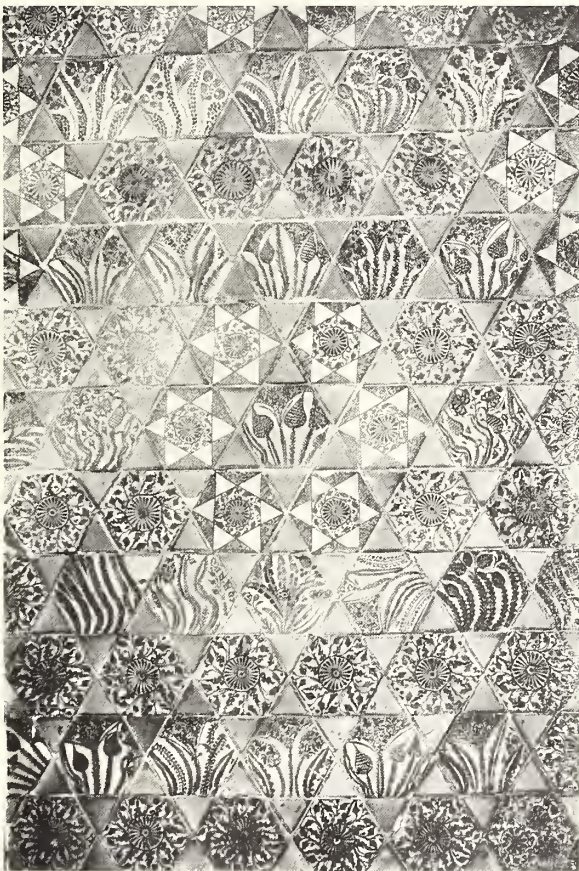


FIG. 25—WALL TILES, SYRIAN, 1423 A.D.
DAMASCUS, TURBEH OF AL-TAWRĪZĪ

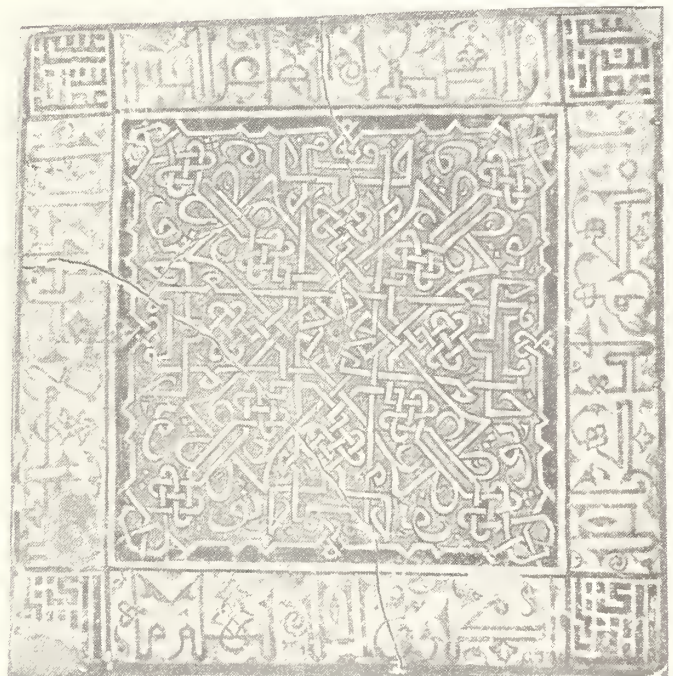


FIG. 28—FAÏENCE PLAQUE FROM THE MAUSOLEUM OF SAYIDA
NEFĪSA, EGYPTIAN, FIFTEENTH CENTURY
CAIRO, ARAB MUSEUM



FIG. 26—PANEL OF THE SEBİL OF KĀ'IT BĀY, EGYPTIAN, 1495 A.D., CAIRO, ARAB MUSEUM

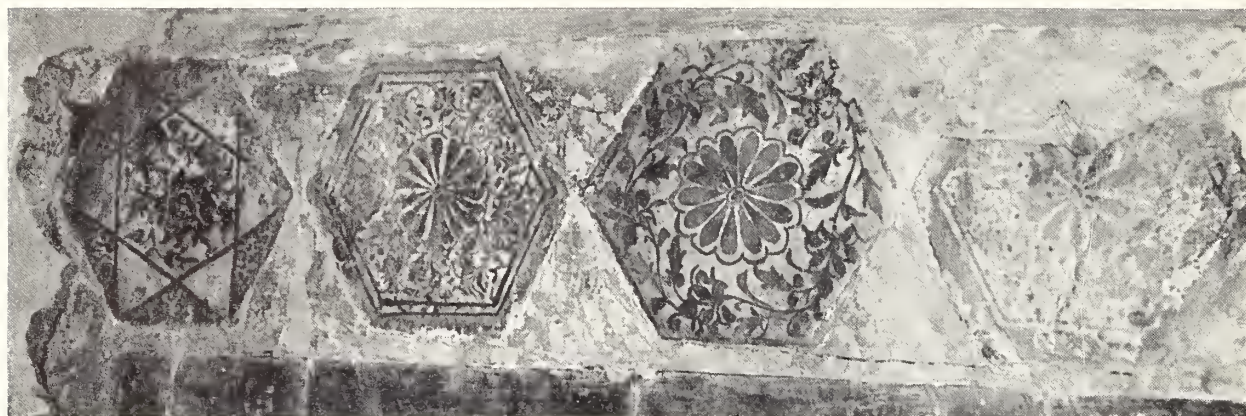


FIG. 27—TILES FROM THE ZĀWIYA OF SĪDĪ 'ALĪ NADĪM, EGYPTIAN, SIXTEENTH CENTURY



FIG. 29—POTTERY PLATE, PERSIAN, FIFTEENTH CENTURY
NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

zuweilen in beiden Schäften zu lesenden langen Schäfte (involutie) werden oberhalb und unterhalb der mittleren Naskhī-Zeile von je einer Kūfī-Zeile durchsetzt, die vermutlich den Text der Naskhī-Zeilen (*Kor.* III 14. 15) fortführen.

Unter der Tafel die, offenbar von einer Wiederherstellungsarbeit herrührende, *Ṭuḡhrā* des Sulṭāns Maḥmūd II (1808–1839).

In der Nische selbst, abermals von einer Kūfī-Zeile durchsetzt, eine Zeile Naskhī (*Kor.* XXXIII 56) mit besonderer Verschlingung im Mittelfeld.

Adrianopel, Murādīye.

علت عمارة سلطان ابن سلطان بحر الايادي مراد ال عثمان
فاضت بنعماء والافلاك تغبتها [[ان المباني تحكى همة الباني
الله اسأل ان تبقى موءرخة على الدهور جرى احسان سلطان

Übersetzung: (1) Hoch ragt die Stiftung des Sulṭāns und Sulṭānsohnes, des Meeres der Wohltaten, Murād vom Hause 'Othmān. (2) Sie quillt über von Gnaden und die Himmel beneiden sie—Wahrlich die Bauwerke sind ein Abbild der hohen Absichten des Bauherrn. (3) Ich bitte Gott, dass sie Bestand habe mit dem Datumsvers: für alle Zeiten mögen dauern die frommen Werke des Sulṭāns.

Als Datum ergibt sich aus dem Datumsvers das Jahr 839 (1436), also dasselbe Jahr, das J. H. Mordtmann (ohne Quellenangabe?) als Erbauungsjahr angibt.*

* *Encycl. Islam*, II, p. 2 (s.v. Edirne).

‘ALĪ RIZĀ-I ‘ABBĀSĪ, CALLIGRAPHER AND PAINTER BY ISABEL HUBBARD

THE PROBLEM OF IDENTIFYING ISLAMIC MINIATURE PAINTERS AND ASSIGNING DEFINITE works to them is exceedingly complicated, but with the further presentation of unpublished material a more satisfactory solution can undoubtedly be reached. One of the great difficulties to be encountered is that miniatures from most periods are rarely signed by the artist and attributions must be made on a purely stylistic basis. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Persia, however, signatures were placed on many drawings and paintings. Unfortunately, in some instances, instead of clarifying the identity of the artist they add confusion, for either the signatures cannot be read with absolute certainty or they are too variable to be attributed to one artist. Such is the case of the artists whose signatures contain the name Rizā.¹ One book and many articles have been devoted entirely to the “Rizā problem,” but I propose to consider only those which pertain directly to ‘Alī Rizā-i ‘Abbāsī and to present a manuscript which was written, illuminated, and illustrated by him.

Sarre and Mittwoch were the pioneers of the “Rizā problem.”² They considered Rizā-i ‘Abbāsī and ‘Alī Rizā-i ‘Abbāsī to be the same artist, both a calligrapher and a painter at the court of Shāh ‘Abbās (1587–1628), ignoring the fact that the name ‘Alī did not appear on any of the signed drawings or miniatures which they published. Many of the drawings which they assigned to Rizā-i ‘Abbāsī bore varying signatures, and the attributions were criticized by Karabacek who believed the works to be those of more than one artist.³ He discussed several artists with the name Rizā, pointing out the fact that ‘Alī Rizā-i ‘Abbāsī was known only as a calligrapher. Martin, ignoring the latter point, wrote of ‘Alī Rizā-i ‘Abbāsī and Rizā-i ‘Abbāsī as the same artist: “A celebrated and very productive calligrapher and painter.”⁴

Schulz attempted to settle the problem by emphasizing the fact that ‘Alī Rizā-i ‘Abbāsī, who was mentioned in historical books and known for his inscriptions, was solely a calligrapher.⁵ Kühnel, however, was not convinced and questioned whether or not this calligrapher was also a painter, mentioning the important fact that historical sources frequently omitted references to painting since calligraphy was of much more importance in the Islamic world.⁶ Russian scholars likewise became interested in the controversy but did not present any new arguments.⁷ Coomaraswamy, confusing the names of ‘Alī Rizā-i ‘Abbāsī and Rizā-i

¹ L. Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson, and B. Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting*, London, 1933, p. 157, note 1.

² F. Sarre, “Riza Abbasi ein persischer Miniaturmaler,” *Kunst und Künstler*, Oct., 1910, pp. 45–53; *idem*, “Zu Josef Karabaceks ‘Riza-i Abbasi,’” *Der Islam*, II, 1911, pp. 196 ff.; F. Sarre and E. Mittwoch, *Zeichnungen von Riza Abbasi*, Munich, 1914.

³ J. von Karabacek, “Riza-i Abbasi ein persischer Miniaturenmalerei,” *Sitzungsber. d. K. Akad. der Wissensch., Phil. hist. Klasse*, 167, Abh. 1, zur orientalischen Altertumskunde, III, Wien, 1911, pp. 1–48.

⁴ F. R. Martin, *Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey*, London, 1912, p. 112.

⁵ P. W. Schulz, *Die persisch-islamische Miniaturmalerei*, Leipzig, 1914, pp. 201 ff.; *idem*, “Die Wahrheit über Riza Abbasi den Maler,” *Zeitschr. für bildende Kunst*, LII, 1917, pp. 73–82.

⁶ E. Kühnel, *Miniaturmalerei in islamischen Orient*, Berlin, 1923, pp. 30 ff. Cf. also E. Littmann, “Zeichnungen von Riza Abbasi von F. Sarre und E. Mittwoch,” *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1917, pp. 601–32.

⁷ B. Deniké, “Survey of the History of Muhammadan Art,” *Art of the Orient* (in Russian), XVII, 1923, pp. 140 ff.; V. A. Kratchkowskaya, “Art in the Collection of Khanenko,” *Zapiski* (in Russian), II, p. 42.

'Abbāsī,⁸ gave his attention more particularly to the question of another artist, Aqā Rizā. Migeon⁹ and Sakisian¹⁰ stated quite definitely that 'Alī Rizā-i 'Abbāsī, the calligrapher, was a different person from Rizā-i 'Abbāsī, the painter.

Arnold went so far as to say: "Mawlānā 'Alī Rizā 'Abbāsī was a famous calligraphist in the reign of Shāh 'Abbās, and wrote out inscriptions for some of the great mosques of Iṣfahan; he was also appreciated as a copyist of manuscripts, several of which in his handwriting are still preserved in libraries in Europe. But there is no evidence whatsoever that Mawlānā 'Alī Rizā 'Abbāsī ever painted a picture in his life, and the calligrapher who owed his fame to the verses from the Word of God which he inscribed on the mosques of Iṣfahan would probably have viewed with horror the scandalous accusation that he should have so demeaned himself as to create such pictures as Rizā 'Abbāsī delighted in. . . . Moreover the only signatures in the characteristic handwriting of the artist are Rizā (simply) or Rizā 'Abbāsī; there is no evidence that he ever added 'Alī to his name."¹¹

After a discussion of the many angles of this question Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray stated: "The whole problem has been further tangled by the unnecessary introduction of a certain 'Alī Rizā 'Abbāsī, a contemporary calligrapher of merit, about whom a certain amount is known. But 'Alī' is an essential part of this name, and the fact that it does not appear in any of the signatures in the miniatures is sufficient to prove that the calligraphist and the painter are entirely different persons."¹² Although some authorities still use the names 'Alī Rizā-i 'Abbāsī and Rizā-i 'Abbāsī interchangeably¹³ the most logical view, according to the latest publications, is that these names belong to two separate persons.¹⁴

The "certain amount" of definite information known about 'Alī Rizā-i 'Abbāsī consists of manuscripts and inscriptions bearing his signature and references to him as a calligrapher at the court of Shāh 'Abbās.¹⁵ His inscriptions are found on the tomb of Khwāja Rabī' near Mashhad¹⁶ and on the following buildings in Iṣfahan:¹⁷ Mosque of Shaikh Lutf Allāh, Bazaar of the Shoemakers and Cotton Carders (Khaffāfān wa Hallādjan), and the Mosque of Shāh 'Abbās. There are three manuscripts signed by him in the State Library at Leningrad,¹⁸ one

⁸ A. K. Coomaraswamy, "Notes on Mughal Painting," *Artibus Asiae*, III, 1927, pp. 202 ff.; *idem*, "Les Miniatures orientales de la collection Goloubew," *Ars Asiatica*, XIII, 1929, pp. 50 ff.,

⁹ G. Migeon, *Manuel d'art musulman*, Paris, 1927, I, p. 190.

¹⁰ A. Sakisian, *La Miniature persane du XII-XVIII siècle*, Paris, 1929, pp. 126 ff.

¹¹ T. W. Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, Oxford, 1928, p. 146; cf. also *idem*, "The Rizā Abbāsī MS. in the Victoria and Albert Museum," *Burlington Magazine*, XXXVIII, 1921, pp. 59-67.

¹² Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, pp. 159-160.

¹³ M. S. Dimand, *Handbook of Mohammedan Decorative Arts*, New York, 1930, p. 46; M. Aga-Oglu, *Exhibition of Islamic Art*, San Francisco, 1937, p. 14.

¹⁴ For the most recent summary cf. N. Martinovitch, "Two Questions in Moslem Art," *Journ. R. As. Soc.*, 1935, pp. 290 ff.

¹⁵ Cf. Sarre and Mittwoch, *op. cit.*, pp. 7 ff.

¹⁶ E. Diez, *Churasanische Baudenkmäler*, Berlin, 1918, pp. 66 ff.; P. M. Sykes, "Historical Notes on Khurasan," *Journ. R. As. Soc.*, 1910, pp. 1138-39.

¹⁷ C. Huart, *Les Calligraphes et les Miniaturistes de l'Orient musulman*, Paris, 1908, pp. 245 ff.; Sarre and Mittwoch, *op. cit.*, pp. 7 ff.; Schulz, *Die persisch-islamische Miniaturmalerei*, p. 184.

¹⁸ B. Dorn, *Catalogue des Manuscrits . . .*, St. Petersburg, 1852, p. 290; *idem*, *Mélanges Asiatiques*, St. Petersburg, VI, 1873, pp. 97 and 103; Sarre and Mittwoch, *op. cit.*, p. 17 and Figs. 7 and 8.

in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York,¹⁹ and a single page in the British Museum.²⁰ All of the dates are consistent with the reign of Shāh ‘Abbās, his patron.

If there were no drawings or paintings signed by ‘Alī Rīzā-i ‘Abbāsī, the conclusion that he was only a calligrapher would be well established on the basis of this evidence. However, there are two references, not illustrated, to his signature appearing on paintings. Aga-Oglu reported a manuscript in the Topkapu Sarai Müzesi, Istanbul, with miniatures signed ‘Alī Rīzā-i ‘Abbāsī;²¹ and Sakisian also mentioned an album in the same museum in which many calligraphic pages were signed “Ali Riza *et Tebrizi*,” and one dated 1592 had a miniature signed “Ali Riza.” Sakisian described it as representing a young man wearing a turban with an aigrette and holding flowers in his hand. According to Sakisian this miniature possesses the characteristics of the sixteenth century, and hence is totally different from the work of Rīzā-i ‘Abbāsī.²² In addition to these two references there is a Djāmī manuscript containing miniatures in the collection of H. Kevorkian, New York,²³ which was not only written by ‘Alī Rīzā-i ‘Abbāsī but was also illuminated and painted by him. These facts are stated on the last page in the following colophon (*Fig. 1*):

تمام شد کتاب افصح الفصحا مولانا جامي عليه الرحمه
کاتبه ومصوره ومذهبه على رضای عباسی ووقع الفراق
منها في بلدة ساری من سنة هزار و بیست و دو

Completed this book of the most eloquent of eloquent, Mawlānā Djāmī, mercy on him
The writer,²⁴ the painter and the illuminator, ‘Alī Rīzā-i ‘Abbāsī
In the city of Sārī in the year 1022 [1613-14 A.D.]²⁵

This is the first definite proof that ‘Alī Rīzā-i ‘Abbāsī, the calligrapher, was also a painter, and from his other works it is known that he was active in the northern part of Persia in 1022 H. (1613-14 A.D.). In addition to the colophon there are three memoranda on the fly leaf (*Fig. 2*).

Top of page:

This distinguished book of Djāmī and this famed precious jewel which has sixty leaves of writing and illumination and five scenes of painting, and which from the point of

¹⁹ N. Martinovitch, “A New Manuscript of Ali Riza Abbasi,” *Journ. Amer. Orient. Soc.*, XLIV, No. 3, 1924, pp. 270-72.

²⁰ C. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London, 1881, II, pp. 781-82; Sarre and Mittwoch, *op. cit.*, p. 17 and Fig. 9.

²¹ M. Aga-Oglu, “Some Unknown Mohammadan Illustrated Manuscripts in the Library of the Topkapu Sarayi Müzesi at Istanbul,” *Journ. Amer. Orient. Soc.*, L, No. 4, 1930, p. 336, and reprinted in *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, No. 4, 1931, p. 331.

²² Sakisian, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

²³ Exhibited at the M. H. de Young Memorial Museum, San Francisco, 1937, *Catalogue*, No. 8, with illustration.

²⁴ I wish to thank Dr. M. Sprengling for his information on the word *kātīb*. In the other manuscripts signed by ‘Alī Rīzā-i ‘Abbāsī the form *katabahu* is used, but Dr. Sprengling has assured me that the form *kātīb* is “quite common in Persian colophons.”

²⁵ This colophon and the following memoranda were read and translated by Dr. M. Aga-Oglu, to whom I wish to express my most sincere appreciation.

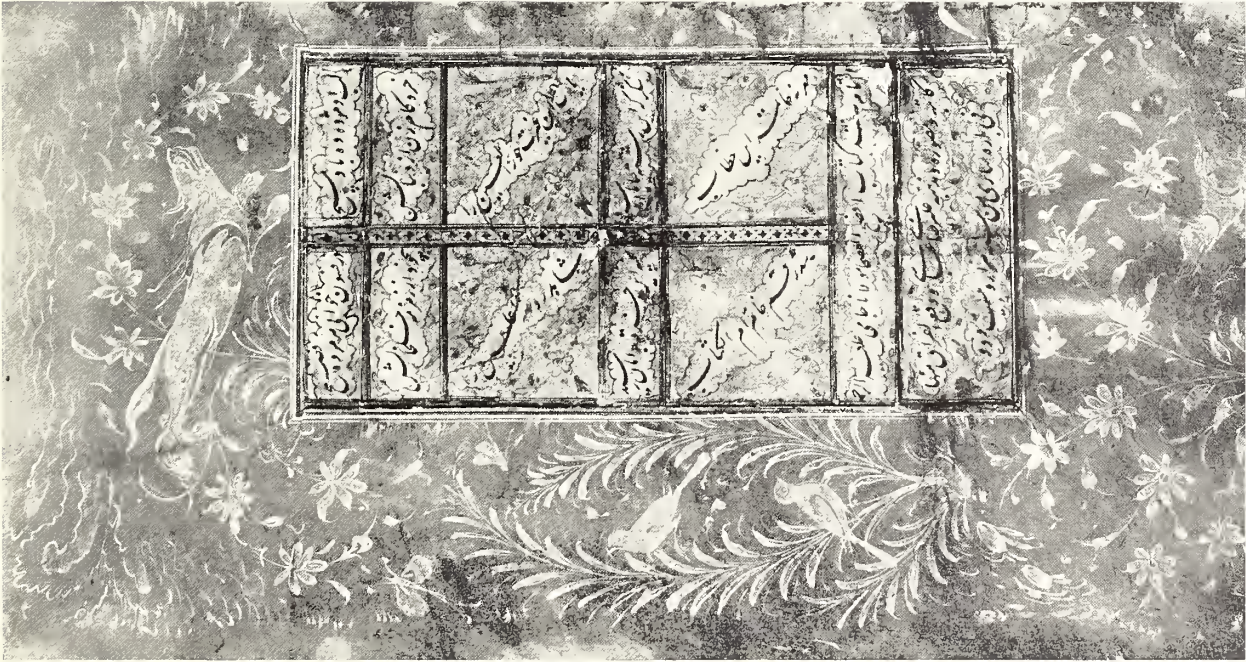


FIG. 1—LAST PAGE WITH COLOPHON
SIGNED BY 'ALĪ RIZĀ-I 'ABBĀSĪ

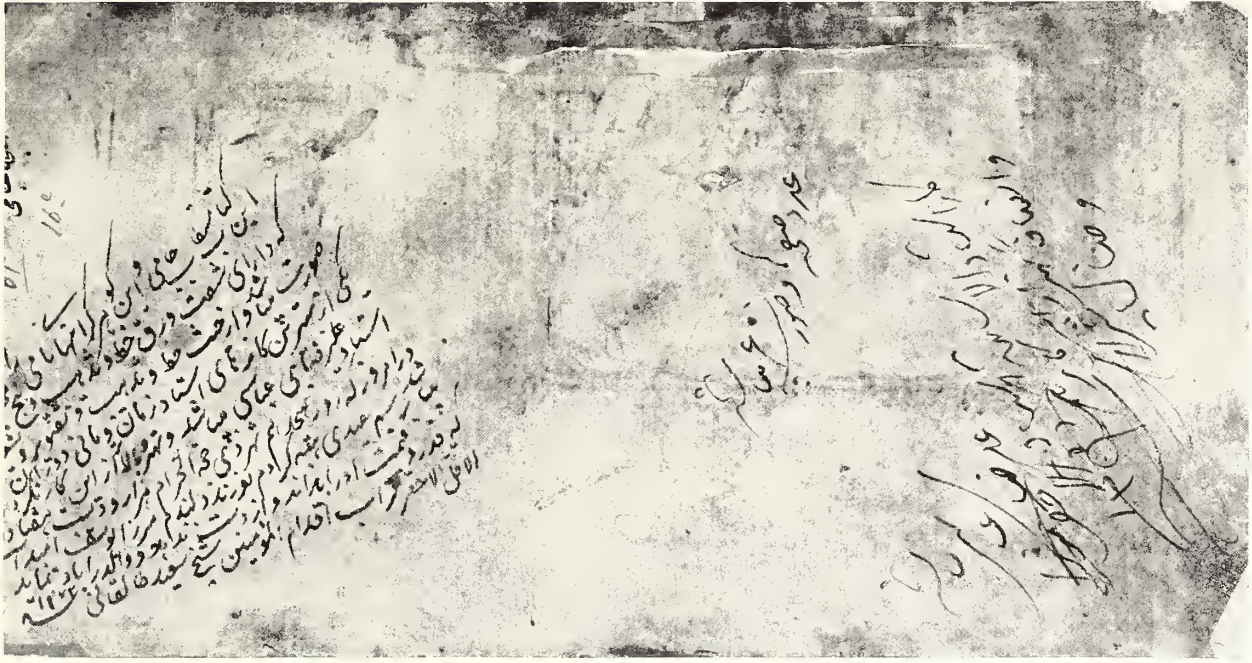


FIG. 2—FRONT PAGE WITH MEMORANDA

Subḥat al-Abrūr, SĀRĪ, 1022 H. (1613-14 A.D.)

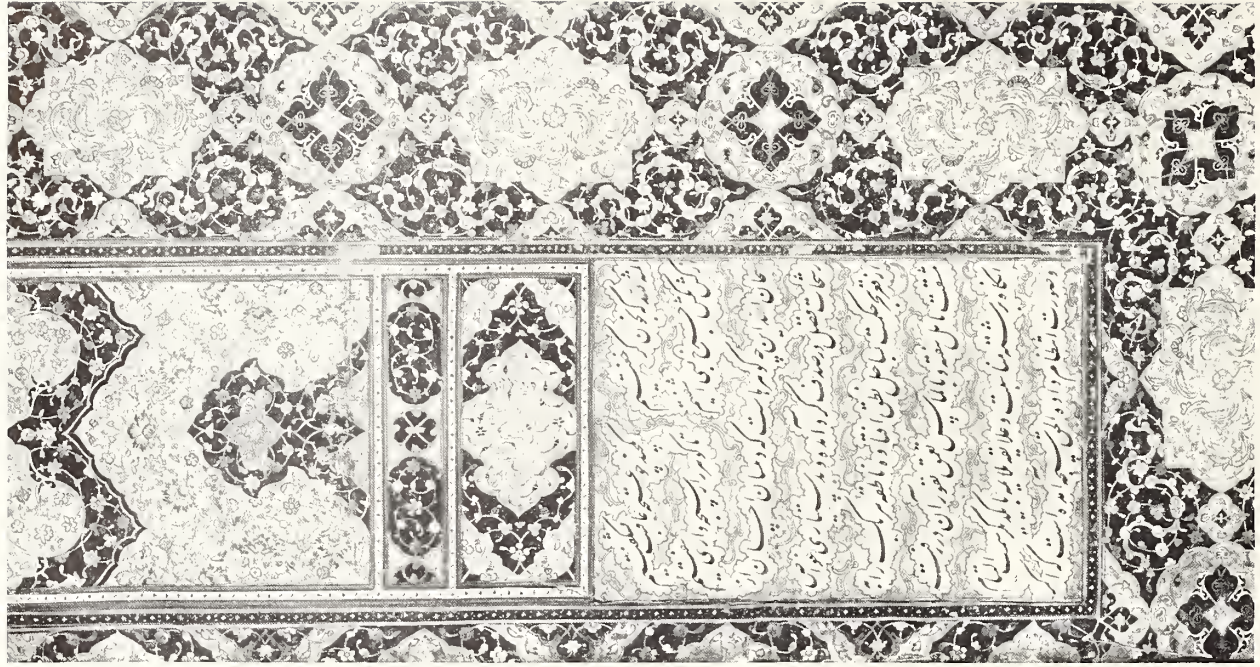


FIG. 4—FIRST PAGE OF TEXT, ILLUMINATED
BY 'ALĪ RIZĀ-I 'ABBĀSĪ

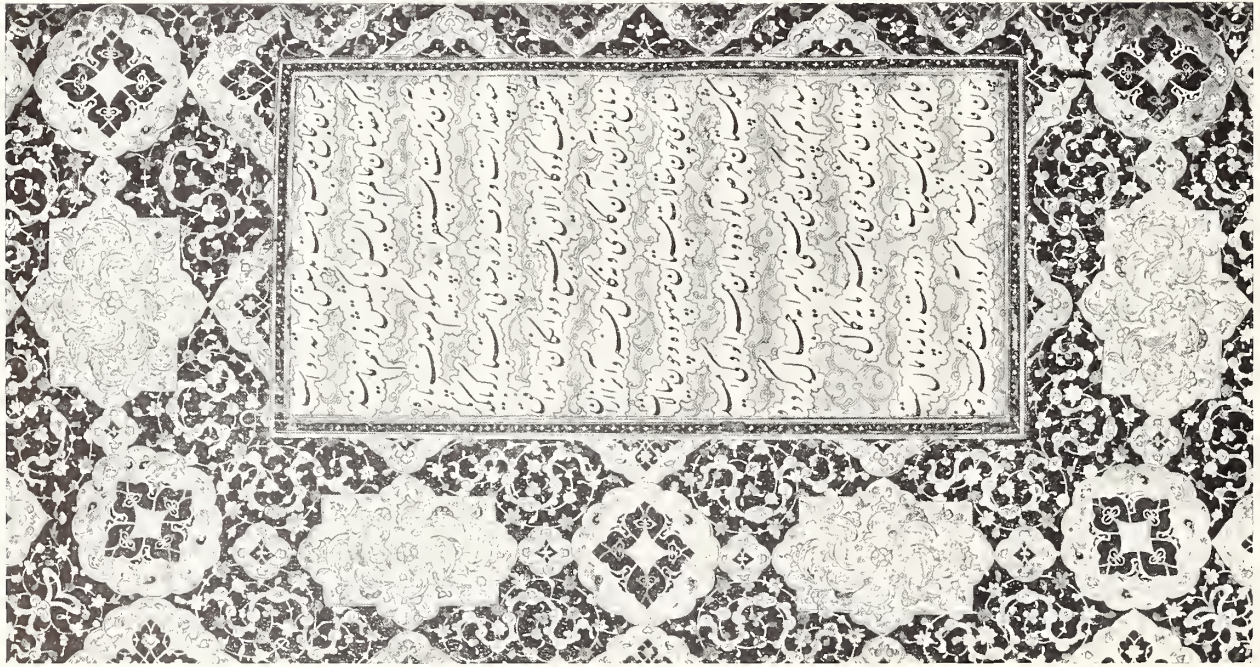


FIG. 3—SECOND PAGE OF TEXT, ILLUMINATED
BY 'ALĪ RIZĀ-I 'ABBĀSĪ

Subḥat al-Abrār, SĀRĪ, 1022 H. (1613-14 A.D.)

view of calligraphy, illumination, and painting is one of the best works of the master of the time and the Mānī of the period, Ustād 'Alī Rizā-i 'Abbāsī, who never made a better or more exalted work, today which is the 18 of Zul Hijja 1272 [August 12, 1856] I present to my beloved son Mīrzā Yūsuf. It is hoped that he will know the value of it and will not give it away from his hand and will remember his father. [signed] The humble Shāikh Sa'īd of Talikan, in the year 1272 [1856 A.D.].

Center of page:

Number of pages and illustrations sixty.

Bottom of page:

Work of Ustād 'Alī Rizā-i 'Abbāsī and justly there is no better work. [signed] Mīrzā Wiṣāl of Shīrāz, 1290 [1873-74 A.D.].

This complete manuscript of the *Subḥat al-Abrār*²⁶ ("Rosary of the Pious"), one of the seven didactic poems (*Haft Awrang* or *Sa'ba*) written by Djāmī (Mawlānā Nūr al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Djāmī, 1414-92 A.D.),²⁷ contains sixty pages, five of which have miniature paintings. The binding is gold pressed leather, now in a poor state of preservation (24.3 x 13.4 cm.). The wide margins of each page, with the exception of the first two, are of a dull red shade decorated with realistic animals, birds, flowers, plants, and clouds painted in gold. The first two pages (*Figs. 3 and 4*) are luxuriantly illuminated with medallions, arabesques, and floral motifs painted in gold and many vivid colors on a bright blue background. The text, which is approximately the same size on each page, is dexterously written in Naskhi on paper of a tan ground; irregular gold bands in leaflike formation, ornamented with pink, blue, and white petals, separate the lines of calligraphy (page size: 24.3 x 12.5 cm.; text size: 12.5 x 6 cm.).

The miniatures are delicately painted in subdued colors on a gold ground. All of them are similar in composition, having two or three persons gracefully posed in a landscape setting, predominantly gold relieved by brightly painted flowers and birds. The figures, in costumes covered with minute patterns, are typical of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The painting of each miniature is somewhat similar to the highly decorative style of Muhammādī and other sixteenth-century artists,²⁸ and differs from the freer and more impressionistic style of Rizā-i 'Abbāsī.²⁹ The few instances in which there is a similarity of style between these miniatures³⁰ and those by Rizā-i 'Abbāsī can easily be explained by the fact that these two artists were painting at the same time.

The first miniature (*Fig. 5*; 9 x 6.5 cm.) depicts two men seated upon the ground, one passing a cup of wine to the other; a lady stands at the left holding a covered bowl. Their garments, with the exception of the scarves, are stiffly decorated with small floral and bird motifs painted in white and dull orange. The ground is covered with green foliage and a few

²⁶ Erroneously listed as *Subhat al-Ahrar* in M. Aga-Oglu, *Exhibition of Islamic Art*, p. 24.

²⁷ Cf. E. G. Browne, *A History of Persian Literature*, Cambridge, 1920, I, pp. 507 ff.

²⁸ Cf. Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXIV (note youth on throne); Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, Pl. CVI; Sarre and Mittwoch, *op. cit.*, Fig. 4b; Kühnel, *op.*

cit., Pl. 75; for marginal decoration cf. *ibid.*, Pl. 71.

²⁹ For typical works by Rizā-i 'Abbāsī cf. Sarre and Mittwoch, *op. cit.*, Figs. 3 and 5; Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, Pl. CXI, B317; Kühnel, *op. cit.*, Pls. 80, 83-84.

³⁰ Cf. shepherd in Figure 8; flowing scarves and landscape details in each miniature.

pale red and blue flowers. In the background behind the large tree with a brown trunk and green leaves, are green cypresses which are very effective against the gold sky. Two birds, one blue and the other red, are perched in the tree, and a gray bird is flying away. The details are exquisitely painted and blend together in a rich and harmonious design. The second miniature (*Fig. 6*; 7.5 x 6.2 cm.) portrays two men sitting upon the gold ground which is sparsely covered with green leaves and red and blue flowers. A yellow bird and a green bird are in the large tree. This painting, which is in the decorative style of the first miniature, lacks the vigorous touch of Riḏā-i 'Abbāsī.

In the third miniature (*Fig. 7*; 10.1 x 6.2 cm.) a standing woman is represented extending her hand to a seated man. White and dull orange star medallions decorate the man's garment, and floral and bird motifs are on the lady's dress; a flowing scarf falls from her shoulders, giving an easy grace to her pose. A red and white bird sits in the large tree at the right, and a few pale pink flowers dot the foreground. The entire composition is skillfully executed and is rich in all details. The shepherd in the fourth miniature (*Fig. 8*; 8.6 x 6.5 cm.) differs from the other figures in that the freer style of Riḏā-i 'Abbāsī is followed. The simple costume, graceful scarf, and freedom of pose are similar to those in certain works of this artist.³¹ However, the royal youth on the throne in the same miniature is painted in the meticulously elaborate style of the other miniatures; the garment which he wears is carefully covered with blue and red geometrical patterns. The ground is dotted with lavender flowers and the large tree, partly hidden by rocks, is encircled by a small tree with red blossoms; the bird on the branch is painted gray and white. The most colorful painting is the last miniature (*Fig. 9*; 12.6 x 6.5 cm.). A hermit with long white hair and beard is seated in the entrance of a rocky cave and before him is a royal youth; a servant approaches from the background carrying a flacon. An unusual design of animal heads painted in dull orange decorates the hermit's garment, and the youth's robes have a characteristic geometrical pattern in blue and white. There is a pool in the foreground from which two varicolored birds are drinking. In the large tree, entwined by a small tree with pink and white blossoms, are a green bird and a red bird; a gray bird is flying overhead. The rich predominance of gold in this miniature, as in all the others, forms a striking contrast to the wide red margin with its gold designs, and is typical of the luxurious splendor in which the entire manuscript is decorated.

The style of painting of 'Alī Riḏā-i 'Abbāsī in these miniatures can be characterized as being ornate though delicate, precise, luxuriantly decorative, and in the manner of the late sixteenth century artists. The style reflects a strong calligraphic training such as that of 'Alī Riḏā-i 'Abbāsī.

The presentation of this *Djāmī* manuscript will not add any confusion to the "Riḏā problem," as it substantiates the current opinion that 'Alī Riḏā-i 'Abbāsī is a different person from Riḏā-i 'Abbāsī. However, no longer can 'Alī Riḏā-i 'Abbāsī be referred to as "only a calligrapher" since this manuscript proves him to be skilled not only in this art but also in the art of painting.

³¹ Drawing of a seated shepherd in Sarre and Mitwoch, *op. cit.*, Pl. 37; cf. also Binyon, Wilkinson, and

Gray, *op. cit.*, Pl. CXI, B317.



FIG. 5—PICNIC SCENE BY 'ALĪ RIZĀ-I 'ABBĀSĪ
Subḥat al-Abrār, SĀRĪ, 1022 H. (1613-14 A.D.)

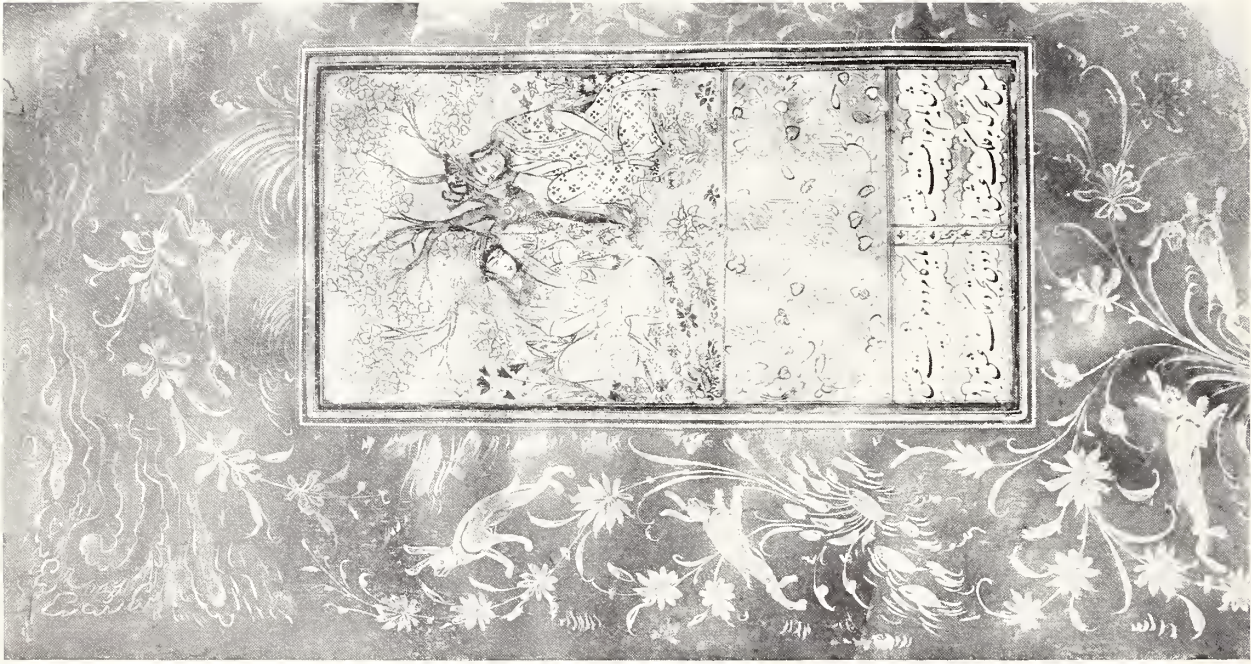


FIG. 6—TWO MEN READING BY 'ALĪ RIZĀ-I 'ABBĀSĪ



FIG. 7—LADY AND SEATED MAN BY 'ALĪ RIZĀ-I 'ABBĀSĪ

Subḥat al-Abrār, SĀRĪ, 1022 H. (1613-14 A.D.)



FIG. 8—ROYAL YOUTH AND SHEPHERD BY 'ALĪ RIZĀ-I 'ABBĀSĪ

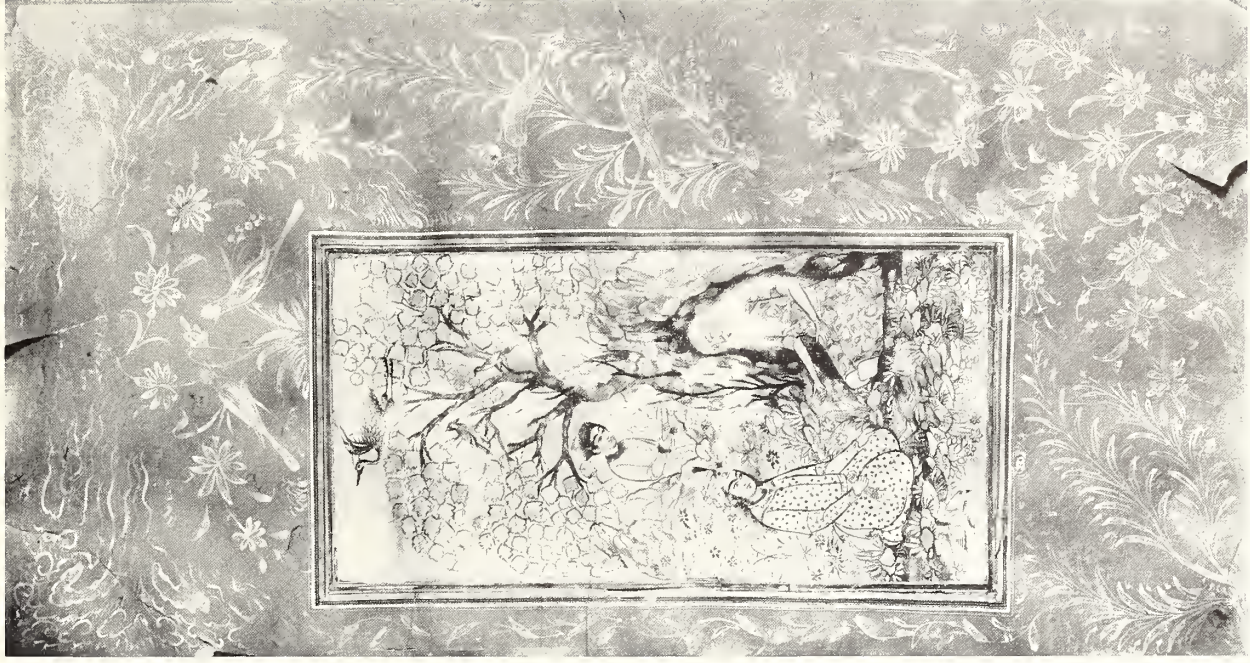


FIG. 9—ROYAL YOUTH AND HERMIT BY 'ALĪ RIZĀ-I 'ABBĀSĪ

Subhat al-Abrār, SĀRĪ, 1022 H. (1613-14 A.D.)

I. SOME ASPECTS OF OMAIYAD AND EARLY 'ABBĀSID ORNAMENT

THIS ARTICLE INAUGURATES A SERIES OF STUDIES DEVOTED TO VARIOUS PROBLEMS OF ISLAMIC ornament. Recent excavations of pre-Islamic and Islamic sites and new material, hitherto unpublished, throw a new light on the origin and evolution of certain types of Islamic ornament, particularly of the arabesque. Ornament is the soul of Islamic art, and the understanding of it is essential in dating monuments and finds. Each period of Islamic art has its own characteristic style of ornament. New motifs, introduced by invading races, were added constantly; old motifs were modified or stylized in a different manner according to the prevailing artistic tendencies.

This first article is devoted to certain problems of the early Islamic era, that is, of the Omayyad and early 'Abbāsīd periods (seventh to ninth century), which are the least known. Dated monuments of this era are rare and, with the exception of Sāmarrā, have been insufficiently published. Thanks to Creswell¹ and Miss van Berchem, a great treasure of Omayyad ornament, in the mosaics and bronze coverings of tie beams in the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, dated 72 H. (691-92 A.D.), is now excellently published and is available to every student of Oriental art. The uncovering of mosaics (of about 715 A.D.) in the great mosque of Damascus by De Lorey² furnished more material and revealed some of the decorative splendor of the Omayyad mosque. Of importance also is Creswell's recent publication of richly decorated wooden consoles, in the al-Akṣā mosque in Jerusalem.³ The Oxford excavations at Ḥīra⁴ in Mesopotamia contributed new material, mostly stucco decoration, dating from the second half of the eighth century, that is, from the early 'Abbāsīd period.

Other early Islamic material which has come to light in recent years consists of several important wood carvings found at Takrīt in Mesopotamia and of unpublished alabaster capitals from Syria, from the Euphrates region between Ruṣafa and Daīr al-Zōr, similar to those which Sarre and Herzfeld found years ago in Raḳḳa and now in the Islamic collections of the Berlin State Museums.⁵ Together with the unpublished capitals, three of which are in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, they clarify certain problems of the 'Abbāsīd style known to us from Sāmarrā and the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn in Cairo. All this new material shows interesting parallels with the ornament on the mimbar of Ḳairawān and the much discussed façade of the Mshattā palace, now in Berlin.

¹ K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, Oxford, 1932.

² E. de Lorey, "Les mosaïques de la mosquée des Omayyades à Damas," *Monuments et Mém., Fondation Eugène Piot*, XXX, 1930; "L'Hellénisme et l'Orient dans les mosaïques de la mosquée des Omayyades," *Ars Islamica*, I, Pt. 1, 1934, pp. 22-45.

³ *The Illustrated London News*, 190, 1937, pp. 94-95.

⁴ Talbot Rice, "The Oxford Excavations at Ḥīra," *Ars Islamica*, I, Pt. 1, 1934, pp. 51-73.

⁵ F. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet*, Berlin, 1911, II, Figs. 320-323; IV, Pl. 140. Other capitals from Raḳḳa are in the Çinili Köşhk Museum, Istanbul.

Of importance for the history of early Islamic ornament is a group of wood carvings found in Takrīt, on the Tigris north of Baghdād, and now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The largest piece consists of two rectangular and two square panels within a framework carved all over with a magnificent vine decoration (*Figs. 1-3*). In the rectangles and squares the wavy scrolls, starting at the bottom, send to the right and left circular branches ending in palmettes and bearing clusters of grapes and short tendrils. In the intervening spaces are offshoots with palmettes, pine cones, trefoils, and elongated leaves. Each panel is bordered by a row of pearls and a wavy scroll of simplified half palmettes. The framework, carved in lower relief than the fields, is decorated with vine scrolls, describing circular branches bearing trefoiled vine leaves and bunches of grapes. At the juncture of horizontal and vertical bands are medallions containing four-petaled rosettes while rows of such rosettes form the inner border of the frame.

The vine ornament was very popular in Hellenistic and early Christian art. In the Islamic era the popularity of vine ornament continued, but it underwent stylistic changes which gradually transformed the vine scroll into an abstract ornament that has only remote relations to the naturalistic design of the Hellenistic prototype. The style of the vine scrolls in the Takrīt wood carving is quite different from that in Christian art of the fifth and sixth centuries, as for instance in the ivory chair of Maximian in Ravenna. In the framework of the Takrīt panel the leaves and grapes are all treated alike in a summary fashion. Beside bunches of grapes, we see here and there branches with three berries which are very frequent in Mshattā and other early Islamic monuments. The purely decorative and unnaturalistic treatment of the vine scrolls is even more evident in the two rectangular (*Fig. 2*) and two square (*Fig. 3*) fields of the panel. The vine scrolls bear a variety of leaves. We recognize two kinds of trefoiled leaves, an elongate curved leaf and a large *heart-shaped palmette* with lobed outlines, and also half palmettes. The palmette is the largest and most conspicuous of all motifs. It has a concave surface with five, occasionally three, incised lobes and a pair of volutes. The tops of the palmettes curve slightly forward. These palmettes, which here replace the vine leaves, are derived from Sassanian art, which played a very great role in the formation of early Islamic art (cf. *infra*).

Another interesting peculiarity of the scrolls in the Takrīt panel is the frequent use of pine cones, which grow out from the vine branches in an unnaturalistic fashion. Such purely decorative combinations of various species of plants and fruits are an Oriental characteristic, occasionally used in the Christian art of Syria and Egypt. In Islamic art the combinations of heterogeneous motifs, particularly of vine scrolls and pine cones, became very popular. The finest example of this type is the mimbar of Ḳairawān which will be discussed later.

A large square panel from Takrīt (*Fig. 4*) shows a dense pattern of vine scrolls within compartments formed by interlaced bands describing a large central circle and several smaller ones. Within the large circle are two interlaced triangles enclosing a central medallion. In the intervening spaces between the large circle and the triangles are six smaller medallions. All the compartments and the central medallion are filled with vine scrolls bearing leaves, mostly



FIG. 1—WOOD CARVING, PROBABLY FROM A MIMIR, FOUND
AT TARRĪT, SECOND HALF OF EIGHTH CENTURY
NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

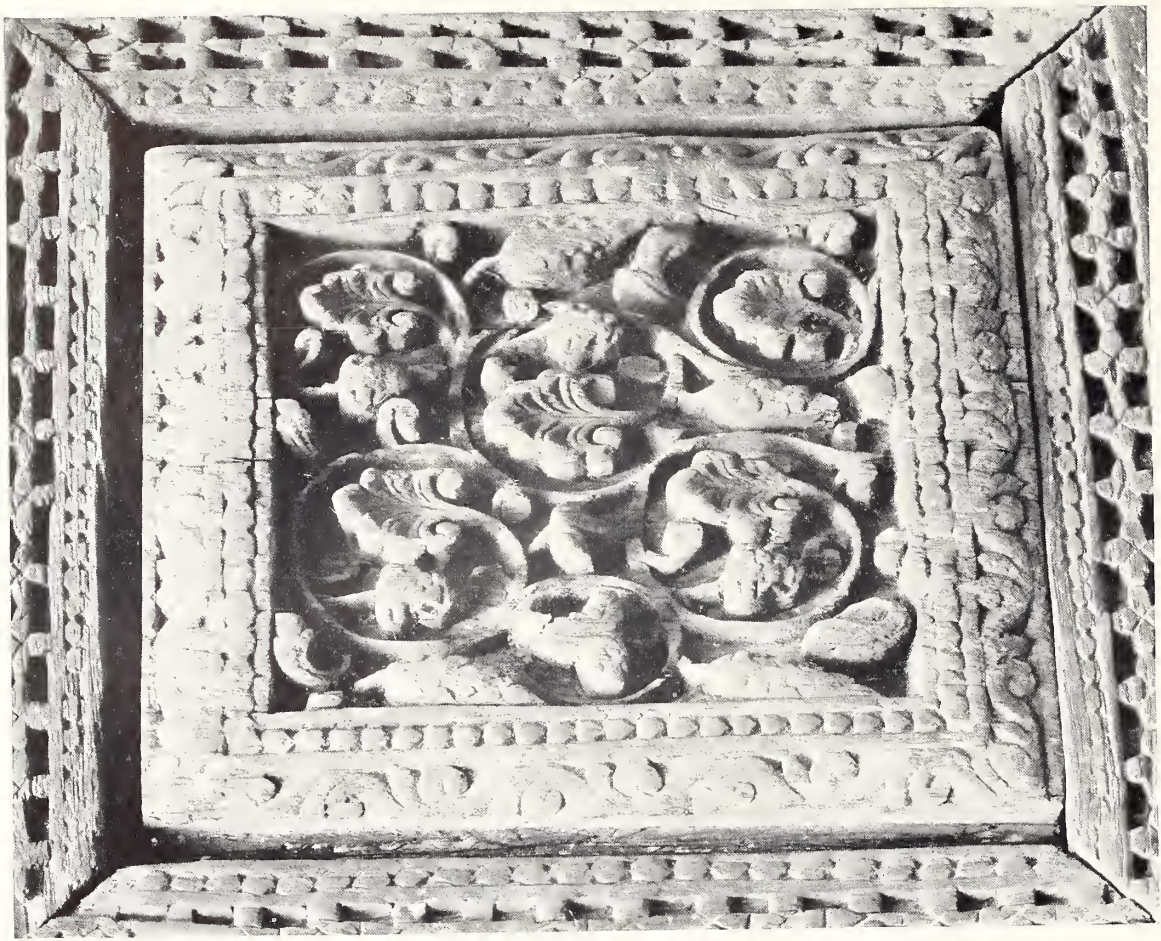


FIG. 3—DETAIL OF FIG. 1

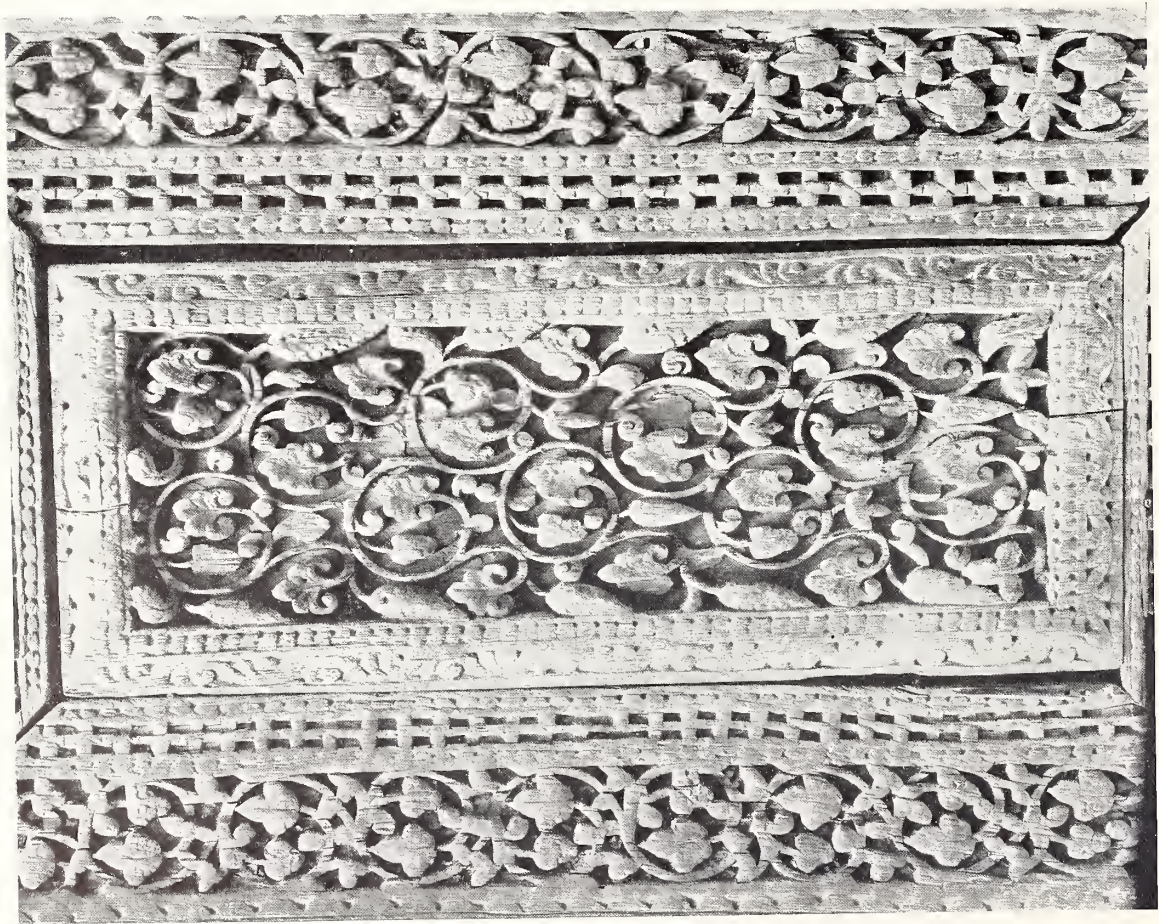


FIG. 2—DETAIL OF FIG. 1

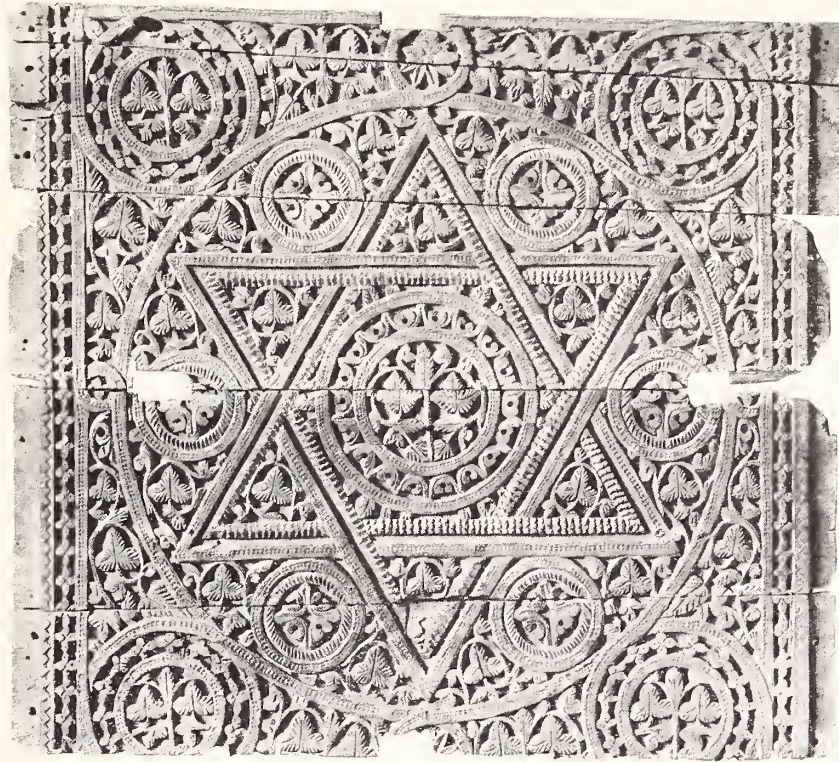


FIG. 4—CARVED TEAKWOOD PANEL FROM TAKRĪT, SECOND HALF OF EIGHTH CENTURY
NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART



FIG. 5—CARVED TEAKWOOD PANEL FOUND AT TAKRĪT, SECOND HALF OF EIGHTH CENTURY
NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

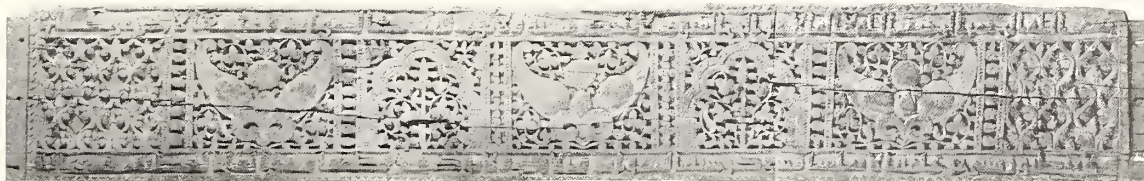


FIG. 6—WOOD CARVING FOUND IN CEMETERY OF 'AIN AL-ŞĪRA, SECOND HALF
OF EIGHTH CENTURY, CAIRO, ARAB MUSEUM

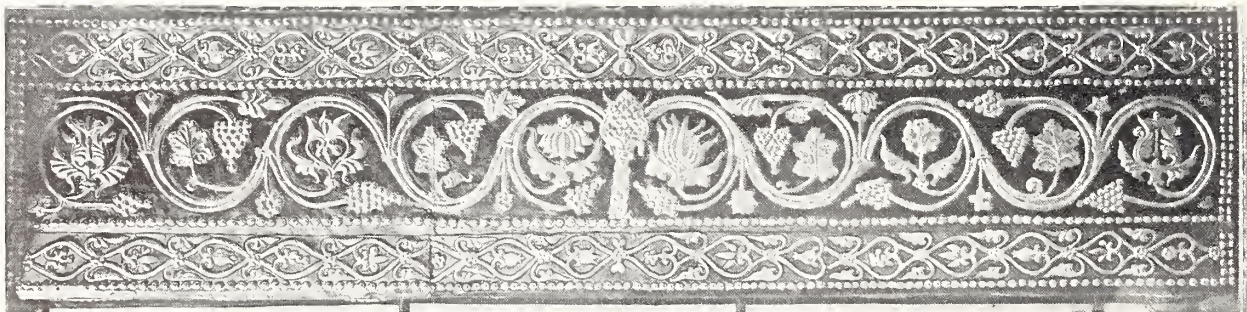


FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY CRESWELL

FIG. 7—CARVED PANEL FROM THE MIMBAR, END OF EIGHTH CENTURY, GREAT MOSQUE, KAIRAWAN



FIG. 8—DETAIL OF FRAMEWORK OF THE MIMBAR, END OF EIGHTH CENTURY, GREAT MOSQUE, KAIRAWAN



FROM CRESWELL

FIG. 9—BRONZE COVERINGS OF TIE-BEAMS, 691-92 A.D., DOME OF THE ROCK, JERUSALEM

trefoiled ones, small tendrils, and here and there half palmettes. The central medallion is bordered by a "cymatium," which also appears within the four small medallions. Rosettes of such palmettes appear within the small medallions of the large circle. Four-petaled rosettes, similar to those in Mshattā (in the rosettes and the molding of the triangles; cf. *Figs. 36-37*), border the whole panel and also the four corner circles. The vine leaves are three-lobed, showing a schematic indication of the veins identical to that of the first Takrīt panel. In the corners the leaves take a lancet form which is frequently seen in Mshattā, particularly in the vine scrolls of the moldings (*Fig. 36*). In the central medallion and the corner medallions the straight vine stem, surmounted by a lancet leaf, sends out to the right and left a branch with leaves and abbreviated half palmettes which are not unlike those of Mshattā. A characteristic feature of this panel is the division into compartments formed by interlacing (see also *Fig. 39*). Such interlacings have been frequently used in the Christian art of Syria and Egypt and later continued in the Islamic era. We find them also in Mshattā, in the triangle *A*, where the bands are overlaid with a row of pearls (*Fig. 61*). Some of the Islamic stucco decorations from houses at Ctesiphon,⁶ which may be assigned to the ninth century, and those from buildings in Ḥīra,⁷ excavated in 1931 by the Oxford expedition and assigned to the second half of the eighth century, show the use of the interlaced or separate compartments. All of them show a central row of pearls between two plain bands. As in the Takrīt panel the compartments of the stuccos are filled with vine scrolls and palmettes.

The third panel from Takrīt (*Fig. 5*) has an interesting design. It is divided into three rectangular compartments, a wide one in the center and a narrow one at each side, separated by rosettes. In the central section we see within a half circular compartment five small medallions with four-petaled rosettes. To the two center medallions are attached half palmettes connecting with highly stylized Sassanian wing motifs, the feathers being indicated by a series of parallel incisions. On the outside the wings are accompanied by a pearl band and a palmette cymatium. The Sassanian origin of the central design is emphasized by the pair of characteristic wavy ribbons. The intervening spaces of the panel are filled with vine scrolls similar to those in the other Takrīt panels. In the two smaller compartments a vine is placed within a niche showing a lobed double arch resting on two double columns. The vine stem sends out a circular scroll with trefoiled and other smaller leaves, bunches of grapes, and half palmettes. Along the top of the panel is a battlement ornament with sloping steps, characteristic of Sassanian art, interrupted in the center by a palmette overlaid with a lancet leaf.

The well-known panel in the Arab Museum in Cairo (*Fig. 6*), which comes from the

⁶ Oscar Reuther, *Die Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Ktesiphon Expedition im Winter 1928-29*, Berlin, Fig. 19.

⁷ Rice, *op. cit.*, Figs. 3, 9-11, 13. The Ḥīra stuccos furnish interesting analogies to the Omayyad and 'Abbāsid periods. Among the stucco fragments of Ḥīra, found in the trench between mounds I and II, is an interesting piece which recalls the decoration of the Mshattā triangle

V and a panel of the mimbar of Ḳairawān (*Fig. 12*). It shows pine cones flanked by spiral scrolls and ending in palmettes. Talbot Rice is inclined to date this group of fragments to the late Sassanian period. I am rather inclined to regard them of the Omayyad period. The ornament itself and the use of the drill are characteristic of Islamic rather than Sassanian stucco decoration.

cemetery of 'Ain al-Şīra, shows a surprising similarity to the Takrīt wood carving of Figure 5. On two sides are borders of Kūfic inscriptions which date to about the end of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century. The Cairo panel is larger and is divided into seven rectangular compartments separated by lancet leaves or rosettes. The ornament of every other compartment consists of a pair of Sassanian wing motifs which, like those in Sassanian art, issue from a pair of horns. Between the wings we see a purely ornamental composition of a pine cone, surmounted by a disk and a leaf. The wing motifs are placed against a background of vine scrolls with trefoiled, elongated, and small serrated leaves which may be called finger leaves. They appear in other Takrīt panels and also in Mshattā. The two panels on the extreme left and right have a trellis pattern of several rows of wavy scrolls composed of half palmettes identical with a pattern on the mimbar (*Fig. 39*) and similar to the design on one of the bronze coverings of the mosque in Jerusalem.⁸ At each point of junction of half palmettes is placed a lancet leaf. In the two remaining compartments, arched niches, similar to those in Figure 7, are filled with vine scrolls at each side of a tree ending in a lancet leaf with a volute base. This composition is not unlike the mimbar of Ẓairawān and the Mshattā triangle *P* (*Fig. 50*). The Cairo panel is so closely related to the Takrīt wood carvings that one might be tempted to assign it to the same workshop. It is not impossible also that some of the wood carvings found in Egypt were imported from 'Irāq.

The decoration of the Takrīt panels, which seem to be a part of a prayer pulpit, recalls the famous mimbar of Ẓairawān, which, according to literary sources, was imported together with lustered tiles from Baghdād in the beginning of the ninth century by one of the amirs of the Aghlabid dynasty. The mimbar is most probably the work of the early period of Baghdād and can be assigned to the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd (786–808). As in the Takrīt wood carving (*Fig. 1*) the vertical rows of panels are divided into rectangular fields and decorated in openwork, either with numerous interlacings or with an abstract plant ornament and devices set in a framework of vine scrolls. The decoration of the mimbar and its relation to other Islamic monuments were discussed by several authors, especially by Strzygowski and Herzfeld.

In none of the publications, however, do we find a detailed analysis of the panels, particularly those with the "plant" ornament, which are of such importance for the evolution of Islamic style. Five of the most interesting fields are here analyzed in greater detail. The vine scroll of the framework (*Fig. 7*), carved in much lower relief than the fields, is very similar to that of the Takrīt panel (*Fig. 1*). Each circle of the scroll contains trefoiled leaves and schematic bunches of grapes, while half palmettes and leaves branch off on the outside. The rectangle in Figure 8 shows an interesting vine ornament within a double niche resting on four columns, two at each side being connected by an architrave. The outer arch forms a series of arched compartments filled with short vine branches with trefoiled leaves and offshoots. In the center of the niche is a palmette tree formed of the twisted stems ending in a large split palmette with a pine cone between the offshoots. At each side of the tree is a wavy vine scroll

⁸ Creswell, *op. cit.*, Pl. 26, *d*.

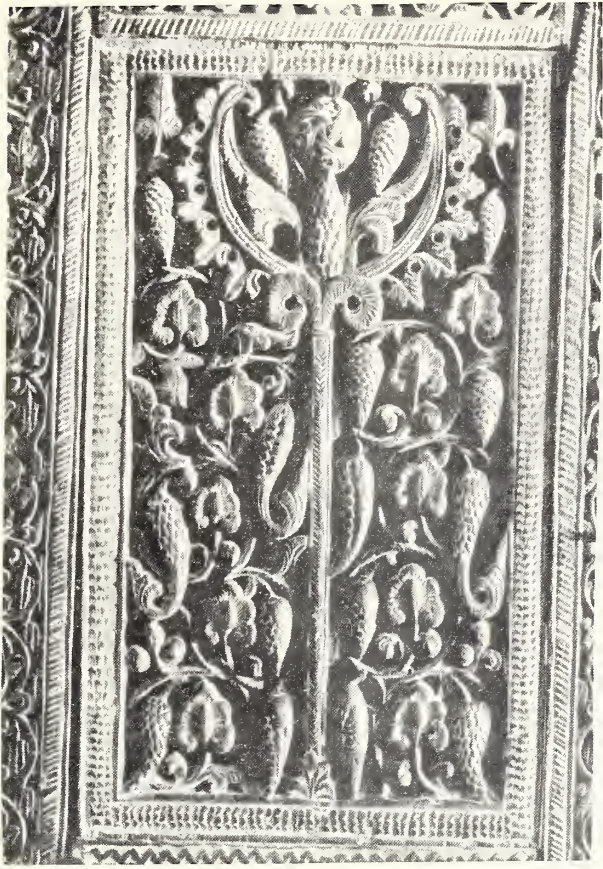
with branches from which grow out vertically five-lobed leaves, with pine cones and bunches of grapes hanging downward. Here the treatment of leaves, which recalls the *Mshattā* decoration, is noteworthy. In the center of each leaf there is a single grape. The tip of each lobe of the leaf is bent over, a feature which is typical of the *mimbar* decoration and which will be discussed later on. Between the columns of the panel there are rows of the three cornucopia-like motifs, similar to those on the abacus of the capital in Figures 40 and 42. The outer spandrels are filled with a branch ending in a leaf, which develops further into a half palmette. The palmette tree with a twisted stem surmounted by a pine cone is an *Omayyad* motif. It appears twice (*Fig. 9*) in the bronze coverings of the tie beams of the al-Aḳṣā mosque in Jerusalem and also on two of the capitals (*Figs. 15-16*) which will be discussed later. In Figure 9 at each side of the "trees" are vine scrolls which bear, besides leaves and grapes, several varieties of composite palmettes.

The second field of the *mimbar* illustrated here (*Fig. 10*) reveals several interesting features of the early 'Abbāsīd art. The center of the field is also occupied by a palmette tree with a straight stem ending in a pair of volutes or horns and surmounted by a pine cone. On top of this is placed a globular motif with a trefoiled crown, converted into a whirl motif of four pointed acanthus leaves which are survivals of East-Christian art. The globular motif must be regarded as a stylized pomegranate, which may be recognized by its characteristic foliated crown. Pomegranates, popular in ancient Oriental art, survived in Sassanian art and continued in early Islamic art to play a prominent part in the *Omayyad* decoration, as for instance in Jerusalem wood carvings in the al-Aḳṣā mosque and also in *Mshattā* in combination with pine cones. At each side the pine cone is flanked by a large half palmette and a long stem from which hangs another pine cone. On the outside the large half palmettes are accompanied by a curved band curling at the top. It is not difficult to see that they are derived from Sassanian wing palmettes which, like those in the Takrīt panel (*Fig. 5*), have been entirely modified. In both cases there is an outer acanthus "cymatium," which we find in other wood carvings of the early 'Abbāsīd era. At each side of the tree there are again vine scrolls, but much more elaborate and further stylized than in the previous field (*Fig. 17*). The scrolls bear various leaves, pine cones, half palmettes, and short spiral tendrils. With the exception of the two trefoiled leaves in the upper corners, all the vine leaves are five-lobed and are stylized in a different fashion than in the previous field. The stems of each leaf end in a lancet leaf or an oval fruit which is placed upon the large vine palmettes. Bunches of grapes are here entirely replaced by pine cones which are stylized arbitrarily in a purely decorative manner. Twice, instead of the bunches of grapes we see a cluster of three grapes, one elongated, the other two round. They are frequent in *Mshattā*, where they appear either independently or are placed upon leaves (*Figs. 36, 59*). Some of the cones still preserve a natural appearance; others end in half palmettes, or show, instead of the regular scales, a series of leaves. Constantly we notice here how naturalistic rules are disregarded by Arabic artists who replaced them by purely decorative principles developed by *Omayyad* artists and completed in the 'Abbāsīd era.

The palmette tree of the *mimbar* (*Fig. 10*) has often been compared with that of the

Mshattā triangle *O* (*Fig. 49*). In both, the tree has a pair of horns or volutes with a pair of Sassanian wing palmettes enclosing two pine cones, one on top of the other. Although in Mshattā the wings are still recognizable, in the mimbar they are entirely stylized, being reduced to the outer outline and a palmette. Mshattā, being earlier than the mimbar, is therefore the model for the wing palmettes of the mimbar and for the Takrīt and Cairo panels, all showing different stages of stylization of a motif derived from a Sassanian prototype. Nearest to Mshattā is the Cairo panel, followed by the Takrīt wood carving and the mimbar. The ultimate stylization of the wing palmettes was reached in Sāmarrā stuccos and lusterware, where they become a part of a purely abstract decorative design.

In the field of Figure 11 there is a different ornamental composition, rising from a base of seven stylized acanthus leaves, five of which develop into ribbed bands forming two knots and ending in half palmettes. Acanthus roots, from which vases and other motifs rose, were known in East-Christian art and adopted by Omayyad artists, as for instance in the mosaics and bronze ornaments of the Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem and also in Mshattā, where the stylization had already begun (*Figs. 50, 53*). In the center of the field in Figure 11 is a composition of several superimposed motifs. At the bottom there is a trefoiled leaf whose divided stem encloses it and ends in half palmettes, forming a base for a huge pine cone flanked at each side by long stems ending in half palmettes. On top of the pine cone is a crescent-shaped motif and a pair of horns. The ornamental device or "tree" ends in a pair of stylized wing palmettes which are treated here differently than in the previous fields. The wing palmettes are reduced to outlines, within which is placed a five-lobed leaf. From the top of the wing palmettes hangs a five-lobed leaf which meets a smaller one rising from below. The vine scrolls follow the same vertical spiral movement as in the other fields. The branches carry a variety of leaves and palmettes, bunches of grapes, and pine cones. Among the palmettes are two heart-shaped ones (in the center) which are identical with those in the large Takrīt panel (*Fig. 2*). Besides the three-foiled leaves there are four large decorative leaves which deserve special attention. All are five-lobed, the lower lobes ending in volutes. In the center of three of the leaves are placed three grapes just as in the Mshattā decoration, while one leaf (on the upper right) has an ovoid fruit, possibly a cone. Two of the leaves, in the center, show curling ends, a characteristic of a number of Sāmarrā vine leaves, which Herzfeld attributed to the influence of acanthus rosettes such as those in Hatra. The variation in the height of the relief and the richness of details seem at first rather surprising in the 'Abbāsīd period although they are also present in Sāmarrā. They are undoubtedly a heritage of Omayyad art, which preserved many traditions of the Hellenistic style. The placing of various fruits on leaves may be seen in the Jerusalem mosaics of 691-92, in the wood carvings of the al-Aḳṣā mosque, and in Mshattā where only bunches of grapes appear. Between the Omayyad examples in Jerusalem and the mimbar, which is more than a century later, there is, however, a great difference of style. In the former the leaves and fruits are still treated in the seminaturalistic manner of the Byzantine mosaicists, while in the latter the Baghdād artist of the 'Abbāsīd period stylizes his motifs, thus creating new, purely decorative forms.



FROM CRESWELL

FIG. 10

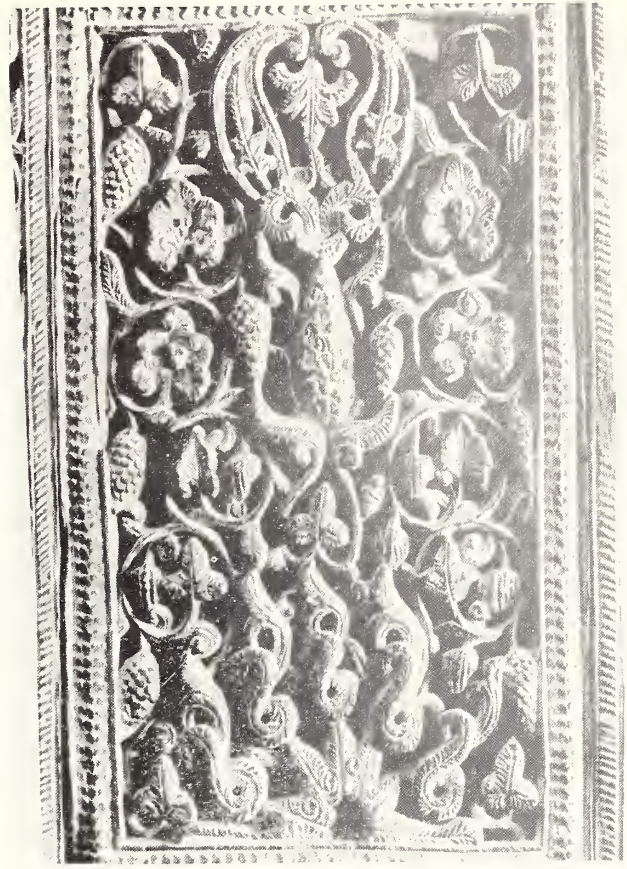


FIG. 11

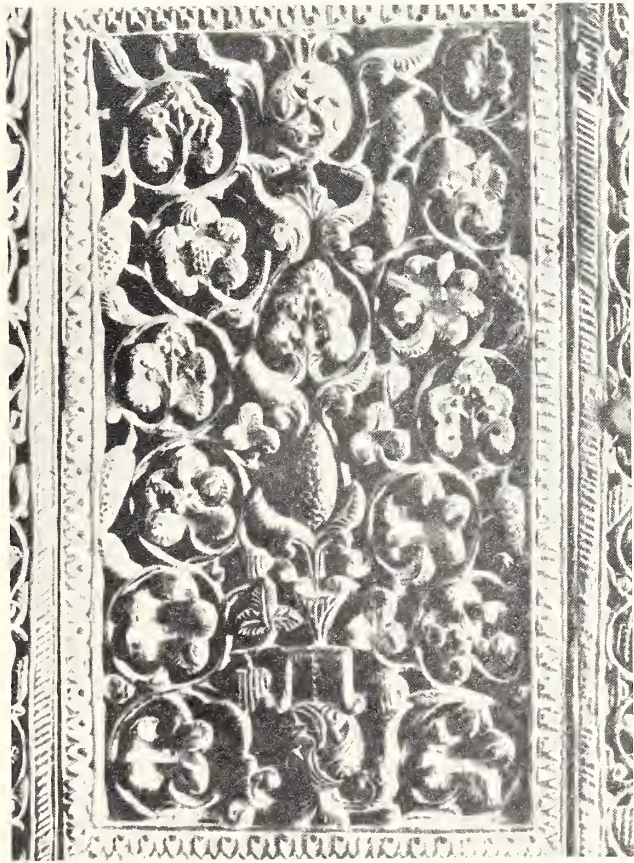


FIG. 12

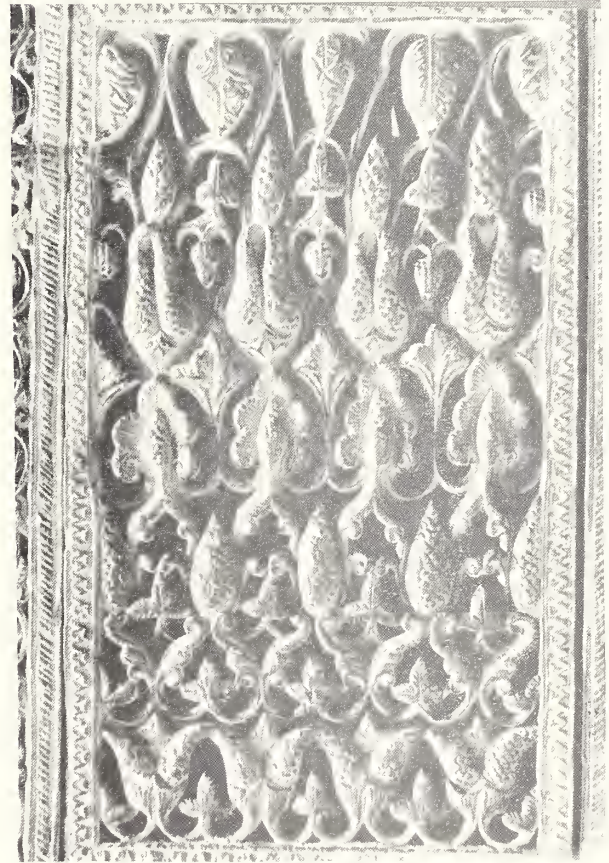


FIG. 13

CARVED PANELS FROM THE MIMBAR, END OF EIGHTH CENTURY, GREAT MOSQUE, KAIRAWAN



FIG. 14—CARVED TEAKWOOD PANEL, FROM EGYPT, END OF EIGHTH CENTURY
NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART



FIG. 15—ALABASTER CAPITAL FOUND IN SYRIA, MIDDLE OF EIGHTH CENTURY
PARIS, PRIVATE COLLECTION



FIG. 16—ALABASTER CAPITAL FOUND IN SYRIA, MIDDLE OF EIGHTH CENTURY
PARIS, PRIVATE COLLECTION

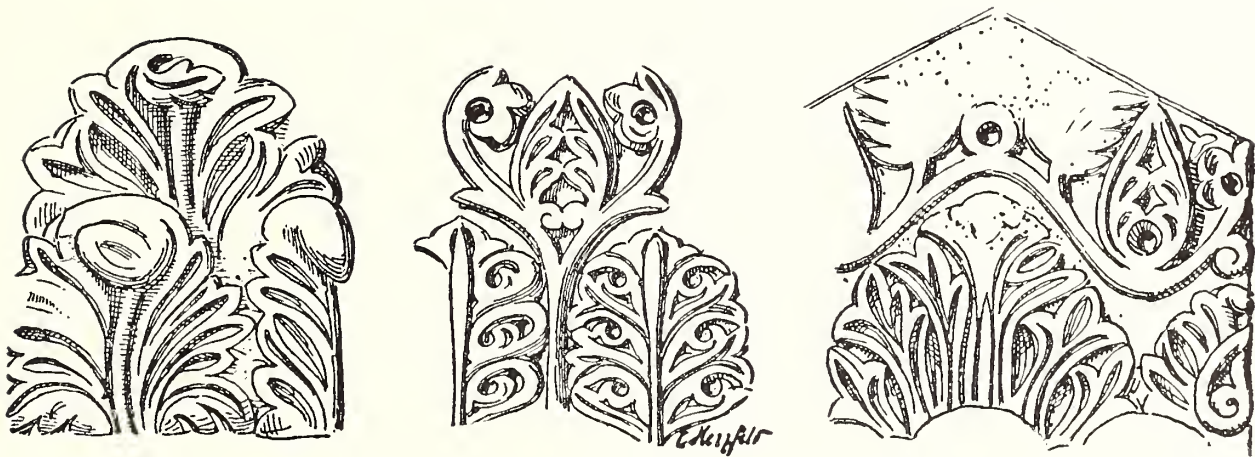


FIG. 17—DETAILS FROM THE MIHRĀB OF DJĀMĪ' AL-KHĀSAKĪ, BAGHDĀD, 'IRĀQ MUSEUM

FROM HERZFELD



FIG. 23—ALABASTER CAPITAL FOUND IN SYRIA
SECOND HALF OF EIGHTH CENTURY
PARIS, PRIVATE COLLECTION

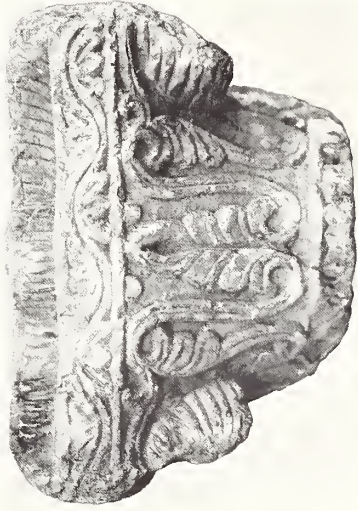


FIG. 21—ALABASTER CAPITAL FOUND IN SYRIA
SECOND HALF OF EIGHTH CENTURY
PARIS, PRIVATE COLLECTION



FIG. 22—ALABASTER CAPITAL FOUND IN SYRIA
SECOND HALF OF EIGHTH CENTURY
NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART



FIG. 25—ALABASTER CAPITAL FOUND IN SYRIA, SECOND HALF
OF EIGHTH CENTURY, PARIS, PRIVATE COLLECTION



FIG. 24—ALABASTER CAPITAL FOUND IN SYRIA, SECOND HALF
OF EIGHTH CENTURY, PARIS, PRIVATE COLLECTION

The composition of the next field in the *mimbar* (*Fig. 12*) is similar to the previous one. The base is formed by an abbreviated vase motif which consists of a neck and stand placed upon a globular motif with a palmette whirl (pomegranate?). From the vase grows out a split palmette with a pine cone, flanked by two stems ending in a pair of half palmettes upon which is placed a leaf whose divided stem encircles it and ends again in half palmettes with a leaf between them. This composition is crowned by a stylized pomegranate between two half palmettes. At each side rises a vine scroll with branches describing circular loops, each ending in a large leaf and bearing bunches of grapes, pine cones, and the heart-shaped palmette of the *Takrīt* panel. As in the previous field the large vine leaves are of five-lobed variety and are more elaborate than in the previous field. Stems of three leaves end in triple branches with three grapes placed on the leaf. Another leaf shows a triple branch, one bearing grapes, the other two ending in half palmettes. On two of the leaves are placed rosettes, on another one a bunch of grapes. Four of the large leaves and two small ones show curled ends. One of the leaves, on the right near the top, is partly folded over so that its left side appears, the right section being shown in front view. It is a most unusual rendering of leaves, often found in later Byzantine and Armenian plant ornament.

The central ornamental compositions formed of a variety of superimposed motifs are based on the Sassanian candelabra motifs, often used in the Omayyad period, as for instance in the mosaics of Jerusalem and Damascus, the bronze tie beams and the *Mshattā* triangles *U* and *V* (*Figs. 54-55*). The latter show so many parallels with the *mimbar* compositions in Figures 11 and 12 that they must be regarded as the artistic forerunners. These two fields of the *mimbar* are of special importance in the history of the arabesque. For the first time the Arab artists simplify the half palmettes by omitting the traditional lobes although the base volute remains. In this form it became the integral part of the true arabesque.

In the *mimbar* field of Figure 13 various motifs are arranged in seven rows, all of which, with the exception of the lowest one, are interconnected. In the bottom row double pine cones in calyxes develop into arched stems with trefoiled leaves. Between each pair of cones which bend outward is placed a triangular leaf. The next row consists of trefoils whose stems bifurcate and end in split palmettes. Between palmettes there is a row of trefoiled leaves alternating with large pine cones placed on top of two adjoining half palmettes. The pine cones are flanked by spiral scrolls and half palmettes, two of which, coming from opposite directions, join together and end in pine cones that are placed upon five-lobed leaves, alternating with "acanthus" palmettes whose ends are turned down. In the next row we see again three pairs of pine cones placed in a cup and surmounted by another pine cone. The outlines of these motifs are accompanied by stems which branch off into trefoiled leaves and bunches of grapes. The stems are carried to the top row where they bear almond-shaped motifs decorated with leaves and palmettes.

The composition of this field is typically Islamic. The motifs are arranged both horizontally and vertically, being connected and superimposed in a purely decorative fashion. In the ornament of this field may be seen an important forerunner of many ornamental devices of

Sāmarrā, which form a repeat pattern and are often, like those in the mimbar field of Figure 13, confined within compartments formed by narrow bands corresponding to the stems of the mimbar.

Among the motifs of the Ḳairawān mimbar and the Takrīt panel of Figures 2–3, pine cones play a prominent role. They are combined into various groups, or are placed on leaves. In one field they are stylized in a purely arbitrary fashion with disregard of the rules of nature. The ‘Abbāsīd period inherited the pine cone motif from the Omayyad ornament. We find them in Jerusalem on the tie beams of the Dome of the Rock and the consoles of the al-Aḳṣā mosque, then in Mshattā and Ḳaṣr al-Ṭubā. In Mshattā we find them in several triangles, particularly in the *U* and *V* and in the rosettes (*Fig. 37*) where they are usually combined with palmettes. The popularity of pine cones in the Omayyad and ‘Abbāsīd ornament was not confined to Syria and Mesopotamia alone. We find them in wood carvings from Egypt, where they are combined with bunches of grapes or replace them entirely. In a panel in the Metropolitan Museum (*Fig. 14*) pine cones, flanked by half palmettes like those in the miḥrāb and Mshattā, alternate with five-lobed palmettes. At the right is a variation of the pattern where the tops of two half palmettes form a stem for a pomegranate. This panel belongs to the group of early ‘Abbāsīd wood carvings discussed previously. The strong stylistic relation between the Takrīt wood carvings, the Cairo panel, and the mimbar of Ḳairawān permits us to assign the former ones to the same period as the mimbar, that is to the reign of Hārūn (786–808 A.D.). Their ornament is based on the Omayyad art, as is the Mshattā façade, in which Hellenistic and Sassanian tendencies are fused into a new Islamic style.

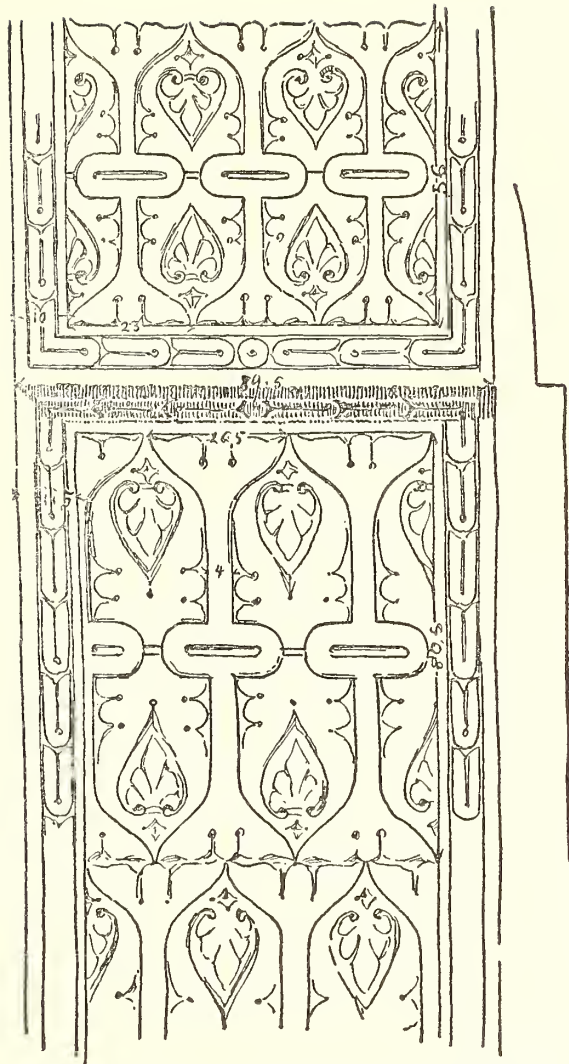
The series of capitals, which come from Raḳḳa and the region between the Ruṣafa and Daīr al-Zōr are of exceptional importance for the history of Islamic ornament, particularly for the origin and development of the arabesque. They can be divided into several groups which clearly illustrate the gradual evolution of Islamic forms. The principal ornament of these capitals is based on palmettes combined into various devices. Two of the capitals (*Figs. 15–16*) are derived from earlier pre-Islamic types, showing distinctly the disintegration of the Syrian and Byzantine acanthus forms. In Figure 15 there still remain the two rows of acanthus leaves. Of the longer leaves only the two corner ones remain, and they are divided into a series of small serrated leaves. This process of disintegration of the acanthus, which began in Christian monuments of Syria,⁹ continued in the Omayyad period. This type of acanthus may be found on the capitals of the miḥrāb of *Djāmi’ al Khāṣakī*, now in the Baghdād Museum, which I am inclined to date to the Omayyad period and which was probably imported from Syria (*Figs. 17–18*). An interesting feature of the capital in Figure 15 is the palmette tree, consisting of a twisted stem which ends in two half palmettes, the ends of which join together and, already in an arabesque fashion, develop into a palmette hanging downward. The development of such tree forms was inspired by Sassanian art and might have been derived directly from palm trees.

⁹ A. Riegl, *Stilfragen*, Berlin, 1893, Figs. 142, 144–151, 157.



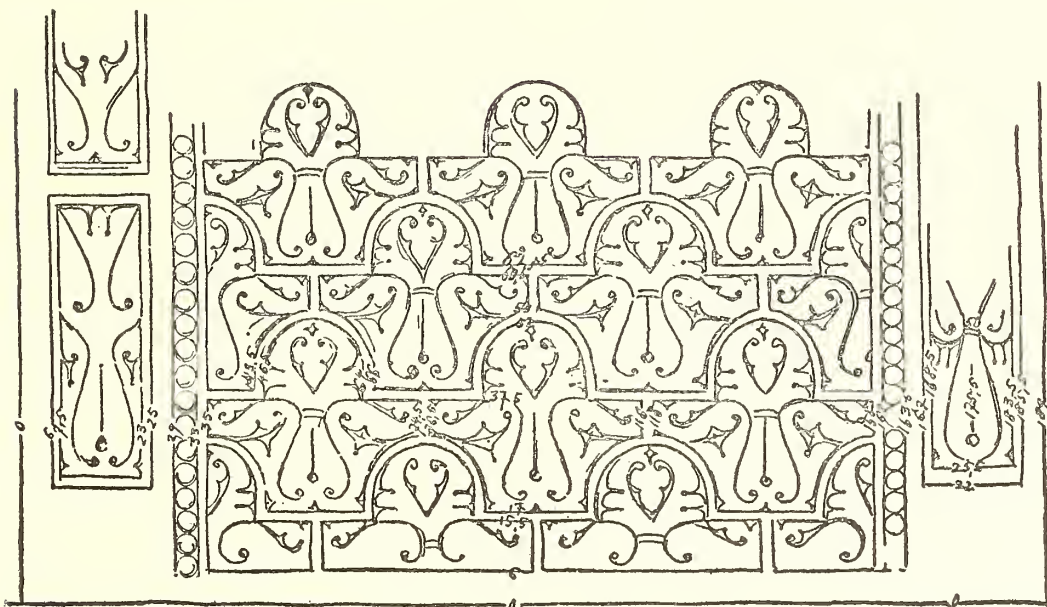
FROM HERZFELD

FIG. 18—DECORATION OF THE MIHRĀB OF DJĀMI' AL-KHĀSAKĪ, BAGHDĀD, 'IRĀK MUSEUM



FROM HERZFELD

FIG. 19—STUCCO DECORATION FROM SĀMARRĀ NINTH CENTURY



FROM HERZFELD

FIG. 20—STUCCO DECORATION FROM SĀMARRĀ, NINTH CENTURY

The capital in Figure 16 shows two varieties of palmette trees. The lower row of acanthus leaves is still preserved, but the upper one is replaced entirely by palmette trees and trefoiled motifs. The palmette tree on the left has the same twisted stem as the ones in the capital of Figure 15. The right one, however, shows a trunk covered with ridges and leaves which clearly suggest a palm tree. Palm trees often have been represented in the Omayyad period, as for instance in the mosaics of Jerusalem,¹⁰ where they are frequently treated in a purely decorative fashion. In the capitals of Figures 15 and 16 the stylization of the palm is further advanced, leading to such purely decorative palmette devices as we see in the *mimbar* of Ẓairawān (Figs. 7, 10) and also in Sāmarrā (Figs. 19–20). The latter one was directly derived from the design of the capitals in Figures 15 and 16. The palmette trees of the capitals show already the Islamic style of ornament, which gradually frees itself from the Hellenistic and Byzantine prototypes and suggests a date later than the mosaics in the Dome of the Rock (691–92) or those at Damascus (about 715), that is the middle of the eighth century.

In the second group of capitals, the acanthus leaves are entirely eliminated, the main decoration consisting of palmette scrolls which become an integral part of Islamic ornament. In the capital of Figure 21 the body of the capital is decorated with a scroll in which half palmettes are merged with the stem. In the center and under corner bosses two of the half palmettes are joined into a *split palmette*, which gives the appearance of a full palmette. It is one of the several varieties of split palmettes, which will be mentioned frequently in the course of this study. A more elaborate palmette scroll appears in the capital of Figure 22. It consists of a central *heart-shaped palmette* overlaid at its base with a trefoil. The bifurcated stem of the palmette connects vertically on both sides with large half palmettes. One branch going down vertically ends in half palmettes or trefoiled leaves; the other forms a stem for the palmettes of the corner bosses which are overlaid with a stylized pine cone. Below this main ornament there is a row of leaves on arched stems. The abacus, with a central boss on all four sides, is separated from the capital by a cymatium, and is decorated by a wavy scroll with half palmettes reminiscent of earlier Syrian ornament of the Christian era. This capital is related to two others. One of them (Fig. 23) shows a similar scroll with a central palmette and connecting half palmettes, forming a continuous ornament around the whole capital and a similar solution of the corners. Below this main palmette scroll there is, in addition to the row of small palmettes, a wavy scroll with circular loops ending in half palmettes derived from the Syrian acanthus. The next capital in Figure 24 shows another variation of palmette scrolls. At each side of the central palmette there are two half palmettes instead of one. They are joined at the base so that their lobes meet symmetrically, forming a *split palmette*, which developed into a separate motif that is either *open* as in Mshattā or *closed* as in several Omayyad monuments. Another capital shows the closed type of a split palmette. In Figure 25 the capital has a decoration of palmette scrolls in which the central full palmette is replaced by a tree motif connected at each side by large half palmettes ending in pine cones of the corner

¹⁰ Creswell, *op. cit.*, Figs. 146–149.



FIG. 26—STUCCO ROSETTE FROM CTESIPHON, SASSANIAN, FIFTH-SIXTH CENTURY
NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

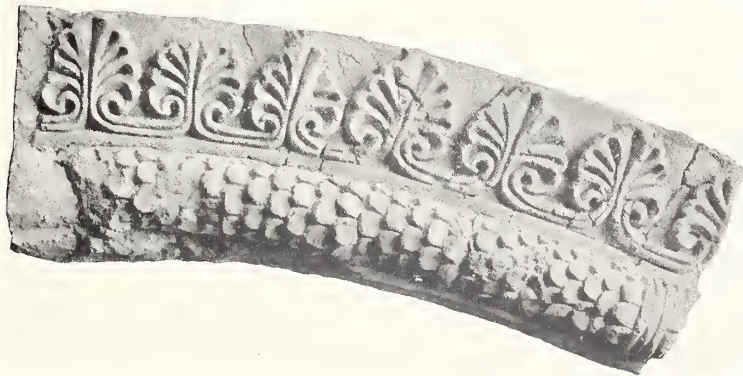


FIG. 27—PORTION OF A STUCCO ARCH FROM CTESIPHON, SASSANIAN, FIFTH-SIXTH CENTURY
NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

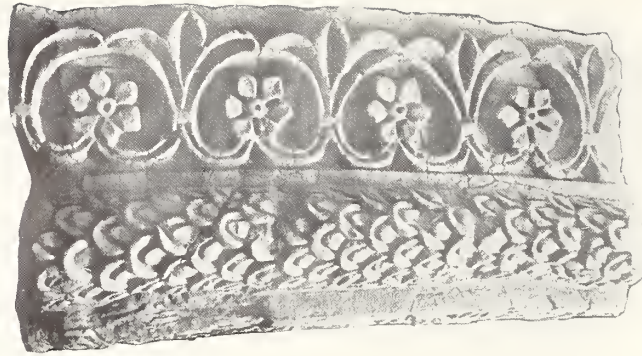


FIG. 28—PORTION OF A STUCCO ARCH FROM CTESIPHON, SASSANIAN, FIFTH-SIXTH CENTURY
NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART



FIG. 29—STUCCO RELIEF FROM CTESIPHON, SASSANIAN, FIFTH-SIXTH CENTURY
NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART



FIG. 30—STUCCO RELIEF FROM CTESIPHON, SASSANIAN, FIFTH-SIXTH CENTURY
NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART



FIG. 31—STUCCO RELIEF FROM CTESIPHON, SASSANIAN, FIFTH-SIXTH CENTURY
NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART



FIG. 32—SILVER VASE WITH NIELLO INLAY, SASSANIAN, FOURTH-FIFTH CENTURY
LENINGRAD, HERMITAGE

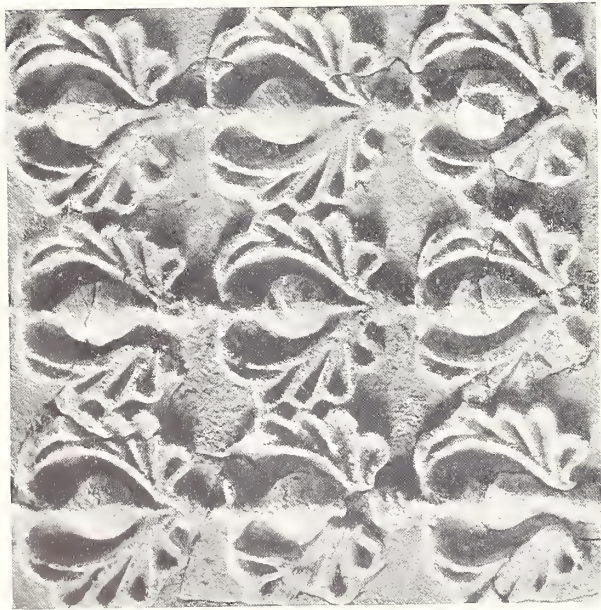


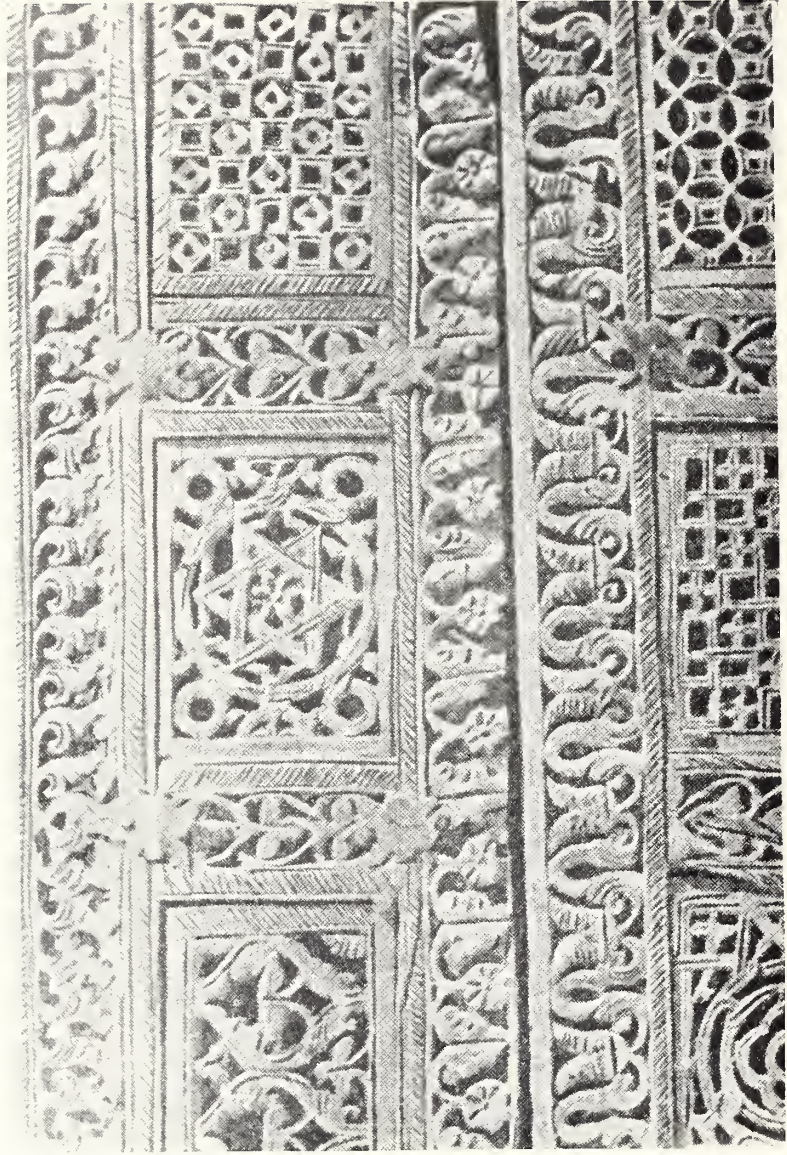
FIG. 33—STUCCO RELIEF FROM CTESIPHON
SASSANIAN, FIFTH-SIXTH CENTURY
NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART



FIG. 34—STUCCO RELIEF FROM KISH, SASSANIAN, FOURTH
OR FIFTH CENTURY, BACHDĀD, IRĀK MUSEUM



FROM STRZYGOWSKI
FIG. 38—ORNAMENT FROM THE STEPS OF THE MIMBAR, GREAT MOSQUE, KAIRAWĀN



FROM STRZYGOWSKI
FIG. 39—DETAIL OF STEPS OF THE MIMBAR, GREAT MOSQUE, KAIRAWĀN

bosses. At the top of the "tree" rest two closed split palmettes. They appear also on one of the capitals of the al-Khāṣakī mihrāb (*Fig. 17*).

In all the capitals of the second group (*Figs. 21-25*) palmette scrolls and palmette devices form the chief ornament. The palmettes show several incised and grooved lobes, usually rounded, the lowest of which are curved into volutes. A characteristic feature of the scrolls is that the half palmettes do not form a final motif but are an integral part of the scroll itself, their ends developing again into other palmettes. The sequence of full palmettes and half palmettes forming a continuous scroll is a characteristic feature of the Islamic arabesque. Palmettes of this type were unknown in the East-Christian art. We have to turn to Sassanian art to find prototypes for the palmette ornament of the above capitals. The Sassanian material available to Riegl and Strzygowski¹¹ was insufficient as yet to establish the importance of Sassanian art for the development of Islamic style. Recent excavations of Sassanian sites, such as Ctesiphon near Baghdād,¹² Kish in Mesopotamia,¹³ and Dāmghān in Persia,¹⁴ have furnished a wealth of ornament of great importance to students of Islamic and medieval art. We recognize now that Sassanian art must be credited with the creation of a new style of an abstract, pseudo-floral ornament based on traditions of Assyrian and Achaemenian art in which the naturalistic tendencies of Hellenistic art were gradually replaced by Oriental principles of rhythmic repetition and symmetry. As in the ancient Oriental art, the palmette became again the principal motif, connected in a purely decorative fashion by arched stems or bands.

A few of the Sassanian stucco ornaments illustrated here show types of palmettes from which those of the capitals were derived. The heart-shaped palmettes are either treated as full palmettes (*Fig. 26*) or are of the split variety (*Fig. 27*), being formed by two half palmettes. The lobes are either shallow or are deeply incised in the same manner as the palmettes of the capitals. Beside the heart-shaped palmette there are also other varieties, such as the trefoiled lotus motif (*Fig. 28*) similar to those on the abacus of the capital in Figure 41, which was used later in the ninth century Sāmarrā decoration. The half palmette also plays a prominent part in Sassanian ornament. It is found either arranged in a row (*Fig. 29*) or as part of a wavy scroll (*Fig. 30*). In other examples the half palmettes are combined with vine leaves or "lotus" motifs (*Figs. 31-32*). Sassanian art developed the split palmette enclosing some motif, either a pomegranate (*Fig. 33*) or occasionally a rosette (*Fig. 34*), arranged in several rows into repeat patterns. Sassanian art has also prepared the ground for one of the arabesque characteristics, namely the merging of the half palmette with the stem as may be seen in the stucco panel of Figure 35. These few examples of Sassanian palmettes from Persia and Mesopotamia are sufficient to establish conclusively that they are the prototypes of the early Islamic palmette decoration, which was incorporated into the arabesque. There is a continuity of

¹¹ A. Riegl, in J. Strzygowski, *Altai Iran und Völkerwanderung*, Leipzig, 1917.

¹² F. Wachsmuth and E. Kühnel, *Die Ausgrabungen der zweiten Ktesiphon-Expedition, Winter 1931-32*, Ber-

lin, 1933.

¹³ *Illustrated London News*, 1931, Feb. 14 and March 7.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 1931, March 26.

artistic development which is clearly shown on the capitals. From Sassanian elements the artists of the early Muḥammadan era developed new, abstract, purely decorative forms which led gradually to an Islamic style of ornament. The influence of Sassanian palmette ornament may be found in the earliest dated examples of Islamic art. In the Omayyad bronze coverings of the tie beams in the Dome of the Rock, dated 72 H. (691–92 A.D.), intermittent scrolls show stems replaced by half palmettes. The arabesque character is not yet fully developed as the half palmettes form more or less separate S-links connecting various motifs. In other examples the arabesque character of the palmette scrolls is more pronounced as the design is continuous, and split palmettes develop into other half palmettes.

Other Islamic monuments in which palmette decoration plays an important role are the façade of the Mshattā palace, which may be dated to the period of the Omayyad caliph Walīd II (743–44 A.D.), and the mimbar of Ḳairawān. The base moldings and cornice of Mshattā (*Fig. 36*) show several varieties of split palmettes, connected, in some of the ornaments, with stylized Syrian acanthus. The split palmettes appear here either singly or in rows, in the latter case approaching the Sassanian prototype quite closely. One of the split palmettes of the cornice encloses a pine cone. Other palmettes are seen in the large rosettes of the triangles (*Fig. 37*). Interesting parallels to the palmette decoration of the capitals appear on bands bordering the rectangular panels of the steps of the mimbar of Ḳairawān. In the upper band of *Figure 38*, pine cones and lancet leaves alternate with split palmettes. In the second band we see an intermittent palmette scroll of five-lobed palmettes. In *Figure 39* we see a series of half palmettes not unlike the Sassanian ones from Ctesiphon (*Fig. 29*). In the next band (*Fig. 39*) palmettes alternate with rosettes on arched stems. In the lowest band double pine cones in a single calyx (*Fig. 39*) alternate with split palmettes. The palmette scrolls of the mimbar are in many ways related to the ornament of the capitals of the second group which should also be assigned to the early 'Abbāsīd period, that is to the second half of the eighth century.

The next step in the development of Islamic ornament based on the palmette is illustrated by three capitals which reveal a number of new motifs and combinations of motifs which are characteristic of the true 'Abbāsīd style, known to us from Sāmarrā, the Ṭūlūnīd period of Egypt, and several capitals from Raḳḳa and Syria. One of the finest of these capitals (*Fig. 40*) is in the Metropolitan Museum. Its rich decoration shows several new varieties of palmettes combined into an effective pattern. There are again two rows of palmette scrolls, the upper one running continuously around the capital and showing on each side variations of motifs. One side has in the center of the upper scroll a *full split palmette* (*Fig. 40*), connected at right and left with four-lobed lotus palmettes and half palmettes whose tops develop into full palmettes of the corner bosses. The lower palmette scroll of this side shows in the center a split palmette enclosing a pine cone. At each side the scroll develops two half palmettes whose stems are carried on vertically to the bosses where it ends in wide, serrated "leaves" whose lowest lobes end in a split palmette enclosing a pine cone. Each boss consists therefore of four motifs, two palmettes, one on top of the other, and two large leaves. On the other side of the capital (*Fig. 41*) the scrolls show a different composition. In the upper row, two large

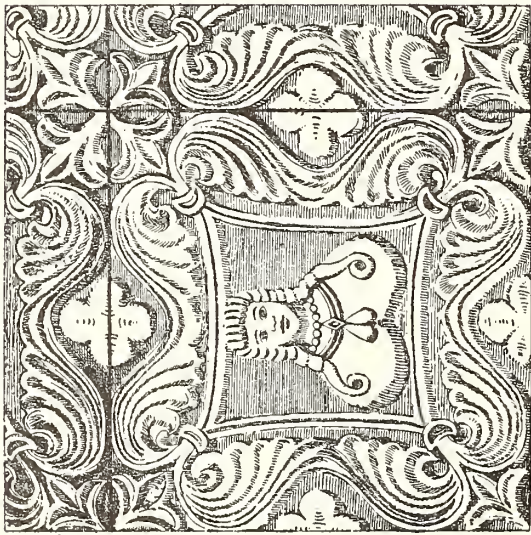
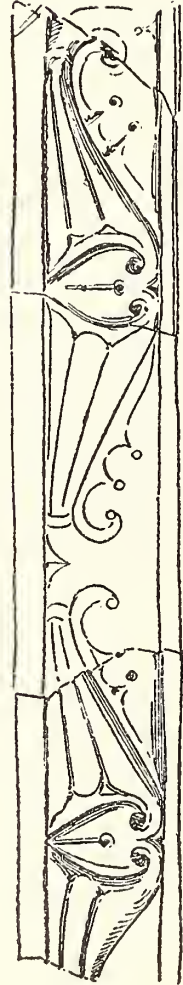
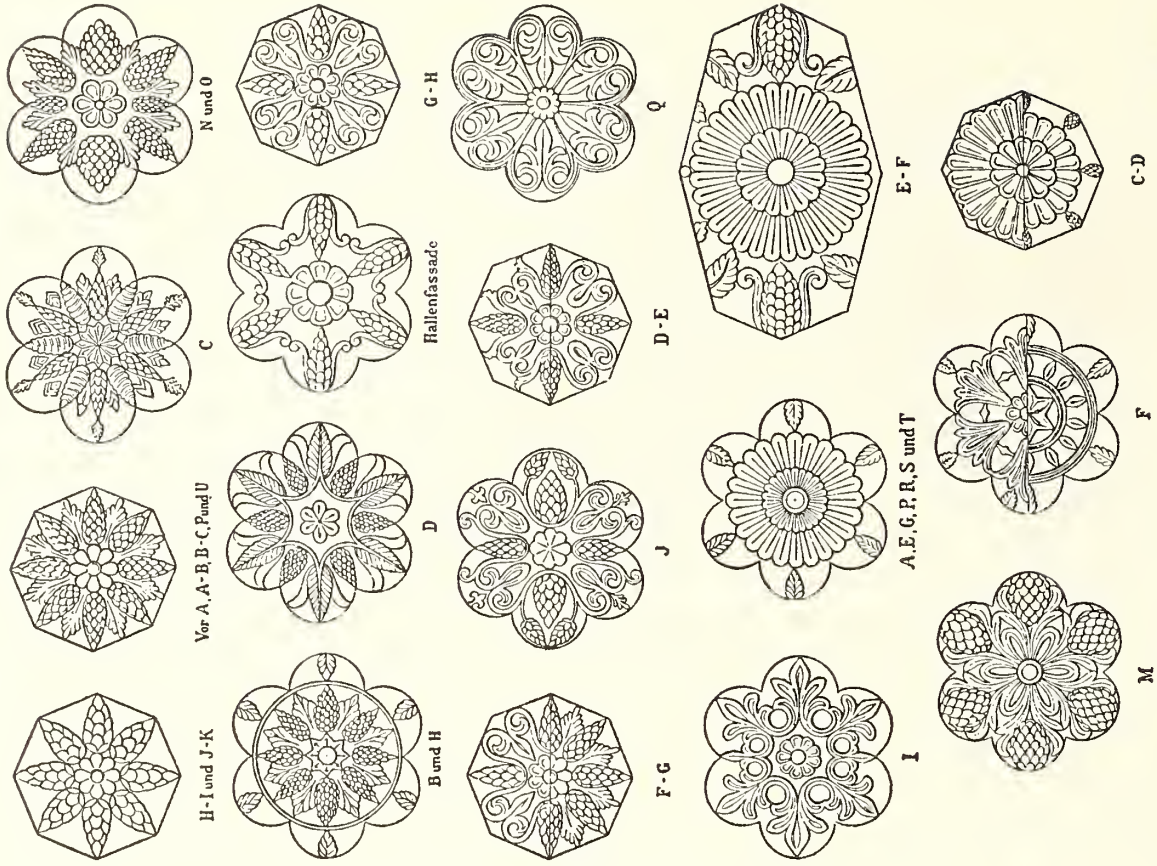


FIG. 35—STUCCO RELIEF FROM CTESIPHON, BERLIN, STATE MUSEUMS



FROM HEYZFELD

FIG. 43—STUCCO DECORATION FROM SÁMARRÁ, NINTH CENTURY



FROM CRESWELL

FIG. 37—ROSETTES FROM THE FAÇADE, MSHATTÁ



FIG. 40—ALABASTER CAPITAL FOUND IN SYRIA, END OF EIGHTH CENTURY
NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART



FIG. 41—ANOTHER SIDE OF FIG. 40



FIG. 42—ANOTHER SIDE OF FIG. 40



FIG. 44—ALABASTER CAPITAL FROM SYRIA, END OF EIGHTH CENTURY
PARIS, PRIVATE COLLECTION



FIG. 45—ALABASTER CAPITAL FROM SYRIA, END OF EIGHTH CENTURY
NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART



FIG. 46—ALABASTER CAPITAL FROM SYRIA, END OF EIGHTH CENTURY
PARIS, PRIVATE COLLECTION

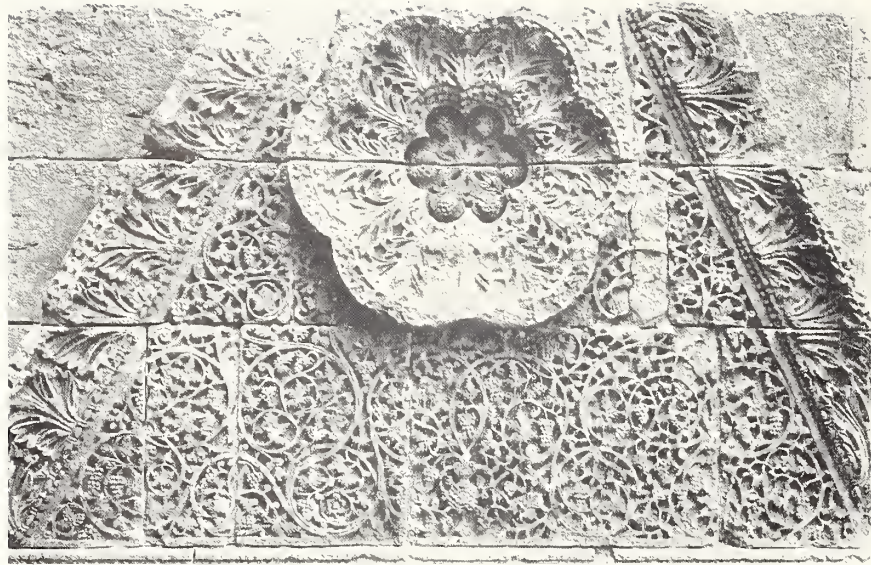


FIG. 47—TRIANGLE *M* OF THE MSHATTĀ FAÇADE, FIRST HALF OF EIGHTH CENTURY
BERLIN, STATE MUSEUMS

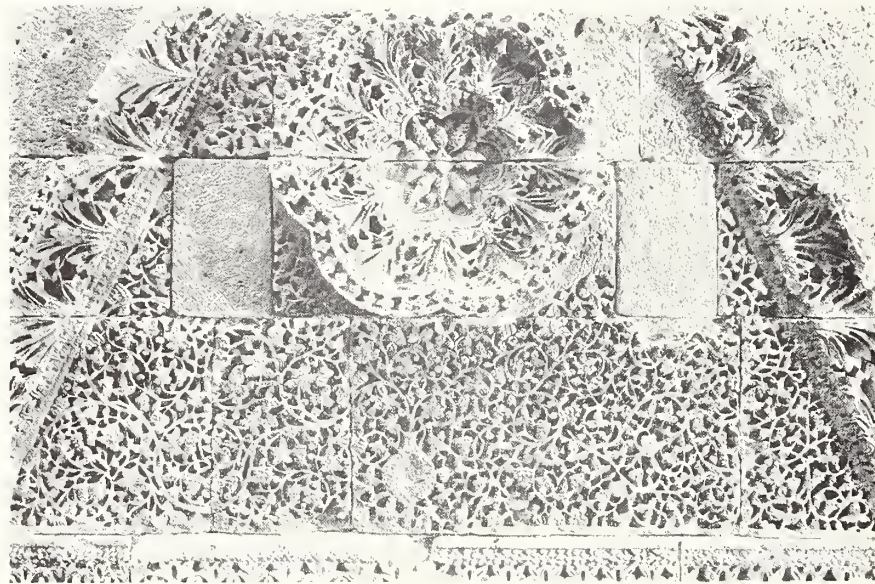


FIG. 48—TRIANGLE *N* OF THE MSHATTĀ FAÇADE, FIRST HALF OF EIGHTH CENTURY
BERLIN, STATE MUSEUMS

half palmettes, forming a split palmette of the variety known from Figure 24, enclose a trefoiled motif on a stem (palmette tree). In the center of the lower scroll is an open split palmette. On the third side (*Fig. 42*) the central motif consists of a closed split palmette like those in Figures 17 and 25, and the lower scroll shows two stylized vine leaves and a lotus-like motif. The decoration of the fourth side is similar to that in Figure 42.

The abacus of the capital is decorated with an interesting ornament which shows several variations. Two sides (*Fig. 41*) have a row of palmettes, either five-lobed or seven-lobed, alternating with lotus-like trefoils derived from Sassanian art (*Fig. 28*). The two other sides (*Figs. 40* and *42*) show an interesting composition. There are two cornucopia-like motifs enclosing a lotus palmette with a calyx and ending in large half palmettes which meet in the center. In Figure 40, a short scroll ends at right and left in half palmettes and is knotted together with the other scroll which also develops into the cornucopia-like motifs. It is interesting that the lower ends of the latter motifs connect with the palmettes of the other two sides, forming thus a continuous scroll, which recalls one of the Sāmarrā ornaments (*Fig. 43*).

A related capital, now in the Berlin Museum, was found by Herzfeld in Raḡḡa.¹⁵ The ornament shows a similar composition of palmette scrolls, while the cornucopia-like motifs of the abacus are joined together, forming a part of the continuous scroll. Another capital, transitional between the traditional Omayyad style of carving and the new 'Abbāsīd style, is illustrated in Figure 44. The decoration consists of a row of large and small five-lobed palmettes connected with cuplike motifs which develop into a trefoil and continue as scrolls ending in palmettes of the corner bosses. Of interest are the two hornlike motifs at each side of the trefoiled palmette, which are used here to fill out the intervening spaces. The hornlike motifs, which are purely abstract derivations, might have been suggested by the cornucopias which appear so frequently in the Omayyad period. The developed 'Abbāsīd style of the ninth century makes frequent use of these hornlike motifs. We find them in the stuccos of Sāmarrā,¹⁶ in Ṭūlūnid wood carvings, and on several Syrian capitals, one of which is here illustrated (*Fig. 45*). The two hornlike motifs of this capital are treated in a more summary manner which is characteristic of the beveled style of the 'Abbāsīd art, the origin of which will be discussed in a separate article.

A comparison of the two capitals (*Fig. 44-45*) proves conclusively that many of the motifs found in Sāmarrā were derived from earlier Islamic styles, represented by the capitals of groups one, two, and three. In the fourth group, executed in the slant style of carving (*Fig. 45*), the traditional motifs are adapted to a new technique which expresses adequately the abstract tendencies of Islamic ornament. All the capitals show the gradual development of the Islamic characteristic to cover as completely as possible the space to be decorated. In the third group this tendency is quite apparent. We usually associate the slant or beveled style of

¹⁵ Sarre and Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, IV, Pl. CXL (1).

¹⁶ E. Herzfeld, *Der Wandschmuck der Bauten von Samarra und seine Ornamentik*, "Die Ausgrabungen von

Samarra," Berlin, 1923, Figs. 60, 61a, 62; Riegl, *op. cit.*, Figs. 165, 166.

carving, represented here by two capitals (*Figs. 45-46*), with the ninth century, although it must have existed already at the end of the eighth century. Herzfeld has assigned similar capitals from Raḳḳa to the period of Hārūn al-Rashīd (786-808 A.D.) and regards them as contemporary with the capitals of the third group, carved in the traditional style of the Omayyad period. That both can be of the same period is substantiated not only by Sāmarrā itself, where several styles exist side by side, but also by other monuments of the Omayyad and 'Abbāsīd period, as for instance in Mshattā and later in Ḥīra where the stucco decoration dates from the second half of the eighth century and shows two styles, one of which corresponds to the third Sāmarrā style.¹⁷

Frequent references to the decoration of the Mshattā palace made in the course of this study have emphasized the importance of this monument for the history of Islamic style. There are, however, still several authors who believe that this palace is pre-Islamic. The best known champion of the pre-Islamic attribution was Strzygowski,¹⁸ through whose efforts the façade was brought to Berlin. Strzygowski's excellent study of this monument brought to the attention of orientalists the artistic importance of Mshattā. Strzygowski believed that it had been built by an Arab prince of the Ghasānid dynasty, some time between the fourth and sixth centuries of our era. The second theory, that the building is Islamic and was built by an Omayyad ruler, was championed chiefly by Herzfeld¹⁹ who gave excellent reasons, both from historical and archaeological points of view, for dating Mshattā to the period of Walīd II (743-744). The whole problem has recently been reviewed again by Creswell²⁰ who gives mostly architectural proofs for an Omayyad attribution. Specialists in the field of Islamic art today agree that Mshattā is Islamic. Nevertheless, students of East-Christian and Byzantine art, not familiar with the various styles prevailing in the early Islamic era, are still inclined to regard Mshattā as pre-Islamic. Since Mshattā is included in two recent European publications on the Byzantine art and the Christian art of Syria,²¹ it might be advisable to go into the problem of its date again, in the light of the Islamic material discussed in the present study.

Most of the authors recognize several styles in the Mshattā decoration. Roughly, it may be divided into two main groups: one, consisting of the triangles on the left of the entrance gate, the second, of the triangles on the right side of the façade. In the former ones appear animals and birds amid vine scrolls; in the latter ones no living figures are represented. The decoration has also been divided into four stylistic groups, corresponding to four groups of craftsmen conscribed from different provinces. The first and second groups are assigned to Copts and Syrians, the third to artists of North Mesopotamia, and the fourth group to craftsmen from 'Irāḳ. At first glance, the style of the vine decoration in the left group of triangles

¹⁷ Rice, *op. cit.*, Fig. 14.

¹⁸ Joseph Strzygowski and B. Schulz, "Mschatta," *Jhrb. Pr. Kunstsamml.*, XXV, 1904, pp. 205-373.

¹⁹ E. Herzfeld, "Die Genesis der Islamischen Kunst und das Mshattā Problem," *Der Islam*, I, 1910; "Mshattā, Ḥīra und Badiya," *Jhrb. Pr. Kunstsamml.*,

XLII, 1921.

²⁰ Creswell, *op. cit.*

²¹ H. Pierce and R. Taylor, *L'Art Byzantin*, Paris, 1934; J. Strzygowski, *L'Ancien Art Chrétien de Syrie*, Paris, 1936 (the part by Strzygowski has an introduction dated 1928).

appears to be Hellenistic and quite different from the right group in which Oriental decorative principles are predominant. The monuments of early Islamic art teach us that there were two main artistic currents: one based on East-Christian, the other on Sassanian art. Syrian artists were familiar with both sources, as one may see in the mosaics of Jerusalem, probably a work of Syrian Christians, showing, beside decorative forms of distinctly Hellenistic origin, also forms based on Sassanian art.²² As in Jerusalem in the seventh century, so in Mshattā in the eighth century, the two main sources of early Islamic art, the East-Christian and Sassanian, (also post-Sassanian) existed side by side.²³ The main problem which interests us in connection with Mshattā is the question whether characteristic features of the Omayyad ornament are present. Already, Herzfeld has designated as Omayyad many features of Mshattā decoration, which will be supplemented here by additional ones.

As a matter of convenience I shall begin the discussion with triangles *M-V* (Figs. 47-55) which are to the right of the entrance. In triangles *M*, *N*, and *O*, vine scrolls rise from a vase, in *R* from a cup, and in *S* and *T* they grow out of acanthus roots. Common to all these triangles is the geometrical character of the scrolls, which describe more or less regular circles that are further subdivided into small compartments in which a leaf, a bunch of grapes, or both are placed. The leaves are either five-lobed or three-lobed, but they are mostly of the latter type, which may be regarded as the prototype of the schematic leaves of the Takrīt panels (Figs. 4-5) and also of the mimbar. The form and stylization of the Mshattā leaves vary also. Some of them show more natural leaf forms; others are treated schematically, the lower lobes often being changed into volutes. The surface of the leaves shows mostly a dense ribbing which may be derived from Coptic sculpture. Bunches of grapes, differing in size, are rendered either in traditional Hellenistic fashion, with their grapes indicated individually, or in the summary manner which has already been described as typically Islamic and characteristic of early 'Abbāsīd wood carvings. The vine scrolls of Mshattā bear at intervals short spiral tendrils and also half palmettes which further emphasize the geometrical character of the scrolls. In the triangles of the right section the artists avoided the use of large stone surfaces, which are predominant in triangles on the left side of the entrance. This, as Strzygowski already has told us, accentuates the purely decorative effect of light and dark (*Tiefendunkel*), so characteristic of Mshattā, and strongly suggesting openwork decoration in ivory or gold jewelry which to a certain extent might have inspired some of the Mshattā ornament. Already in the mosaics of Jerusalem the influence of jewelry is quite apparent, while the bronze coverings of the tie beams, which are in repoussé work, show motifs representing jewelry.

The treatment of the vine scrolls in triangles *M* and *N* and also in the related ones such as *R*, *S*, and *T* is different from anything known from the Christian art of the pre-Islamic era. The Syrian vine scrolls of the fifth and sixth centuries, known from the pavement mosaics, follow the composition of clearly defined circular loops in which birds or animals are placed. The

²² Creswell, *op. cit.*

²³ The importance of Iranian art of the post-Sassanian

period in the evolution of the Omayyad and 'Abbāsīd styles will be discussed in a separate article.

frequent crossing of *Mshattā* scrolls, almost in an arabesque manner, was unknown in the Christian art of Syria and Mesopotamia and must have been developed first in the Omayyad period. The rich vine scrolls of the *Mshattā* moldings (*Fig. 36*) reveal the same decorative principles as the triangles.

A number of triangles of *Mshattā* are characterized by a Sassanian influence. The center of triangle *O* is occupied by a palmette tree which was mentioned in connection with a similar tree on the *mimbar* of *Ḳairawān* (*Fig. 49*). The "tree" is surmounted by a pair of Sassanian wing palmettes, rising from horns and enclosing two pine cones, a large one on top of a smaller cone. The wings are accompanied at each side by several spiral scrolls. One of them, at the right, ending in a half palmette, sends downward an offshoot with a bunch of grapes; at the left one of the scrolls ends in a trefoiled vine leaf. Beside the "tree" rises a vine stem, whose branches, spreading to the left and right, describe circular scrolls, frequently crossing each other and bearing leaves, half palmettes, bunches of grapes, and three other motifs, a pair of wing palmettes, a pine cone, and a Sassanian palmette. The most pronounced feature of this triangle is the unnaturalistic tendency of the ornament, characteristic of such Islamic objects as the *Takrīt* panels and the *mimbar* of *Ḳairawān*, which combines heterogeneous motifs with the vine scroll. Such purely decorative combinations are typical of early Islamic ornament and were unknown in the pre-Islamic art of Syria or Mesopotamia.

Already, Strzygowski has emphasized the Sassanian origin of the wing palmettes which, however, are treated in *Mshattā* in a manner which points to the post-Sassanian era. The continuation of Sassanian tradition in Islamic art is a fact which cannot be disputed and is substantiated by numerous objects in metal work, textiles, wood carvings, architecture, and painting. In Sassanian art wings were used most frequently as the emblem of royalty. They may enclose a Pahlavi inscription as in Ctesiphon stuccos²⁴ or may form a base for busts or animal figures as on seal stones. They are well known from Sassanian coins and metal work, forming the top of royal crowns of several Sassanian kings, among whom *Bahrām-Gūr* is the best known. With the exception of a bronze dish now in Berlin,²⁵ whose Sassanian date is not certain, there is no other Sassanian example known in which a palmette tree or a "candelabrum" ends in wing palmettes. A simple palmette tree may be seen on a ninth-century luster bowl of the *Sāmarrā* type in the Horace Havemeyer collection (*Fig. 57*). Only in Islamic art are wing palmettes combined with scroll work, as for instance on ninth-century luster tiles of *Ḳairawān*²⁶ (*Figs. 56* and *58*) and ceramics of *Sāmarrā*.²⁷ Such combinations of motifs were unknown in Sassanian ornament, but quite frequent in early Islamic examples, such as the *mimbar* of *Ḳairawān* (*Figs. 10-11*), *Ḳaṣr al-Ṭubā*,²⁸ the Cairo panel (*Fig. 6*), and the *Takrīt* wood carvings (*Fig. 5*). Not less important for the dating of the *Mshattā* façade is the treat-

²⁴ Reuther, *op. cit.*, Figs. 16-17.

²⁵ F. Sarre and F. R. Martin, *Die Ausstellung von Meisterwerken Muhammedanischer Kunst in München, 1910*, München, 1912, II, Pl. 137.

²⁶ G. Marçais, *Les Faïences de la Grande Mosquée de Kairouan*, Paris, 1928.

²⁷ F. Sarre, *Die Keramik von Samarra*, "Die Ausgrabungen von Samarra," Berlin, 1925.

²⁸ Creswell, *op. cit.*

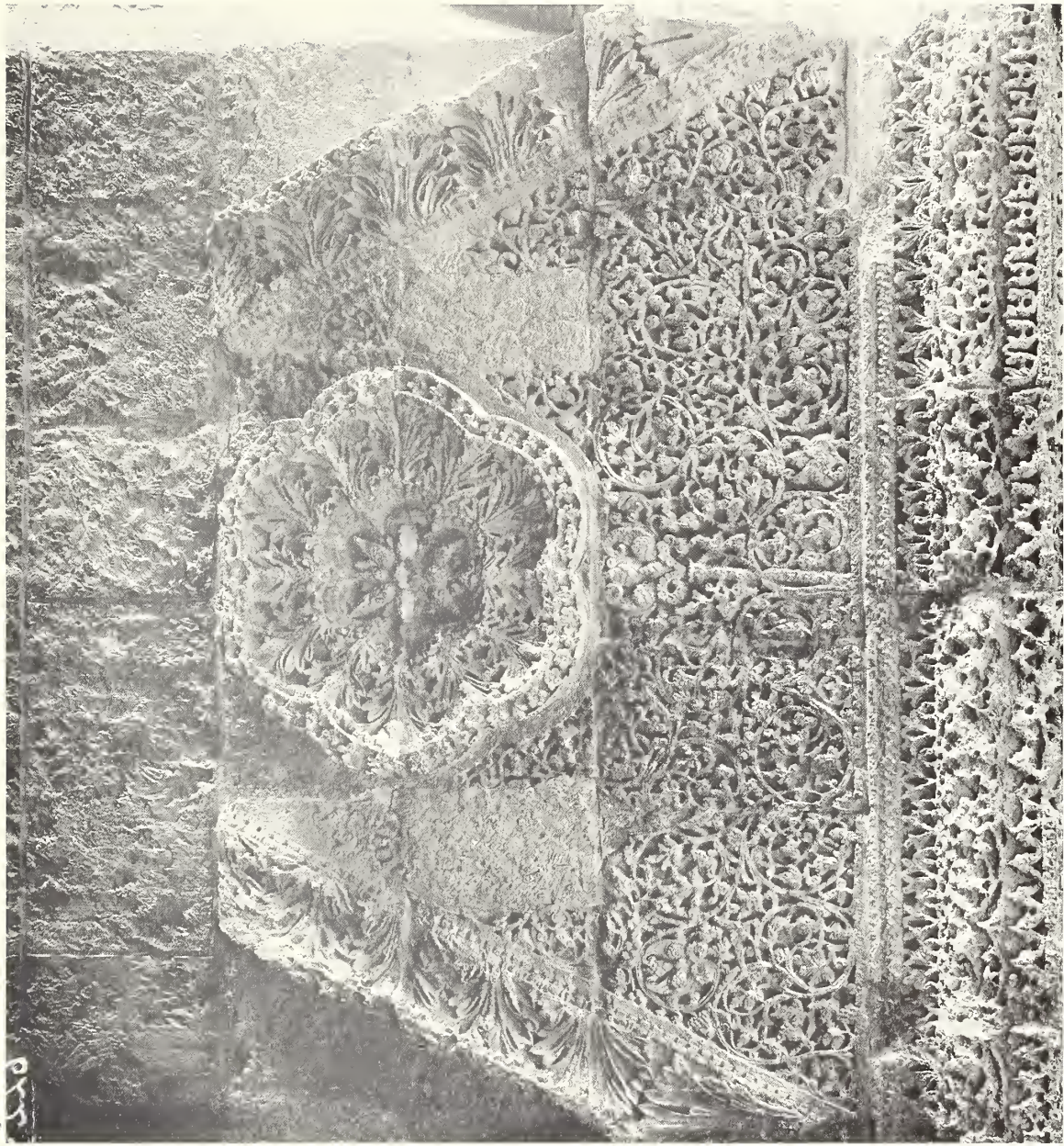


FIG. 49—TRIANGLE *O* OF THE MSHATTĀ FAÇADE, FIRST HALF OF EIGHTH CENTURY, BERLIN, STATE MUSEUMS

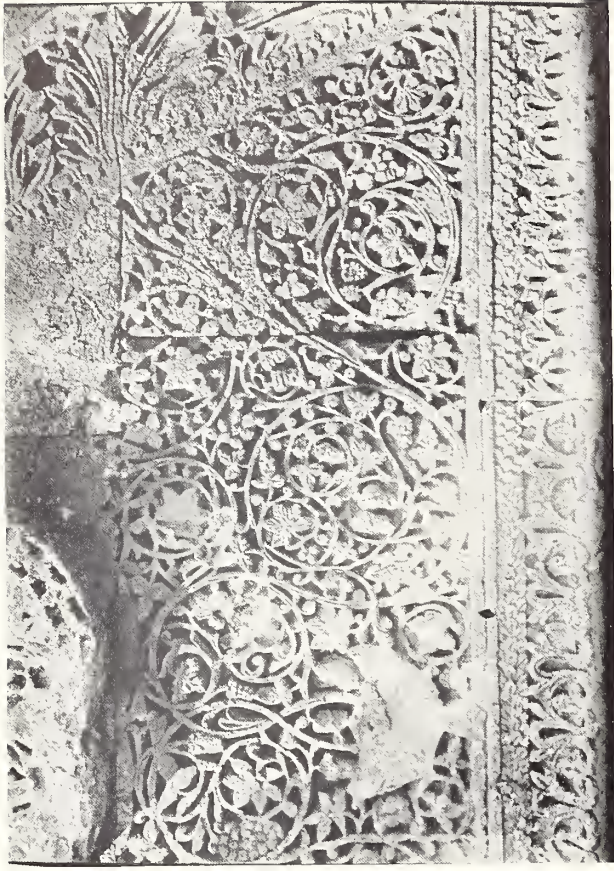


FIG. 51—TRIANGLE R OF THE MSHATTÄ FAÇADE, FIRST HALF OF EIGHTH CENTURY
BERLIN, STATE MUSEUMS



FIG. 52—TRIANGLE S OF THE MSHATTÄ FAÇADE, FIRST HALF OF EIGHTH CENTURY
BERLIN, STATE MUSEUMS

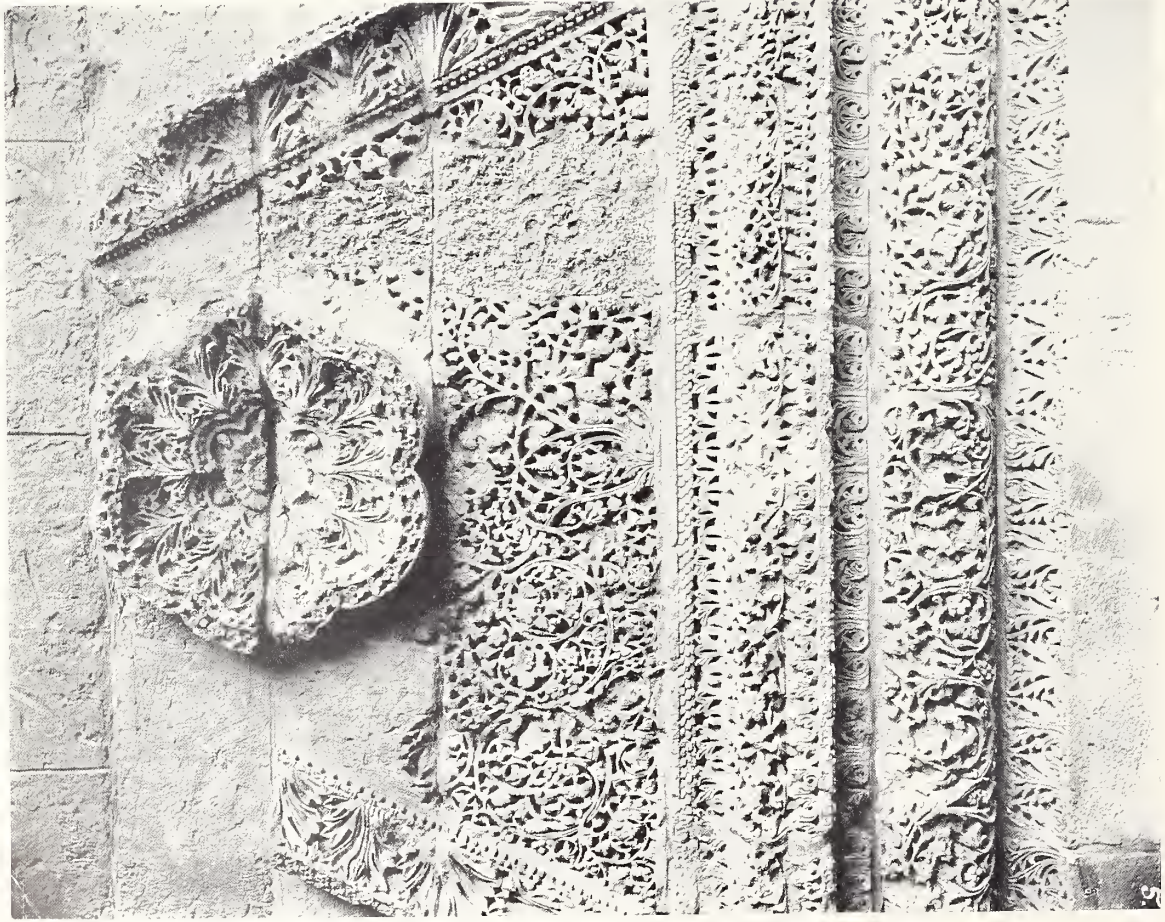


FIG. 50—TRIANGLE P OF THE MSHATTÄ FAÇADE, FIRST HALF OF EIGHTH CENTURY
BERLIN, STATE MUSEUMS

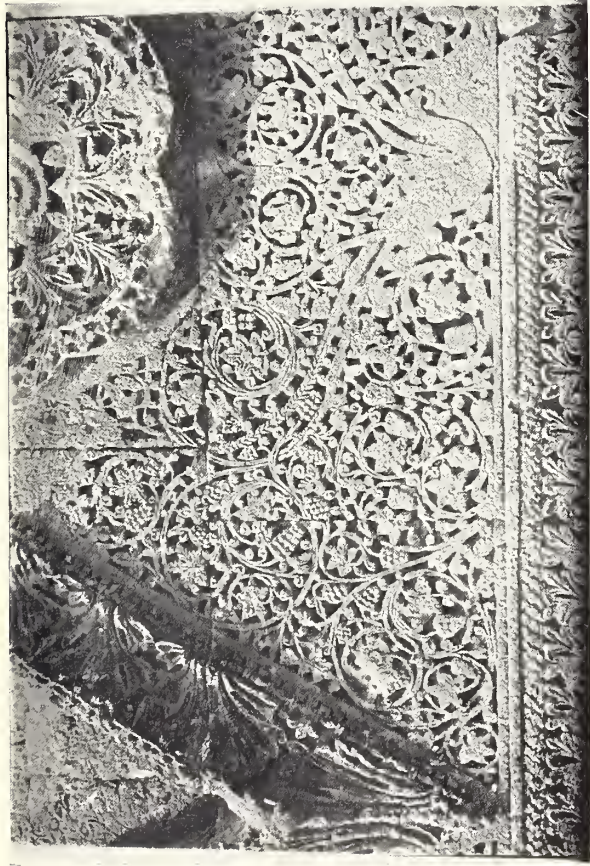


FIG. 53—TRIANGLE *T* OF THE MSHATTĀ FAÇADE, FIRST HALF OF EIGHTH CENTURY
BERLIN, STATE MUSEUMS

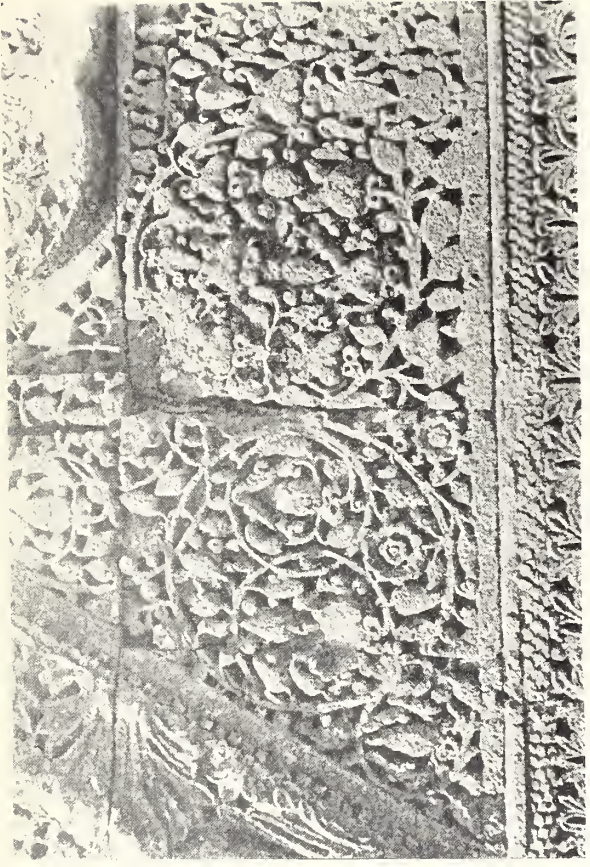


FIG. 54—TRIANGLE *U* OF THE MSHATTĀ FAÇADE, FIRST HALF OF EIGHTH CENTURY
BERLIN, STATE MUSEUMS

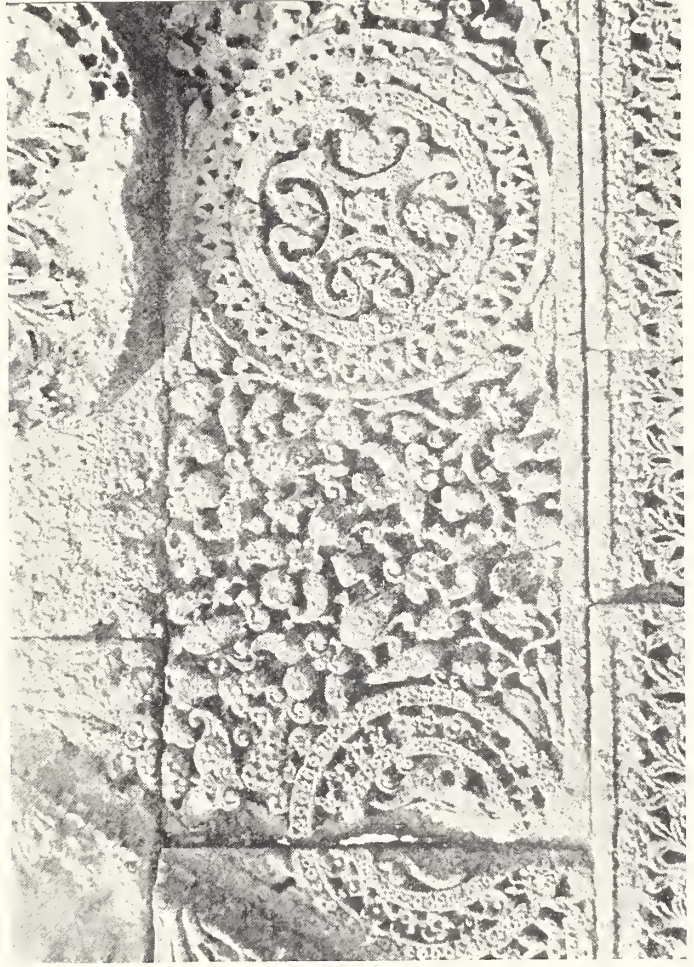


FIG. 55—TRIANGLE *V* OF THE MSHATTĀ FAÇADE, FIRST HALF OF EIGHTH CENTURY
BERLIN, STATE MUSEUMS



FIG. 57—BOWL WITH LUSTER DECORATION, FIRST HALF OF NINTH CENTURY
NEW YORK, COLLECTION OF HORACE HAVEMEYER



FROM MARÇAIS

FIG. 56—LUSTER TILE FROM THE GREAT MOSQUE, KAIRAWĀN



FROM MARÇAIS

FIG. 58—LUSTER TILE FROM THE GREAT MOSQUE, KAIRAWĀN

ment of the wings themselves. Although they follow the Sassanian model, they are more stylized than their prototypes. In the Islamic era the lower parts of the wings were transformed into circular disks with a scale pattern. The upper parts of the wings have either the indications of feathers or have a scale pattern like those on the central "tree" of triangle *O*. Un-Sassanian also is the attaching of scrolls to the wings, one of which ends in a half palmette and a bunch of grapes.

The Islamic character is also apparent in the decoration of the triangle *P* (*Fig. 50*). Here two main stems rise from an acanthus base, bifurcate into two vine scrolls, and go in opposite directions, crossing each other in several places. The scrolls describe, with a certain regularity, larger and smaller loops and offshoots bearing five-lobed, three-lobed, and lancet leaves, bunches of grapes, and spiral tendrils, with the addition of three "Sassanian" palmettes similar to those in triangle *O*. In the center between the two main stems a separate scroll grows out of the acanthus, describing a loop which ends in a Sassanian palmette flanked by two half palmettes. Another branch has three motifs, a cluster of three grapes, a pine cone, and a half palmette, a combination which could only be duplicated in Islamic monuments mentioned above.

In triangles *R*, *S*, and *T* the same decorative treatment of the vine scrolls occurs as in triangles *M* and *N*. In field *R* (*Fig. 51*) two small rosettes and in *S* (*Fig. 52*) a large double one and the Sassanian palmette replace regular leaves. In field *S*, the vine stems rise from two acanthus leaves but in such a way that they are actually a continuation of the leaves. Such unnaturalistic rendering of acanthus was unknown in Hellenistic or Christian art and could only be Islamic as the ornament of the mimbar indicates (*Fig. 11*). Triangle *T* (*Fig. 53*) has also several interesting features. Like those in triangle *S*, the vine scrolls rise from an acanthus root, forming an integral part of the leaves. The main stems of the vine scrolls do not cross each other in the center as in the other fields but grow out at the left and right, in two separate branches. Toward the center two other vine scrolls grow out; they describe small circles and bear two Sassanian palmettes.

The triangles *U* (*Fig. 54*) and *V* (*Fig. 55*) are perhaps the most interesting of all the the fields, as their Islamic character, derived from Iranian (post-Sassanian) sources, could hardly be disputed. The decorative compositions of the Omayyads reached their height in these two triangles in which there is no trace of Hellenistic tradition. The vine scrolls have been transformed into an abstract ornament; the leaves are superseded by palmettes, bunches of grapes by pine cones and rosettes. Below the rosette in triangle *U*, there is an ornamental device or "candelabrum," which consists of a series of superimposed "Sassanian" palmettes with a volute base, alternating with pine cones, from which they are separated by rosettes. On both sides scrolls describe larger and smaller circular loops; the two nearest to the center contain three branches with identical compositions. Other motifs which repeatedly grow out of the scrolls are pine cones in various sizes, single or double, often encircled by half palmettes and rosettes. The candelabra of this triangle were no doubt inspired by Sassanian designs, but are composed of entirely different motifs than the latter. The exclusive use of pine cones instead

of grapes is so typical of the Islamic wood carvings, like the Takrīt panels and the mimbar of Ḳairawān discussed above, that there can be no doubt about the Islamic date of this triangle.

Even stronger Islamic is the ornament of triangle *V* (*Fig. 55*). Below the rosettes are three medallions, a larger one in the center and a smaller one at each corner. From below the central medallion a thick stem divided into three branches of superimposed motifs grows out to the left and right. Here and there issue bunches of grapes. The central stem is built up of the following motifs: a pair of wing motifs, a globular motif (pomegranate?), a pine cone, another pair of wing motifs with a pomegranate between, and a pine cone flanked by palmettes. The motifs are separated from each other by pairs of volutes. The two other branches show a similar succession of motifs. On the right side of the medallion similar devices are repeated. The composition recalls the one in triangle *U*, only the palmettes are replaced by wing motifs which recall certain Sassanian crowns, especially that of Bahrām Gūr. The decorative use of such wing motifs, separated several times and incorporated into purely ornamental devices, could only be Islamic. The luster tiles of Ḳairawān (*Fig. 58*) and the Sāmarrā stuccos furnish examples of such decorative use of Sassanian wing motifs. In the luster tiles in Ḳairawān there are numerous ornamental trees composed of heterogeneous motifs and wing palmettes like those in Mshattā. Of interest in triangle *V* are three double medallions which are placed in the midst of the decoration without any connection with the rest of the ornament. The central one has a cross device of pearl bands whose arms form split palmettes with rosettes, bordered by a row of acanthus palmettes. The right and left medallions consist of two pearl bands separated by a row of small rosettes. The ornament of the left medallion is not clear as it is damaged; the right one contains a vine scroll with trefoiled leaves. These medallions recall the composition of the Takrīt panel in Figure 4 where the vine ornament is separated into sections by interlaced circles and medallions which also consist of the pearl bands, four of them being bordered by rosettes.

One of the most pronounced characteristics of triangles *U* and *V* is the abundant use of pine cones as a decorative motif. The popularity of pine cones in Islamic art seems to be confined to its early period, that is from the seventh to the ninth century. They appear also in all the rosettes (*Fig. 37*), with the exception of three, in conjunction with palmettes. These two triangles are the immediate forerunners of such Islamic monuments as the luster tiles and the mimbar of Ḳairawān and the Takrīt wood carvings so that there cannot be any question of Mshattā being Islamic. Such compositions of pine cones as in the rosettes and the two triangles *U* and *V* were unknown in the Sassanian period. We have to go back to Assyrian art to find so frequent a use of pine cones in ornament.²⁹

In marked contrast to the right triangles of the façade stand those of the left side (triangles *A-L*). Into the vine decoration of the left side (*Fig. 59*) are introduced animals, birds, and human beings, which are missing on the right side. The advocates of a pre-Islamic date for Mshattā are deceived by the decoration of this side of the façade, which shows indeed

²⁹ E. A. Wallis Budge, *Assyrian Sculptures in the British Museum*, London, 1914, Pls. 49-53.



FIG. 59—TRIANGLE I OF THE MSHATTĀ FAÇADE, FIRST HALF OF EIGHTH CENTURY, BERLIN, STATE MUSEUMS

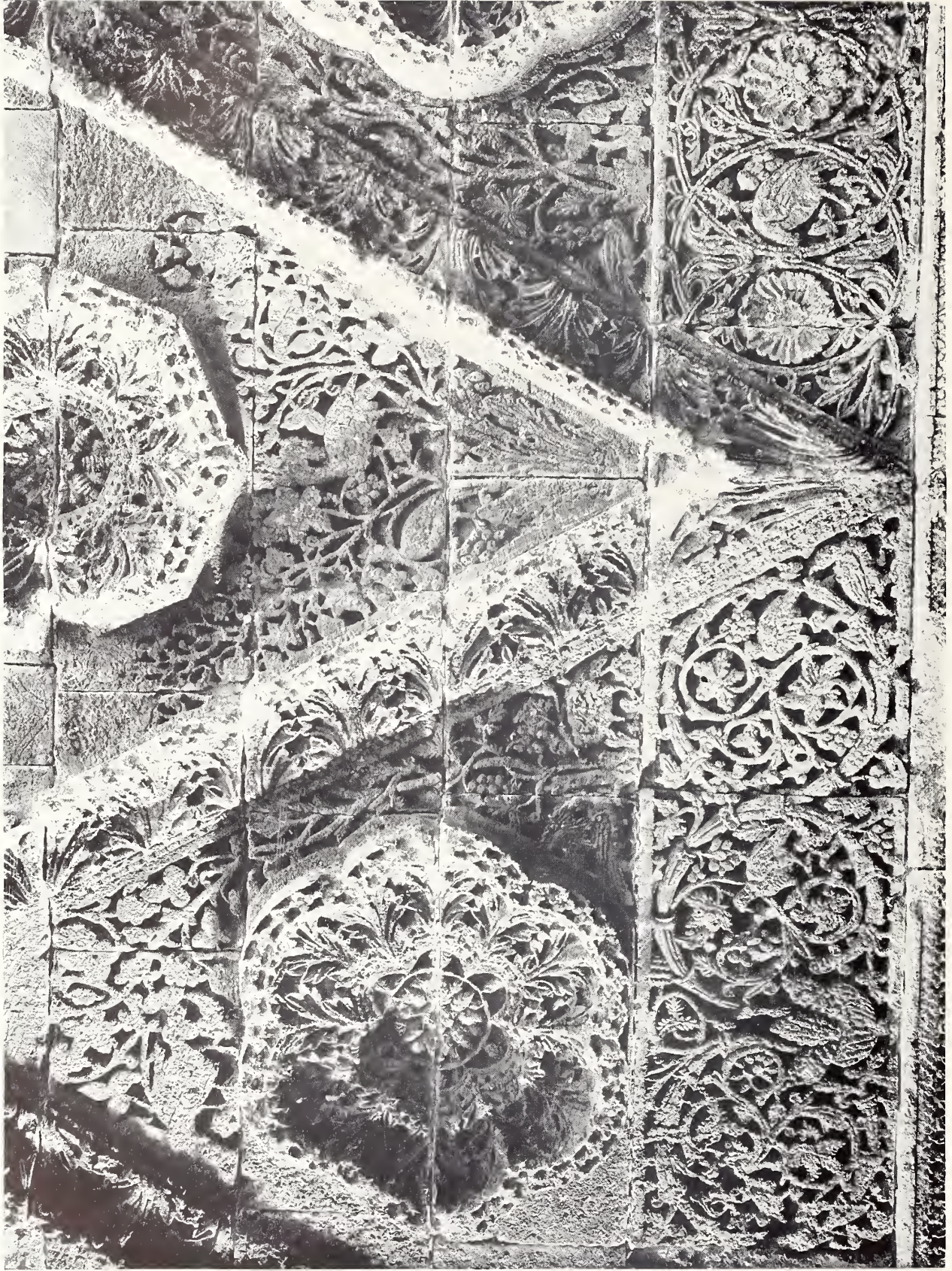


FIG. 6c—TRIANGLES B AND C OF THE MSHATTĀ FAÇADE, FIRST HALF OF EIGHTH CENTURY, BERLIN, STATE MUSEUMS

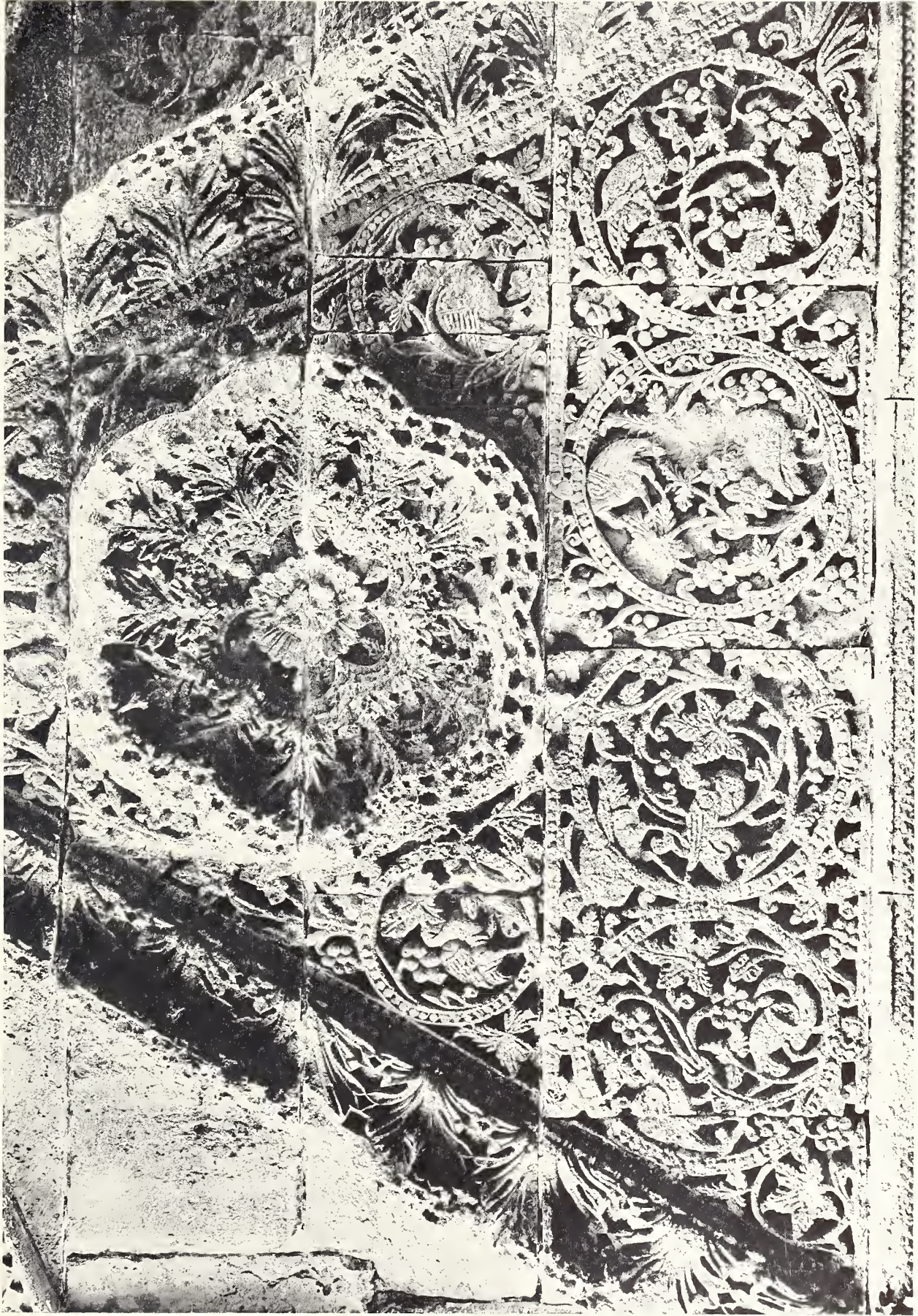


FIG. 61.—TRIANGLE A OF THE MSHATTÄ FAÇADE, FIRST HALF OF EIGHTH CENTURY. BERLIN, STATE MUSEUMS.

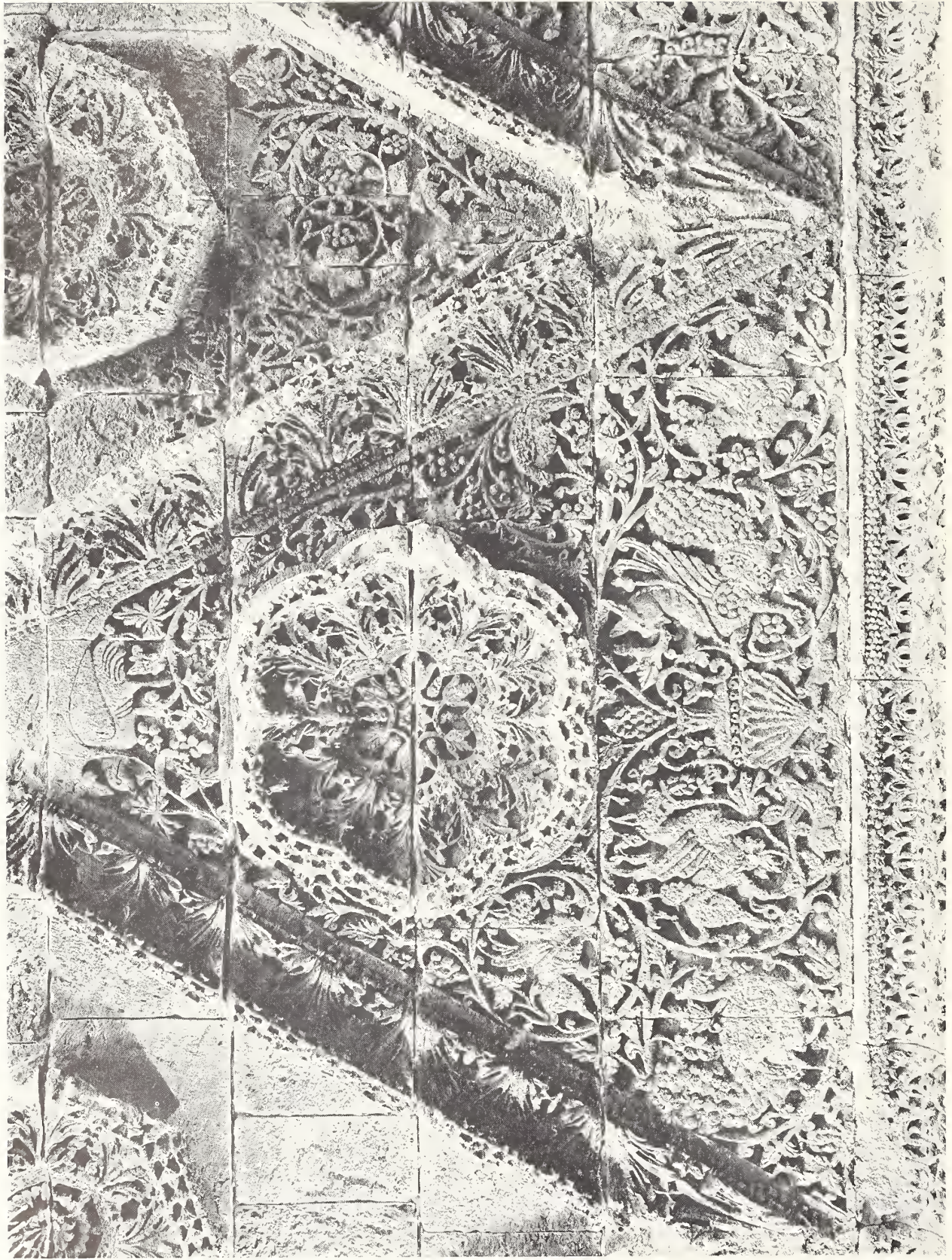


FIG. 62.—TRIANGLE *D* OF THE MSHATTĀ FAÇADE, FIRST HALF OF EIGHTH CENTURY, BERLIN, STATE MUSEUMS

many Hellenistic features. Considering the date of Mshattā, particularly of the triangles *A–L*, we should bear in mind the fact that the Arabs conquering Syria and Egypt continued the styles of the Christian era. Hellenistic motifs and figure subjects are found in such Omayyad monuments as the mosaics of Jerusalem and Damascus, the bronze coverings of the Dome of the Rock, the wood carvings in the al-Akṣā mosque in Jerusalem, and the paintings of Ḳuṣeir-‘Amra³⁰ (about 712 A.D.). The wood carvings from the al-Akṣā mosque³¹ are particularly of importance as we find there a treatment of vine scrolls and a stylization of vine leaves not unlike those of Mshattā. As in Mshattā, semi-naturalistic vine leaves are overlaid with bunches of grapes or with a cluster of three berries only, the latter used also as separate motifs. There is no doubt that the East-Christians of Syria furnished models for some of the Mshattā decoration. Many of the decorative schemes can be duplicated in the Islamic period, as for instance in the acanthus scrolls of triangle *B* (Fig. 60) which are composed of cornucopia-like parts. They appear in the mosaics and bronze ornament of the Dome of the Rock³³ and as late as the ninth century in the wall decoration of Sāmarrā.³³ The composition of triangle *A* (Fig. 61), where four circles are interlaced and two are placed above, goes back to earlier Christian ornament but is known also from the eighth-century wood carvings and stucco decoration to which we have referred before. The stylization of birds in this triangle is no longer Hellenistic but is based on late Sassanian and post-Sassanian style, known to us from textiles and metal work. One of the birds, on the left side, wears a Sassanian ribbon around the neck, which we find also in early Islamic art, as for instance in Sāmarrā.³⁴ In triangles *D*, *F*, and *I* the artist introduced fantastic animals such as griffins and hippocampi which were also derived from Iranian art. Such creatures were never used in the Christian vine decoration. The composition of triangle *D* (Fig. 62) and the stylization of the animals and birds is not unlike a post-Sassanian pattern of textiles or silver work.³⁵ This mixture of Hellenistic and Iranian motifs, which is characteristic of the whole Mshattā façade, is typical of Omayyad style, as for instance of the paintings of Ḳuṣeir-‘Amrā (about 712 A.D.) and the mosaics of the Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem. In Mshattā the triangles on the left side show the traditional Syrian decoration combined with late Sassanian motifs; the triangles on the right side show not only the influence of Sassanian art, but the birth of a new Oriental style of the early Islamic era. Mshattā fits perfectly into the picture of the evolution of Islamic style, being an important link between the Omayyad and the ‘Abbāsīd periods.

³⁰ A. Musil, *Ḳuṣeir ‘Amra*, Wien, 1907.

³¹ *Illustrated London News*, 190, 1937, January 16.

³² Creswell, *op. cit.*

³³ E. Herzfeld, *Die Malereien von Samarra*, "Die Aus-

grabungen von Samarra," Berlin, 1927.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ I. Smirnov, *L'Argenterie Orientale*, Saint Petersburg, 1909, Pl. 49.

MAḤMŪD MUDHAHĪB—MINIATURISTE, ENLUMINEUR ET CALLIGRAPHE PERSAN PAR ARMENAG ŞAKISIAN

AU FUR ET À MESURE QUE NOTRE CONNAISSANCE DES MINIATURES PERSANES ET DES SOURCES s'étend et se précise, la personnalité des artistes se dégage, comme cela a été le cas pour Sulṭān Muḥammad,¹ Kāsim 'Alī,² Āḡa Mīrek,³ et Mīr Muṣawīr.⁴ La révision des attributions à laquelle on est amené, a souvent lieu au détriment de grands noms tels que Behzād et Āḡa Mīrek, auxquels on avait trop généreusement prêté.

Maḥmūd Mudhahīb est un des miniaturistes dont l'Exposition d'Art Persan de Burlington House a fait connaître de nouvelles miniatures authentiquement signées, en même temps qu'étaient mis au jour des indications sur son activité comme enlumineur.

L'épithète *mudhahīb*, qui accompagne sa signature, signifie *enlumineur*, opposé au peintre de sujets à figures. Jusqu'à ces dernières années les orientalistes, même ceux qui s'occupaient de miniature, traduisaient ce mot littéralement par *doreur*,⁵ confusion qui aboutissait à des non-sens.

On connaît plus d'un exemple d'épithètes de métier qui s'amalgament au nom et l'accompagnent dans la signature.⁶ Lorsque les talents d'un artiste sont divers, il arrive que des œuvres soient signées avec un titre qui rappelle l'exercice d'une profession différente, comme dans le cas de Maḥmūd Mudhahīb. De même Pisanello a signé des médailles en qualité de *pictor*.

Mīrzā Haīdar, un Turk oriental de culture persane, qui écrivait vers le milieu du seizième siècle et auquel on doit de précieuses appréciations sur les artistes de l'école de Herāt,⁷ dit que *Mawlānā*⁸ Maḥmūd était meilleur enlumineur que Yārī,⁹ et qu'il avait travaillé sept ans à une page lumineuse au frontispice (*dībādje*)¹⁰ d'une grande délicatesse, pour Sulṭān Ḥusain, sans l'achever.¹¹ Cette indication situe déjà Maḥmūd à Herāt, sous le règne de Ḥusain Baīḡarā (1468–1506 A.D.).

¹ A. Sakisian, *La Miniature persane du XII^e au XVII^e siècle*, Paris, 1929, pp. 110–115.

² A. Sakisian, "Le Miniaturiste persan Kassim Ali," *Rev. Art*, LIX, 1931, No. 323, pp. 87–96; et *idem*, "La Miniature à l'Exposition d'Art persan de Burlington House," *Syria*, XII, 1931, No. 2, p. 170 et Pl. XXXV, en intervertissant les légendes.

³ Sakisian, *La Miniature persane*, pp. 109–110.

⁴ A. Sakisian, "The School of Bihzad and the Miniaturists Aga Mirak and Mir Musavvir," *Burlington Magazine*, LXVIII, 1936, No. 395, pp. 81–85.

⁵ A. Sakisian, "Esthétique et terminologie persanes," *Journ. Asiatique*, CCXXVI, 1935, No. 1, pp. 145–146; et *La Miniature persane*, p. xii.

⁶ Sakisian, "The School of Bihzad," p. 82.

⁷ T. W. Arnold, "Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaydar Dughlāt

on the Harāt School of Painters," *Bull. School of Oriental Studies*, V, 1930, Pt. IV, publié en traduction par L. Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson and B. Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting*, London, 1933, Append. II.

⁸ Titre honorifique qui peut se traduire par messire.

⁹ 'Alī, *Menāḡib-i-Ḥūmerwerān (en turc)*, Istanbul, 1926, pp. 40 et 67, connaît Yārī de Shīrāz comme un célèbre calligraphe et enlumineur. C'était un élève de Sulṭān Muḥammad Kḡendān de Herāt, et il conservait sa verdeur lorsque 'Alī rédigeait son livre en 1587 A.D.

¹⁰ La traduction d'Arnold de *dībādje*, par préface, n'est pas non plus exacte. Cf. Sakisian, "Esthétique et terminologie persanes," p. 146.

¹¹ Binyon, Wilkinson and Gray, *op. cit.*, Append. II, p. 191.

‘Ālī, dans son opuscule consacré aux artistes du livre et qu’il a rédigé vers la fin du seizième siècle, dans le milieu persan de Baghdād, mentionne Sultān Maḥmūd de Bukhārā, comme élève du célèbre calligraphe Mīr ‘Alī de Herāt. Il ne semble pas priser beaucoup son talent en cette dernière qualité, et ajoute qu’il était supérieur comme enlumineur.¹²

C’est bien de notre artiste qu’il s’agit; en effet nous le retrouvons au seizième siècle à Bukhārā, sans compter qu’au moins deux pièces calligraphiques signées Maḥmūd al-Mudhahīb nous sont parvenues: l’une se conserve au Museum of Fine Arts de Boston¹³ et l’autre au Vieux Sérail de Stamboul.¹⁴

Il n’existe pas à ma connaissance d’enluminure, signés par Maḥmūd, qui nous soit parvenue.

Si on excepte ces deux pages, c’est en tant que miniaturiste, qualité que les sources ne mentionnent pas, que les œuvres de Maḥmūd Mudhahīb nous sont connues.

Le portrait de Mīr ‘Alī Shīr Newā-ī, signé par lui et qui a été révélé par l’Exposition de Burlington House,¹⁵ mérite une place à part (*Fig. 1*). Le patron de Behzād, une des grandes figures du quinzième siècle timūride,¹⁶ a vécu à Herāt, où il est mort en 1500, ce qui situe l’œuvre dans la capitale du Khorāsān et non à Bukhārā. Il est représenté voûté par l’âge, et comme sa mort se place dans sa soixantième année l’œuvre peut-être datée de la fin du siècle. Il porte un manteau grenat foncé par dessus une robe bleue, et un bonnet vert émerge de son turban blanc.¹⁷

Les portraits relativement à grande échelle, du quinzième siècle, dont celui de Ḥusain Bāīkarā par Behzād est un autre exemple, s’opposent aussi par leur réalisme et leur facture plus large, aux miniatures anecdotiques qui illustrent les manuscrits. Ces différences font que ces effigies tranchent sur le reste de la production des artistes en question, au point de faire mettre en doute leur paternité. C’est là toutefois un phénomène constant qui tient à la nature même du portrait et qu’on peut aussi bien illustrer par la peinture occidentale.¹⁸

Trois autres miniatures provenant comme la précédente du sanctuaire de Mashhad, et signées Maḥmūd Mudhahīb, figuraient à Burlington House.¹⁹

¹² ‘Ālī, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

¹³ A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Les Miniatures orientales de la collection Goloubew au Museum of Fine Arts de Boston*, “Ars Asiatica,” XIII, 1929, Pl. XXXI, 55b, pièce du coin inférieur droit.

¹⁴ Recueil 37064. La signature de cette dernière pièce offre la particularité de tenir du monogramme, en ce sens qu’un des caractères doit être lu deux fois. Une abréviation analogue se rencontre sur la signature du peintre-calligraphe Shaikh Muḥammad.

¹⁵ Binyon, Wilkinson and Gray, *op. cit.*, No. 104. *Catalogue of the Exhibition of Persian Art*, London, 1931, No. 501.

¹⁶ Cf. Sakisian, *La Miniature persane*, pp. 62–64.

¹⁷ J’avais signalé, au Musée du Vieux Sérail de Stam-

boul, un portrait sur soie du même personnage, représenté beaucoup plus jeune, en compagnie d’un prince timūride, et signé le pauvre ‘Alī. Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 63–64. Binyon, Wilkinson and Gray me font dire (*op. cit.*, p. 122), que je considère cette effigie du Vieux Sérail, comme un auto-portrait; ce ne peut être là que le résultat d’une confusion de ces auteurs avec une autre miniature dont je parle comme signée par Mīr ‘Alī Shīr.

¹⁸ Comparer par exemple les effigies et les compositions suivantes: les portraits de Charles VII et de Juvénal des Ursins par Jean Fouquet avec ses miniatures des *Heures d’Etienne Chevalier* à Chantilly; l’homme à la médaille de Botticelli, aux Offices, et sa naissance de Vénus.

¹⁹ Binyon, Wilkinson and Gray, *op. cit.*, No. 104.

La *Bande Joyeuse* de trois jeunes femmes²⁰ (Fig. 2), pittoresque, pleine de vie et d'une grande matité de couleurs, porte la mention "les précieuses de Chine." C'est là une indication postérieure à laquelle il ne faut pas attacher plus de portée qu'à celle de "roi *Ḳalmūḳ*" sur une miniature de la même série. Les toilettes sont celles des femmes de Perse ou de Transoxiane et non d'Extrême Orient. Le trio doit représenter des danseuses et des musiciennes car on en rencontre, comme sur la Figure 2, avec castagnettes en forme de baguettes et avec aigrette.²¹

Malheureusement si les coiffures *ṣafawides* et *ṣhaibānides* se distinguent, il n'en est pas de même des costumes féminins,²² qui ne peuvent constituer un criterium pour situer à Bukhārā plutôt qu'à Herāt, la *Bande Joyeuse*. Même la manche qui dépasse le bras²³ n'est pas une mode à laquelle l'Oxus serve de frontière.

Je penche toutefois, principalement à raison du caractère spontané et vivant de cette page, à la situer à Herāt.

L'adolescent offrant une pomme pour déclarer son amour, en mauvais état de conservation,²⁴ malgré la mention *le roi Ḳalmūḳ*, ajoutée par des ignorants, est une œuvre qui appartient à Bukhārā par la coiffure du galant. Il en existe une réplique au Museum of Fine Arts de Boston, sur laquelle les attitudes sont plus rigides.²⁵

Enfin un génie ailé en bleu, jaune et rouge, avec une coiffure faite de feuilles, est très Khorāsānienne comme type.

Une œuvre de Maḥmūd Mudḥahīb d'origine certaine de Bukhārā, qui appartient à la Bibliothèque Nationale, est la grande composition en deux tableaux de la vieille demandant justice au Sultān Sindjār (Figs. 3 et 4). Elle est signée et datée de 1546 A.D. quoique le *Trésor des Secrets* de Niẓāmī, dans lequel elle figure ne soit que de 1538 A.D. Il faut observer que ce manuscrit est copié à Bukhārā par Mīr 'Alī,²⁶ son maître en calligraphie, qu'il a dû accompagner dans son exil de Herāt à Bukhārā.

C'est à la suite des troubles du Khorāsān et de la prise de Herāt en 1534 A.D. par les Tatars Ūzbeks d'Ubaīd Khān²⁷ que Mīr 'Alī s'est rendu à Bukhārā, comme le prouve le

²⁰ C'est à la courtoisie de M. Basil Gray que je dois la communication de cette figure et je le prie de trouver ici mes remerciements.

²¹ Sakisian, *op. cit.*, Pl. LXXVI, Fig. 136, *Shīrāz*, premières années du seizième siècle, et Pl. LXVI, Fig. 144, Herāt, 1527 A.D.

²² On peut s'en rendre compte en rapprochant la Fig. 5 indubitablement de Bukhārā, du *Shāikh de Sinān* et du *Pavillon Noir*, de Herāt et de 1527 A.D. Cf. *ibid.*, Pl. LXV, Figs. 111 et 112.

²³ Des terres cuites chinoises d'époque Han représentent des danseuses avec ces manches qui dépassent le bras, comme dans la miniature persane.

²⁴ Binyon, Wilkinson and Gray, *op. cit.*, Pl. LXXVII. Le *Catalogue of the Exhibition of Persian Art*, 1931, No. 501b, donne cette miniature comme signée de Maḥmūd

Mudḥahīb *Bukhārā-i*, tandis que celui de Binyon, Wilkinson and Gray omet l'épithète.

²⁵ Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXII, No. 42; et P. W. Schulz, *Die persisch-islamische Miniaturmalerei*, Leipzig, 1914, II, Pl. 145. Pour ce qui est de Mīrek et de son école, qu'à la suite de F. R. Martin, ces auteurs font intervenir au sujet de l'école de Bukhārā et de cette peinture, cf. Sakisian, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-97.

²⁶ E. Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits persans de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1928, III, No. 1264, donne Mīr 'Alī *Mashhadī*, comme le copiste de ce manuscrit. *Mashhadī* est probablement une addition de cet auteur, qui a dû confondre Mīr 'Alī, avec Sultān 'Alī *Mashhadī*.

²⁷ 'Alī, *op. cit.*, p. 42 parle du départ de Mīr 'Alī pour Bukhārā à la suite des troubles et de la révolution du Khorāsān qu'il place en 1538-39 A.D.; mais la date de

dīwān de Mīr ‘Alī-Shīr, au Musée d’Art turc et musulman de Stamboul, copié en 1536 A.D. par ce calligraphe²⁸ et sur lequel il prend déjà le titre de Bukhārāi. C’est un exemple de migration²⁹ forcée,³⁰ et il se lamente sur son sort dans les vers suivants: “Tous les rois du monde voudraient m’à voir, et néanmoins mon cœur se déchire à courir dans Bukhārā à la recherche de ma subsistance.”³¹

La miniature de 1546 A.D. est une œuvre de la pleine maturité de l’artiste. Elle est caractéristique de Bukhārā, non seulement par les types des personnages, particulièrement de ceux qui portent la barbe, ainsi que par les coiffures, mais aussi au point de vue de son style général qui s’apparente intimement avec celui du quinzième siècle tīmūride, dont il n’est qu’un prolongement,³² et contraste avec les œuvres ṣafawides contemporaines. Au seizième siècle Bukhārā est isolé, à la fois religieusement et politiquement, de la Perse ṣafawide. Les Tatars Ūzbeks sont sunnites, à la différence des Persans qui sont shī’ites, et les hostilités entre la Transoxiane et la Perse ṣafawide sont continues.

Sur cette miniature le souverain est en bleu clair, la vieille en vert mat et sombre, le cavalier au parasol de cérémonie en cramoisi et le négrillon en jaune. L’ensemble de la composition se détache sur des fonds mauve très pâle ou gris bleuté. Le ciel est rendu par de l’or.

Il n’est pas sans intérêt d’opposer cette double page, à la même scène de Niẓāmī au nom de Shāh Ṭahmāsp du British Museum, probablement par Sulṭān Muḥammad.³³ Celle-ci est de 1539–1543 A.D., antérieure par conséquent de quelques années, mais la richesse et la souplesse de l’école ṣafawide y éclatent.

Une autre miniature, signée sur un tambour de basque l’esclave³⁴ Muḥammad al-Mudhahīb, représente une addition à un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Nationale, copié en 1499–1500 A.D. par le calligraphe Sulṭān ‘Alī Mashhadī,³⁵ par conséquent à Herāt (*Fig. 5*). Cette peinture est non seulement de beaucoup postérieure à cette date, mais elle est typique de Bukhārā. Elle figure la scène classique du jeune seigneur qui jouit de la nature en fleurs, en buvant du vin aux sons de la musique.³⁶ Un échanton est agenouillé auprès de lui, au premier plan sont placés des musiciens, dont une harpiste et un adolescent assoupi sous l’effet de la boisson. Au delà du gazon fleuri se profile une montagne sur laquelle se détachent un pêcher³⁷ et la silhouette élégante et sombre d’un cyprès.

1534 A.D. que donne Sir John Malcolm, *Histoire de la Perse*, Paris, 1821, II, pp. 278–279, en spécifiant l’invasion du Khorāsān par ‘Ubaīd Khān, est certainement plus exacte.

²⁸ No. 1559.

²⁹ Cf. pour le rôle des migrations dans l’histoire de l’art persan, Sakisian, *op. cit.*, pp. 2–3 et 49.

³⁰ Habib Effendi, *Khaṭ wa Khaṭāṭān (en turc)*, Constantinople, 1888, p. 209, est explicite sur le caractère forcé de cette transplantation avec une foule de savants, d’artistes et d’artisans, quoiqu’il donne la même date erronée qu’‘Alī. C. Huart, *Les Calligraphes et les miniaturistes de l’Orient musulman*, Paris, 1908, p. 227, suit

cette compilation en la rectifiant sur un point.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² Cf. pour les caractères de la production de Bukhārā, Sakisian, *op. cit.*, pp. 91–99.

³³ *Ibid.*, Pl. LXXXII, Fig. 148.

³⁴ Formule d’humilité employée communément par Behzād.

³⁵ *Tuḥfat al-Aḥrār* de Djāmī, Suppl. Pers. 1416.

³⁶ Cf. une parodie de cette scène dans laquelle les hommes sont remplacés par des ours. A. Sakisian, “La Caricature dans les arts graphiques persans,” *Rev. Art*, LXX, 1936, No. 373, Fig. 7.

³⁷ E. Blochet, en décrivant les arbres en fleurs de ce

Deux petites miniatures, toujours signées de Maḥmūd Mudḥhīb, des Kunstgewerbe-Museum de Berlin et de Leipzig, lesquelles se font pendant, ou plus exactement se complètent en diptyque³⁸ représentent le même sujet, placé dans le même paysage, sans les musiciens, mais avec l'adolescent endormi.³⁹

Enfin un album (*muraḳḳā*) du Musée du Vieux Sérail,⁴⁰ formé au dix-huitième siècle par le Shaiḳh al-Islām Waḥīd al-Dīn Effendī,⁴¹ renferme le portrait de deux princes shaibānides, signé Maḥmūd Mudḥhīb et daté de 970 et 978 H., ce qui correspondrait à 1562–1563 ou 1570–1571 A.D., mais cette dernière date serait par trop tardive.⁴²

Dans un *Bahāristān* de Djāmī,⁴³ qui a appartenu à M. E. de Lorey, figure une double page authentiquement signée sur les marches du trône par Maḥmūd Mudḥhīb (*Figs. 6 et 7*), avec une inscription sur un mur, au nom d'Abd al-'Azīz, souverain shaibānide de Bukhārā (1540–1549 A.D.).

Le manuscrit est copié par Mīr Ḥusain al-Ḥusain-ī et daté de 958 ou de 908 H. (1551 ou 1502–1503 A.D.) suivant qu'on lit comme un cinq ou un zéro, le chiffre du milieu, qui malgré ses dimensions minuscules a un petit vide au centre, et semble se distinguer du point, soit du zéro arabe.

Si aucune de ces deux dates ne correspond au règne d'Abd al-'Azīz, les manuscrits au nom de ce souverain, comme je l'ai relevé ailleurs,⁴⁴ n'ont pas été pour la plupart confectionnés pour lui et leurs inscriptions à ses noms et titres sont des additions, comme le prouvent les dates des colophons. Il en est également ainsi du Mīr 'Alī Shīr de 1536 A.D., calligraphié par Mīr 'Alī, dont il a été question plus haut et qui se place sous 'Abaīd-Allāh, que nous avons vu transplanter à Bukhārā, les artistes de Herāt.

Le choix de la date de 1551 A.D. pour le *Bahāristān* ainsi que sa localisation, sont imposés par ce fait qu'un *Bustān* de Sa'dī de 1557 A.D.,⁴⁵ daté de Bukhārā, est copié par le même Mīr

type, leur applique le nom d'*erguevan*, sous l'influence de réminiscences poétiques persanes. Or l'*erguevan* est l'arbre de Judée, dont les petites fleurs rouges du type *gueule de loup*, n'ont rien de commun avec celles des rosacées, tels que pêcheurs ou pruniers.

³⁸ Schulz, *op. cit.*, II, Pl. 137.

³⁹ Le catalogue de la vente O. Homberg de Juin 1931, reproduit à la Pl. XXXIX, d'après un *Tuḥfat al-Ahrār* de Djāmī, No. 88, donné comme copié à Bukhārā vers 1545 A.D., une miniature en double page qui précède le manuscrit, signée Maḥmūd Mudḥhīb.

⁴⁰ No. 37178.

⁴¹ Mort en 1768 A.D. C'était un calligraphe hors ligne dans le style persan *nest'alīk*, appelé en Turquie *t'alīk*. Il est le fondateur à la mosquée Beyāzīd d'une bibliothèque qui porte son nom. Meḥmet Thureyā, *Sidjil-i-Oḥmānī (en turc)*, Istanbul. Comme on le voit son

intérêt s'étendait à la peinture.

⁴² Me basant sur la lecture par Jackson et Yohannan d'une inscription du Nizāmī de 1525 A.D. du Metropolitan Museum of Art, j'avais attribué son illustration à Maḥmūd Mudḥhīb, ainsi que celle du Mīr 'Alī Shīr, daté de Herāt 1524 A.D., de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, qui est de la même main. Cf. Sakisian, *La Miniature persane*, pp. 97–98, Figs. 127 et 112. Il s'avère toutefois que dans cette inscription le vocable *maḥmūd* est employé, non pas comme nom propre, mais comme adjectif; mon hypothèse n'est par conséquent pas fondée. Cf. Binyon, Wilkinson and Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 108, note 2.

⁴³ Djāmī passe pour le dernier des poètes classiques persans. Son *Bahāristān* est une imitation du *Gulistān* de Sa'dī.

⁴⁴ Sakisian, *op. cit.*, pp. 93–94.

⁴⁵ Bibliothèque Nationale, Suppl. Pers. 1187.

Ḥusain al-Ḥusainī qui prend le titre de *scribe royal*.⁴⁶ J'ai relevé aussi dans les recueils (*muraqqās*) du Vieux Sérail une pièce signée par le même calligraphe, avec le même titre, et daté de 1546 A.D., ce qui confirme la lecture de 958 H.—1551 A.D.

Mais une nouvelle difficulté surgit, car le colophon du *Bahāristān* se trouve ainsi être postérieur au règne d'Abd al'Azīz, dont l'*ex-libris*⁴⁷ est inscrit sur la miniature de Maḥmūd Mudhahīb. On en est réduit à supposer qu'elle a été peinte avant l'achèvement de la copie. Le cas n'est pas sans précédent, et précisément sur le *Bustān* de Sa'dī de 1557 A.D., dont le calligraphe est le même que celui du *Bahāristān*, une miniature est datée de 1556 A.D.;⁴⁸ elle est antérieure par conséquent d'une année à l'achèvement de la copie. Les dates musulmanes respectives sont 964 et 963.

Ces deux tableaux représentent (*Figs. 6 et 7*) le campement d'un souverain, avec sa cour et des guerriers. On le voit sur le panneau de droite, assis sur un trône devant un pavillon surmonté d'un tendelet, tandis qu'une partie de sa suite, ainsi qu'un cheval sont relégués dans le panneau de gauche, dont le fond est occupé par des ouvriers en train de démolir une bâtisse.

Mon attention a été attirée par les casques à oreillons, et à pointe ornée d'une petite flamme, que portent les guerriers, et qui se retrouvent sur le *Zafar-Nāme*, Histoire de Tīmūr par Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī, de la collection Garrett, attribué communément à Behzād.⁴⁹ A un point de vue pictural, les couleurs harmonieuses et apaisées de la double page de Maḥmūd Mudhahīb, avec le mauve pâle et le bleu clair de leurs rochers, ne sont pas non plus sans s'apparenter au coloris subtil et harmonieux du *Zafar-Nāme*. Après avoir vu ce manuscrit à Burlington House, je soulignais "l'emploi d'une palette spéciale pour les effets de nuit: tonalité générale gris-mauve de la terre et de la mer, qui mettait une sourdine à l'éclat des costumes."⁵⁰ D'une façon générale quelques taches seulement de couleurs vives relèvent les tons sourds de ces peintures.

C'est à raison d'une annotation de l'empereur Djahāngīr que W. Schulz a porté à l'actif de Behzād ces miniatures, qui ne sont d'ailleurs pas contemporaines du manuscrit, daté de 1457 A.D., comme le prouve leur format plus grand que l'espace couvert par le texte sur chaque page.⁵¹ Il faut les situer vers la fin du siècle et on connaît de façon certaine, par son *Bustān* du Caire, la palette toute différente de Behzād à cette époque.

Ce n'est même pas sur une tradition tīmūride que repose l'attribution par Djahāngīr à Behzād, de l'Histoire de Tīmūr, qui n'est entrée en possession des Grands Mogols que dans la seconde moitié du seizième siècle,⁵² sans compter que ces attributions par les Grands Mogols sont dénuées de tout esprit critique. Ainsi l'un d'eux croit reconnaître la main de Shaikh-Zādē

⁴⁶ *Kātib-i-Khāḳānī*.

⁴⁷ Sur les *ex-libris* persans c'est le trésor, et non la bibliothèque, qui est en général visé. L'inscription porte exceptionnellement dans le cas présent, "pour la bibliothèque de . . ."

⁴⁸ E. Blochet, *Les Peintures des manuscrits orientaux*, Paris, 1914-1920, Pl. XLIV, Fig. de gauche.

⁴⁹ Notamment F. R. Martin, *The Miniature Painting*

and Painters of Persia, India, and Turkey, London, 1912, II, Pl. 69; Schulz, *op. cit.*, Pls. 52-55.

⁵⁰ Sakisian, "La Miniature à l'Exposition d'Art persan de Burlington House," p. 171.

⁵¹ T. W. Arnold, *Bihzād and his Paintings in the Zafar-Nāmah MS.*, London, 1930, p. 20.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 2.

sur la miniature que reproduit la Figure 5, ainsi que sur trois autres du même manuscrit,⁵³ la signature de Maḥmūd Mudḥahīb lui ayant échappé.⁵⁴

Arnold a repris en dernier lieu la thèse qui attribue à Behzād les miniatures du *Zafar-Nāme* en faisant valoir l'argument plutôt simpliste que les grands éloges décernés par E. Blochet à ces peintures ne conviennent qu'à la réputation de Behzād.⁵⁵

Maḥmūd Mudḥahīb est un coloriste et un dessinateur d'un talent personnel dont les mérites ont été confirmés par l'Exposition de Burlington House,⁵⁶ et les analogies de dessin et de couleur relevées plus haut permettent, semble-t-il, de conclure à sa paternité.⁵⁷

Dans cette hypothèse, l'illustration du *Zafar-Nāme* Garrett représenterait son œuvre capitale et se placerait au Khorāsān vers la fin du quinzième siècle.

⁵³ Bibliothèque Nationale, Suppl. Pers. 1416.

⁵⁴ Sous la plume de F. R. Martin, cette royale attribution, accouplée à la signature de Maḥmūd, a donné naissance à un miniaturiste baptisé Shaikh-Zādē Maḥmūd. Cf. Martin, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 53 et 116.

⁵⁵ Arnold, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

⁵⁶ Binyon, Wilkinson and Gray, *op. cit.*, pp. 2 et 106-108.

⁵⁷ On est handicapé dans ce genre de rapprochements par l'impossibilité d'avoir simultanément sous les yeux les originaux, qu'il faut remplacer par des reproductions en couleurs, des notes, voire des souvenirs.

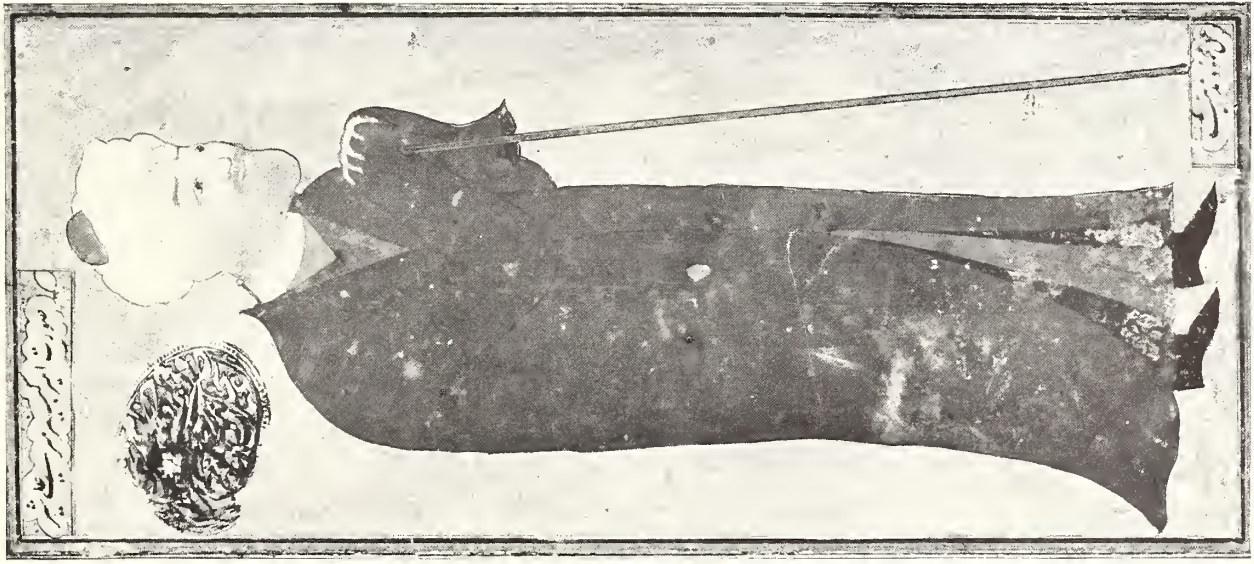


FIG. 1—MIR 'ALĪ SHĪR NEWĀ'Ī, PAR MAHMŪD MUDHAHĪB, HERĀT
FIN DU QUINZIÈME SIÈCLE, SANCTUAIRE DE MASHHAD



FIG. 2—LA BANDE JOYEUSE, PAR MAHMŪD MUDHAHĪB, HERĀT
SEIZIÈME SIÈCLE, SANCTUAIRE DE MASHHAD



FIGS. 3-4—LA VIEILLE DEMANDANT JUSTICE AU SULTÂN SINDJĀR, PAR MAHMŪD MUDDAHĪB. *Trésor des Secrets de NIZĀMĪ*

BUKHĀRĀ, 1546 A.D., PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE.



FIG. 5.—DÉLASSEMENT DANS UN JARDIN, PAR MAHMŪD
MUDHAHĪB, BUKHĀRĀ, SEIZIÈME SIÈCLE
PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE



FIGS. 6-7.—CAMPEMENT ROYAL, PAR MAHMŪD MUDHAHĪB, *Bahārīstān* DE DJĀMĪ, BUKHĀRĀ, SEIZIÈME SIÈCLE
PARIS, COLLECTION DE E. DE LOREY

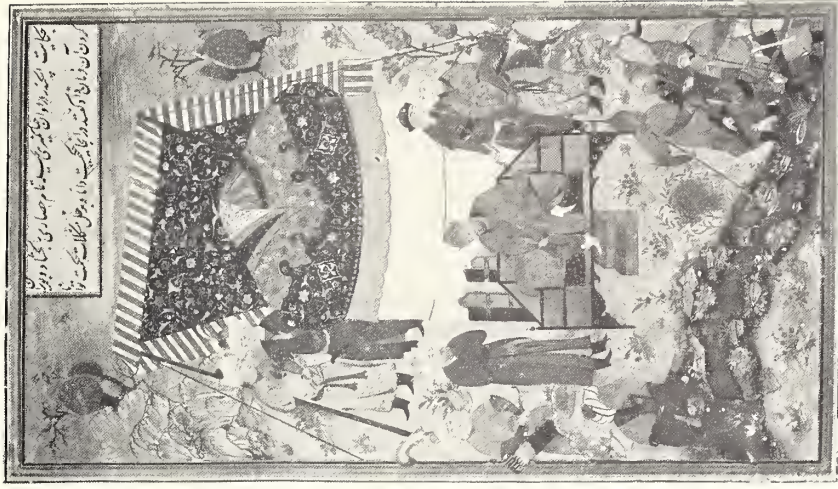




FIG. 1—INSCRIPTION ON A BRASS DISH, EGYPTIAN, FOURTEENTH CENTURY
NEW YORK, COLLECTION OF ZADO NOURIAN

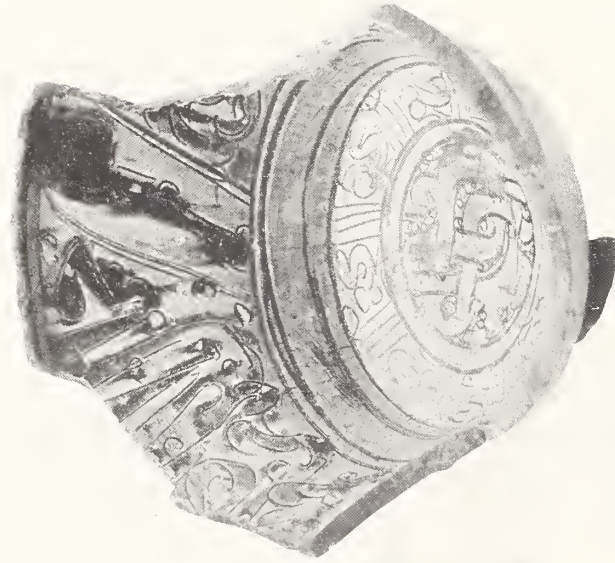


FIG. 2—POTSHERD FROM FUSTAT
BOSTON MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS



FIG. 3—FRAGMENT OF A CENOTAPH
CAIRO, ARAB MUSEUM

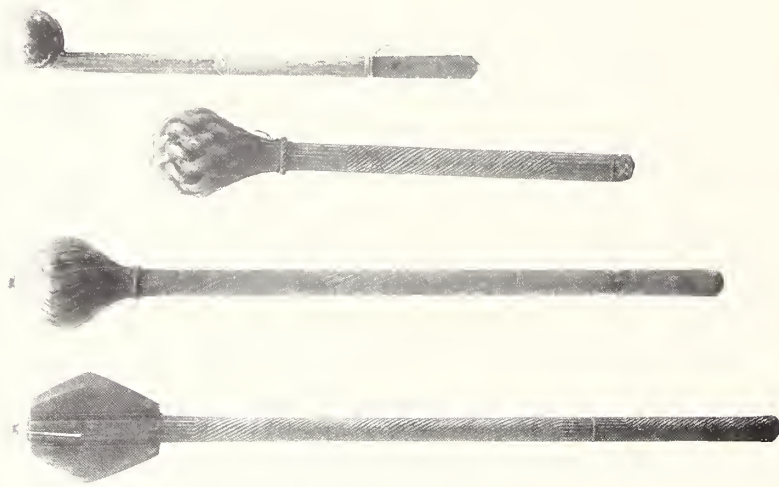


FIG. 4—MAMLÛK MACES, EGYPTIAN, FIFTEENTH-SIXTEENTH CENTURY
ISTANBUL, TOPKAPU SARAYI MÜZESİ

A NEW HERALDIC EMBLEM OF THE MAMLŪKS BY L. A. MAYER

TO THE FORTY-NINE HERALDIC EMBLEMS WHICH I HAD THE HONOR OF DISCUSSING IN THE Research Seminary in Islamic Art at Ann Arbor in April, 1935,¹ I venture today to present the fiftieth: a MACE, the sign of office of the former mace-bearer (*ḍjumaḳḍār*). For some time I have been on the lookout for this emblem, the mace-bearer being a junior court official equal in rank to the cupbearer (*sāḳī*), the master of the wardrobe (*ḍjamḍār*), the armor-bearer (*silahḍār*), and several other cadets among whom most of the amīrs used to be chosen and whose signs of office became well-known coats of arms. It was obvious, therefore, that the mace should appear one day on the heraldic shields of an amīr who had started his career as a mace-bearer. As the title implies, the work of the *ḍjumaḳḍār* consisted in carrying the mace during official ceremonies and parades,² and so far as I am aware there are no literary texts mentioning any other functions of this officer. With such restricted duties it is quite natural that there should have been only one *ḍjumaḳḍār* at a time, and, consequently, very few shields bore this emblem.

So far we possess three objects with this coat of arms and inscriptions, two of them mentioning the name and the title *ḍjumaḳḍār*, the third one giving us the name only.

I.

BRASS DISH in the possession of Mr. Zado Nourian, New York (*Fig. 1*).

BLAZON: Upper field black, middle field golden or self-colored, lower field unknown. A red sword slanting across the shield.

In the inner circle of the dish an inscription intersected by six heraldic shields; the same shield in the center of the dish and repeated six times on the inner wall of the dish.

ما عمل برسم الجناب ا ○ العالی المولوی الا ○ میری الکبیر الذخر ○ العونی السیفی سیف ○ الدین
ارغون الد ○ ویدار الجمالی عز نصره

This is one of the objects made for His High Excellency (*janāb*), our Lord, the Great Amīr, the Treasure, the Helper as-Saifī Saif al-Dīn Arḡhūn ad-Duwaidār al-Djamālī. May his victory be glorious.

Although at present it is impossible to identify beyond doubt the amir for whom this dish was made, the coat of arms resembles so much that of Aqūsh al-Afram, that we shall hardly

¹ Forty-seven published by L. A. Mayer in *Saracenic Heraldry*, Oxford, 1933, p. 8, and two more in "Huit objets inédits à blasons mamluks," *Mélanges Maspero*, III, 1934, pp. 97 ff., Nos. 1 and 2, excluding of course all ornaments and emblems which have been called heraldic without proper justification, cf. Mayer, *op. cit.* (1933), p. 26.

² *Muḡsid* (MS. Paris, Ar. 4439, fo. 122^v, l. 10 ss.) transl. in Maqrīzī-Quatremère, *Sultans Mamlouks*, Paris, 1837-44, Ia, p. 138, n. and quoted by Sobernheim, *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum, Syrie du Nord*, Le Caire, 1909, I, p. 12.

go wrong in assuming that our Arghūn was his contemporary and, consequently, the dish can be dated not later than the beginning of the fourteenth century.

Some time afterward the dish changed hands, and the new owner, a *djumaḳdār*, had another inscription (flanked by two coats of arms) cut on the outer circle of the dish, above the original dedication.

BLAZON: Mace on the middle field of a three-fielded shield.

Inscription: ○ مما عمل برسم الامير ركن الدين بيبرس البوري الجمقدار ○

This is one of the objects made for the Amīr Rukn al-Dīn Baybars al-Badrī, the mace-bearer.

Unfortunately this amīr too does not seem to have made a mark in history and has passed unnoticed by the chroniclers.

2.

POTSHERD from Fustat in the collection of Kamil Bey Ghalib, Cairo.

BLAZON: Upper field light brown, middle field dark brown, on yellow lower field dark brown mace.

Inscription on the inside: ○ ○ ○ ○ د [الح] ليلي الجمقدار ○ ○ ○ ○

...]d [al-Dja]lilī (or [al-Kha] līlī), the mace-bearer...

On the back there is an inscription with good wishes of which only the words "eter[nal] glory" ○ ○ ○ العز الدا ○ ○ ○ are left.

3.

POTSHERD from Fustat in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, No. 14.391 (*Fig. 2*).

BLAZON: Brown mace on undivided yellow (or self-colored) shield.

جمال الدين ادام [الله عزه ؟]

Djamāl al-Dīn, may [God make his glory] last forever.

4.

The mace sometimes appears as a heraldic emblem on anonymous potsherds, carelessly drawn as a rule and occasionally discernible only with great difficulty.³ The most important among these anonymous objects is a fragment of a cenotaph in limestone from the 'Abbāsīya cemetery, to the north of Cairo, now in the Arabic Museum, Cairo, No. 10055/2 (*Fig. 3*). The inscription contains only three words الأرض من ذا from the middle part of the "throne-verse," and neither name nor date. It is interesting to note that although this mace is more or less contemporary with those described above, the shaft is smooth and has only one knob, at the end, much more like the maces of Circassian Mamlūks.⁴

In presenting this material I cannot omit an object which seems to be an exception to the

³ Cf. Mayer, *op. cit.* (1933), Pl. XII, Fig. 1, where, misled by the knobs on the shaft of the mace, I have placed a potsherd with this shield among the trumpets.

⁴ On Fig. 4 some of the best specimens of Mamlūk maces of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries

are reproduced. They belong to the booty brought home by Selīm I, after his conquest of Syria and Egypt, and today are exhibited in the Topkapu Sarayı Müzesi, Istanbul.

rule. It is a plate bearing the name of Baktamur al-‘Anamī al-Ḥusāmī, once in the collection Maily, Paris.⁵ This amīr, about whose early career we know nothing, is call *al-djumaḳdār* in the inscription, but the coat of arms consists of a plain three-fielded shield, the arms of a former postman (*barīdī*). Here the question arises: are the coat of arms and the inscription contemporary? We know many objects on which the shield has been changed but the name left as it was and vice versa.⁶ Are we sure this is not a case in point? That under the coat of arms described above no other and older one is hidden, or that the word *al-barīdī* has not been effaced and *al-djumaḳdār* put in its stead? Van Berchem saw this plate some time before the Great War, but it has disappeared since, and all my efforts to find it have failed. It shares the fate of two other objects with inscriptions and heraldic shields (a vase in the name of Arukḫāy, once in the collection A. Baudry, and another one once in the collection Suarès, Cairo⁷), which present heraldic problems that cannot be solved (nor an attempt be made to solve them), until we find the objects themselves. Only then shall we be able to answer the primary question whether shield and inscription belong to the same man, or—as is the case on so many other vessels—to two different owners. May I use this page for an appeal to all those who own, are in charge of, or know the whereabouts of objects once in the collections Sheldon Amos, Barois, Cuny, Garnier de Heldevir, Hakki Bey, Nubar Innes Bey, Madjar, Maily, Rogers Bey, or Suarès, to communicate with me?

Meanwhile we can add to our list of Mamlūk heraldic emblems the fiftieth: a MACE.

⁵ Mayer, *ibid.*, pp. 98–99.

⁶ Cf. among others, *ibid.*, pp. 68, 129, 227, 240.

⁷ E. T. Rogers, *Le blason chez les princes musulmans*

de l'Égypte et de la Syrie, Le Caire, 1882, pp. 114, 125 f.; Mayer, *op. cit.* (1933), pp. 78 f., 99.

A VINGT KILOMÈTRES AU SUD-OUEST DE MĀRDĪN, LE VILLAGE DE KOCH-ĤIŞĀR (KOÇHISAR) marque l'emplacement de la ville de Dūnāysīr.² Le village lui-même est entièrement moderne, mais des restes importants de constructions médiévales subsistent à l'Ouest de l'agglomération. D'ailleurs l'identification n'est pas douteuse puisque Ya'ḳūt désigne déjà Dūnāysīr sous le nom de Koch-Ĥiṣār.³

E. Sachau avait pensé que depuis Koch-Ĥiṣār jusqu'à Tell-Ermen situé à l'Est, s'étendait autrefois la ville de Tigranocerte.⁴ Cette hypothèse est aujourd'hui abandonnée et si l'on discute encore au sujet de l'emplacement exact de la capitale arménienne, on s'accorde pour la placer, sinon à Maiyāfāriḳīn comme le proposait Lehmann-Haupt, du moins dans une région voisine de cette ville.⁵ Quant à Dūnāysīr = Koch-Ĥiṣār, on l'identifie à Adenystrai (Ἀδηνυστραί)⁶ cité par Dion Cassius.⁷

Ibn D̲jubayr qui visite Dūnāysīr en 580 H.—1184 A.D. le décrit comme une agglomération importante, non fortifiée, lieu de réunion pour les caravanes.⁸ On y voit alors une madrasa récemment construite et de nombreux bains. Selon Ya'ḳūt, ce n'était à cette date qu'un grand village mais, moins de cinquante ans plus tard, en 623 H.—1225 A.D., il était devenu une véritable ville possédant notamment des marchés étendus.⁹ L'épigraphie nous apprend

¹ Les documents qui figurent dans cet article ont été rassemblés au cours de deux voyages accomplis en 1932, durant lesquels j'ai parcouru, en compagnie de M. J. Sauvaget, la région comprise entre Urfa et le Lac de Van. Les résultats de cette exploration seront publiés très prochainement sous le titre de *Voyages archéologiques dans la Turquie orientale*. J'en ai extrait, pour les lecteurs d'*Ars Islamica*, le chapitre consacré à Dūnāysīr.

² Le meilleur document cartographique sur cette région est la carte publiée en 1918 par le Service topographique de Prusse: *Umgebung von Mardin und Nesibin* (1:200.000°). Cf. également R. Kiepert, *Karte von Syrien und Mesopotamien* (1:850.000°); M. von Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, Berlin, 1899 (feuille Est); R. Kiepert, *Karte von Kleinasien* (1:400.000°), 2^e éd., Berlin, 1914 (feuilles Diyārbekir et Nşēbīn); Maunsell, *Eastern Turkey in Asia* (1:250.000°), London, War Office, 1903 (feuilles 25 et 26).

³ Ya'ḳūt, *Mu'djam*, éd. F. Wüstenfeld, Leipzig, 1866—73, s.v.; traduction dans H. Pognon, *Inscriptions sémitiques*, Paris, 1907, p. 189, n. 1. Sur les sources, cf. l'article de M. Streck, dans *Encycl. Islam*, s.v. "Dunaisir." La bibliographie est incomplète. Le nom de Koch-Ĥiṣār, abrégé parfois en Kōsar, a été fréquemment altéré par les voyageurs occidentaux (cf. *infra*, p. 353, n. 13). Il est peu probable que Koch ait ici le sens de bélier. C'est

peut-être une altération de *Kodja*: le sens serait donc le *puissant château*, comme l'indique M. Streck (*ibid.*). Ce qui est certain, en tout cas, c'est qu'une forteresse d'origine antique ou byzantine, couronnait le tell.

⁴ Cf. le croquis de situation dans E. Sachau, *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien*, Leipzig, 1883, p. 403.

⁵ C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien einst und jetzt*, Berlin, 1910, I, pp. 380—429 et II, pp. 396—421. Cf. J. Marquart, *Eransahr*, Berlin, 1901, pp. 161, 306; J. Marquart, *Sudarmenien und die Tigrisquellen*, "Studien zur Armenischen Geschichte," Vienna, 1930, IV, col. 116.

⁶ A. F. Pauly et G. Wissowa, *Real Encycl.*, Stuttgart., 1894—, s.v. "Adenystrai," I, Pt. I, p. 357 et Suppl. I, p. 10. Cf. G. Hoffman, *Zeitschr. D. M. Gesellsch.*, XXXII, p. 742.

⁷ Dion Cassius, *Historia Romana*, pp. 68, 22.

⁸ Ibn D̲jubayr (éd. de Goeje), pp. 240—241. Cf. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge, 1905, p. 96.

⁹ Ya'ḳūt, *loc. cit.* Iṣṭāḳhri, *Masālik al-Mamālik* (76, k) signale "un grand marché, du jeudi au dimanche." L'importance de Dunaysir comme centre commercial a suggéré à Ibn K̲hallīkan une étymologie fantaisiste: "Douniaser دُنَيْسَر est une ville située dans le D̲jezīrah entre Neṣībīn et Ras al-'aik. Les marchands y arrivent de tous côtés. Comme c'est le point où aboutissent les différentes routes, cette circonstance lui a fait donner le

que la mosquée qui subsiste fut construite par l'Ortokide Yulūk-Ārslān qui régnait à Mārdīn à la fin du sixième siècle H. C'est durant la domination des Ortokides que Dūnāysīr connut, semble-t-il, sa plus grande prospérité. Sous leurs successeurs, la ville suivit le sort de Mārdīn dont elle était une dépendance naturelle.¹⁰

Nous retrouvons mention de Koch-Ḥiṣār dans les voyageurs occidentaux de l'époque moderne.¹¹ C'est notamment le Kodjiasar de Thevenot¹² et le Cusasar de Tavernier¹³ poste de douane où l'on percevait les droits sur les caravanes se dirigeant vers Diyārbekir. Dès le dix-septième siècle la ville est bien déchue et son déclin s'accroît encore dans la suite. Cependant, au dix-neuvième siècle, plusieurs monuments subsistent, dont on ne retrouve pas vestige aujourd'hui.¹⁴ Ils ont disparu comme sont appelés à disparaître dans un avenir prochain, si l'on ne prend les mesures de conservation nécessaires, la mosquée et le minaret que nous étudions ci-après.¹⁵

MONUMENTS DE DŪNĀYSĪR

Buckingham qui passe à Koch-Ḥiṣār en 1825, y signale plusieurs monuments: une grande mosquée, déjà ruinée, mais qui possédait encore à cette époque sa cour et l'un de ses minarets, et, non loin de cet édifice, deux autres mosquées, chacune avec un minaret.¹⁶ De la mosquée la plus importante, décrite par le voyageur anglais, il ne reste que la salle de prière: le minaret et les bâtiments qui bordaient la cour ont disparu. Par contre le minaret d'une des mosquées secondaires est resté debout. A ces constructions, on peut ajouter deux tombeaux situés au Sud de la mosquée.

nom de Douniasir دُنْيَاسِر dont le forme primitive est رَاسِ الدُّنْيَا, et qui signifie "le tête du monde," رَاسِ الدُّنْيَا (Ibn Khālikan, cit. par E. Quatremère, *Histoire des Mongols*, Paris, 1771-82, p. 335, note).

¹⁰ Koch-Ḥiṣār est cité par Kātib Ferdī comme une dépendance de Mārdīn, au même titre que le village de Ḥarzam, situé à mi-chemin entre Mārdīn et Koch-Ḥiṣār (Kātib Ferdī, *Mārdīn mulūk-i Urtuḳiye tarīkhī*, éd. 'Alī Emīrī, Stamboul, 1331, p. 30.)

¹¹ J. de Thevenot, *Suite du Voyage de Levant*, Paris, 1664, pp. 89-90; J. B. Tavernier, *Les six Voyages*, Paris, 1671-81, I, pp. 168-169; J. S. Buckingham, *Travels in Mesopotamia*, London, 1827, I, pp. 309-311; W. F. Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches in Asia Minor*, London, 1842, II, p. 113; H. Petermann, *Reisen im Orient*, Leipzig, 1860-61, II, pp. 347-348; J. Černik, "Technische Studien-Expedition durch die Gebiete des Euphrat und Tigris," *Petermann's geogr. Mitt.*, 1875, Erg. h. no. 44 et 1876, Erg. h. no. 45; E. Sachau, *op. cit.*, pp. 400-403. Cf. C. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, Berlin, 1822-59, XI, pp. 42, 366, 373-375.

¹² Cf. *infra*, pp. 354 et 360, la relation de Thevenot.

¹³ ". . . après avoir marché huit heures, nous campâmes à un village appelé Cousasar où il n'y a point de Carvansera." (Tavernier, *op. cit.*, I, p. 168).

¹⁴ En comparant entre eux les récits des voyageurs, on constate que l'aspect des ruines n'a guère varié depuis le dix-septième siècle jusqu'aux environs de 1875. C'est durant le dernier quart du dix-neuvième siècle, sans doute à la suite de quelque tremblement de terre, qu'elles subirent les plus graves dommages.

¹⁵ Il ne faudrait point accuser le gouvernement républicain de la Turquie de négligence à cet égard. C'est l'empire ottoman qui lui a laissé ce lourd héritage d'édifices historiques à l'abandon. Leur restauration nécessiterait des crédits très élevés et il faut passer au plus important et au plus urgent, dans la limite des budgets de l'État.

¹⁶ Buckingham, *loc. cit.* Une gravure accompagne la relation du voyageur anglais (I, pp. 278-279) mais sa valeur documentaire est nulle.

MOSQUÉE

La salle de prière, depuis longtemps désaffectée, sert actuellement d'étable. Elle est en fort mauvais état et semble vouée à une ruine prochaine et totale. Le sommet de la coupole s'est écroulé, ainsi que la majeure partie des voûtes, et de larges pans de mur ont perdu leur revêtement appareillé (*Figs. 1 et 2*). Cependant on peut tracer, en toute certitude, le plan et la coupe de cet important édifice (*Figs. 3 et 4*).

La salle de prière occupe un rectangle dont la proportion est très voisine de 1 sur 4.¹⁷ Les murs, dont l'épaisseur atteint 2 m. 15, sont épaulés par de nombreux contreforts régulièrement répartis. Seul, celui qui correspond à l'axe longitudinal est circulaire. Tous les autres sont rectangulaires.¹⁸

Parallèlement au grand axe, la salle est divisée en trois vaisseaux de même largeur par deux rangées de points d'appui de section carrée (*Figs. 5 et 6*). Suivant l'axe longitudinal est ménagé un espace rectangulaire correspondant à la largeur de deux vaisseaux.¹⁹ Sur le côté Sud, dans l'axe, est creusé un mihrāb. Des fenêtres sont percées sur les faces Sud, Est et Ouest. Le portail principal, *b*, s'ouvre dans l'axe de la face Nord (*Fig. 7*). A l'extérieur, il est flanqué symétriquement de deux mihrābs (*Fig. 8*), et six portes identiques, trois vers l'Ouest *c, c, c*, trois vers l'Est *d, d, d*, sont percées dans le mur de façade. Chacune d'elle comprend une baie rectangulaire surmontée d'une ouverture en arc brisé (*Fig. 9*).

Aujourd'hui subsistent encore devant la mosquée, au Nord, des amas de décombres qui forment des remblais rectilignes limitant une surface rectangulaire. On peut donc restituer, au moins approximativement les dimensions de la cour qui précédait la salle de prière et que bordaient trois ailes de bâtiments. Ces ailes étaient encore debout au début du dix-neuvième siècle et Buckingham nous en a laissé une description assez précise.²⁰ On peut vérifier d'ailleurs certaines de ses indications: il reste notamment les amorces caractéristiques du portique à deux étages qui entourait la cour. D'autre part, l'examen de la maçonnerie permet d'affirmer qu'en a et à s'ouvraient deux portails. Vraisemblablement un autre portail était aménagé dans l'axe de l'aile Nord. Enfin, on retrouve, au centre de la cour, le soubassement du cassin octogonal signalé par le plupart des voyageurs.

La description la plus complète de l'état ancien est celle que nous a laissée Thevenot.²¹ Elle contient, comme on le verra de suite, à côté d'indications exactes, nombre d'erreurs manifestes, mais mérite cependant d'être citée en entier: ". . . nous arrivâmes à un grand Village, appelé Kodjiasar, dont le Doüanier vint prendre ses droits, mais ne sachant pas que je fusse Franc, il ne me demanda rien. C'estoit autrefois une fort grande Ville, l'on y voit encore à present plusieurs bâtiments fort hauts, et fort solides: entre autres, il y a une grande Église

¹⁷ La longueur, dans œuvre, est de 63 m. 40 sur une largeur de 16 m. 35. L'implantation des murs et des points d'appui, la repartition des portes et des fenêtres sont assez régulières.

¹⁸ Largeur variant de 2 m. 05 à 2 m. 20, avec une saillie moyenne de 1 m. 15.

¹⁹ La surface libre diffère peu d'un carré. Les côtés du rectangle mesurent en effet 10 m. 50 dans le sens de l'axe Nord-Sud et 9 m. 77 dans le sens de l'axe Est-Ouest.

²⁰ Cf. *infra*, p. 360.

²¹ Thevenot, *op. cit.*, p. 89.



FIG. 1—GRANDE MOSQUÉE, VUE DU SUD-EST



FIG. 2—GRANDE MOSQUÉE, VUE DU NORD-EST

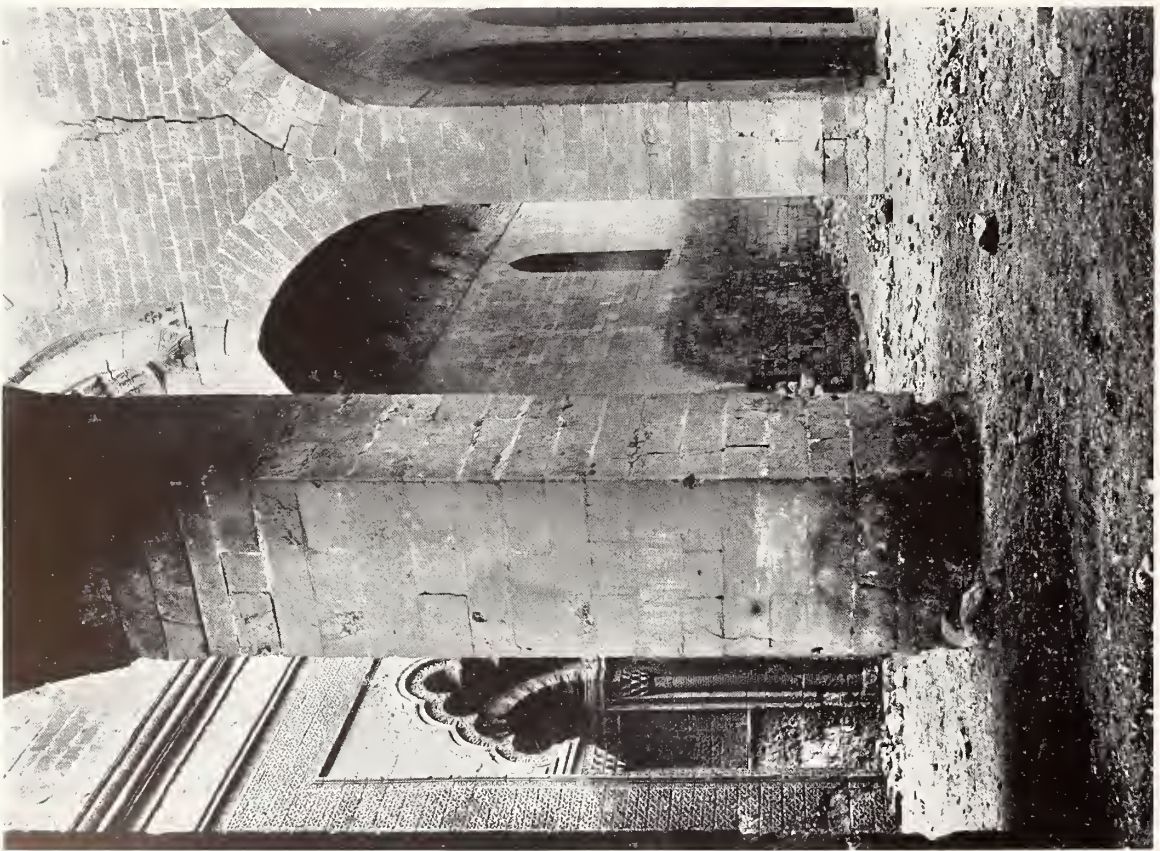


FIG. 5—GRANDE MOSQUÉE, INTÉRIEUR

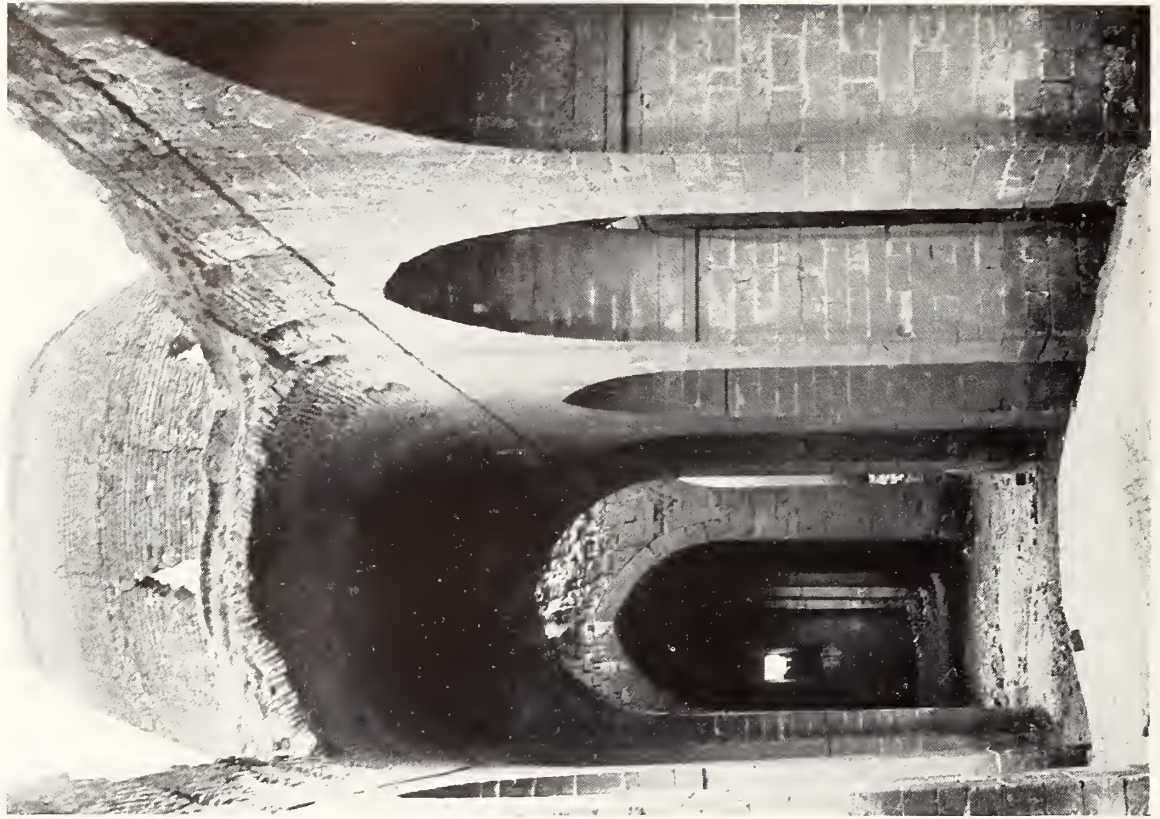


FIG. 6—GRANDE MOSQUÉE, INTÉRIEUR

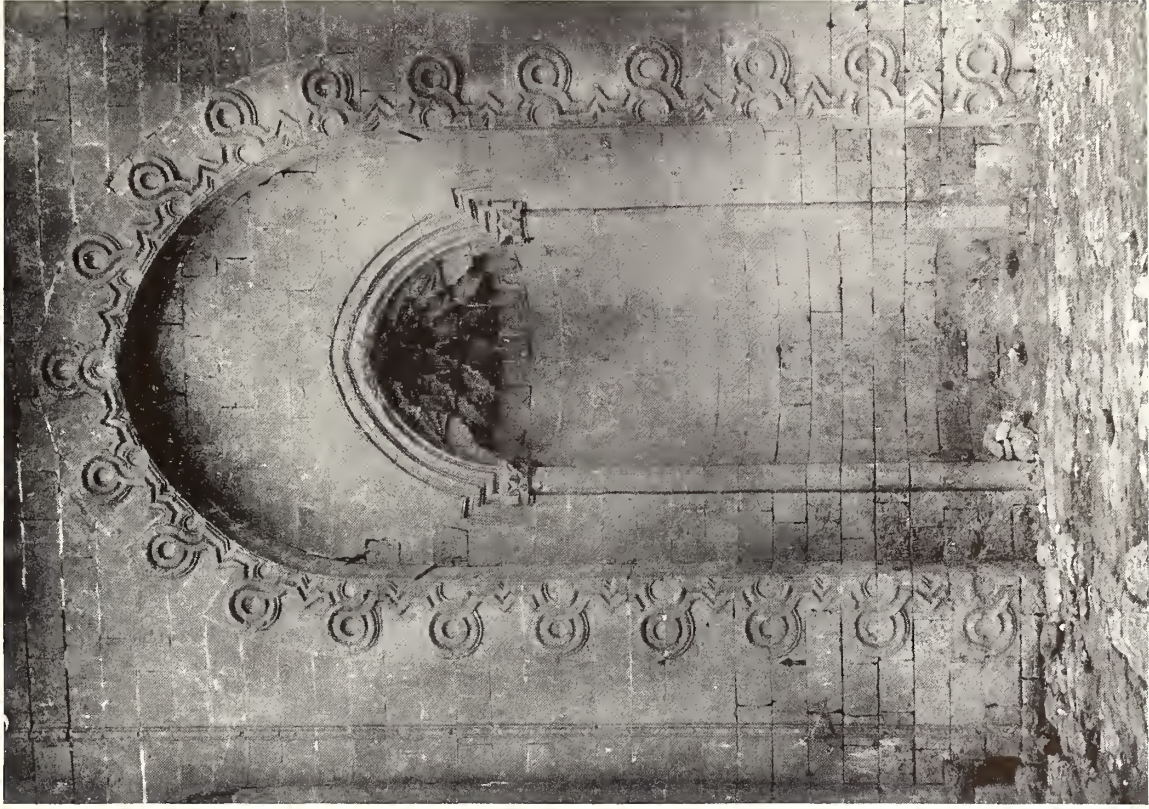


FIG. 8—GRANDE MOSQUÉE, MIHRÂB EXTÉRIEUR

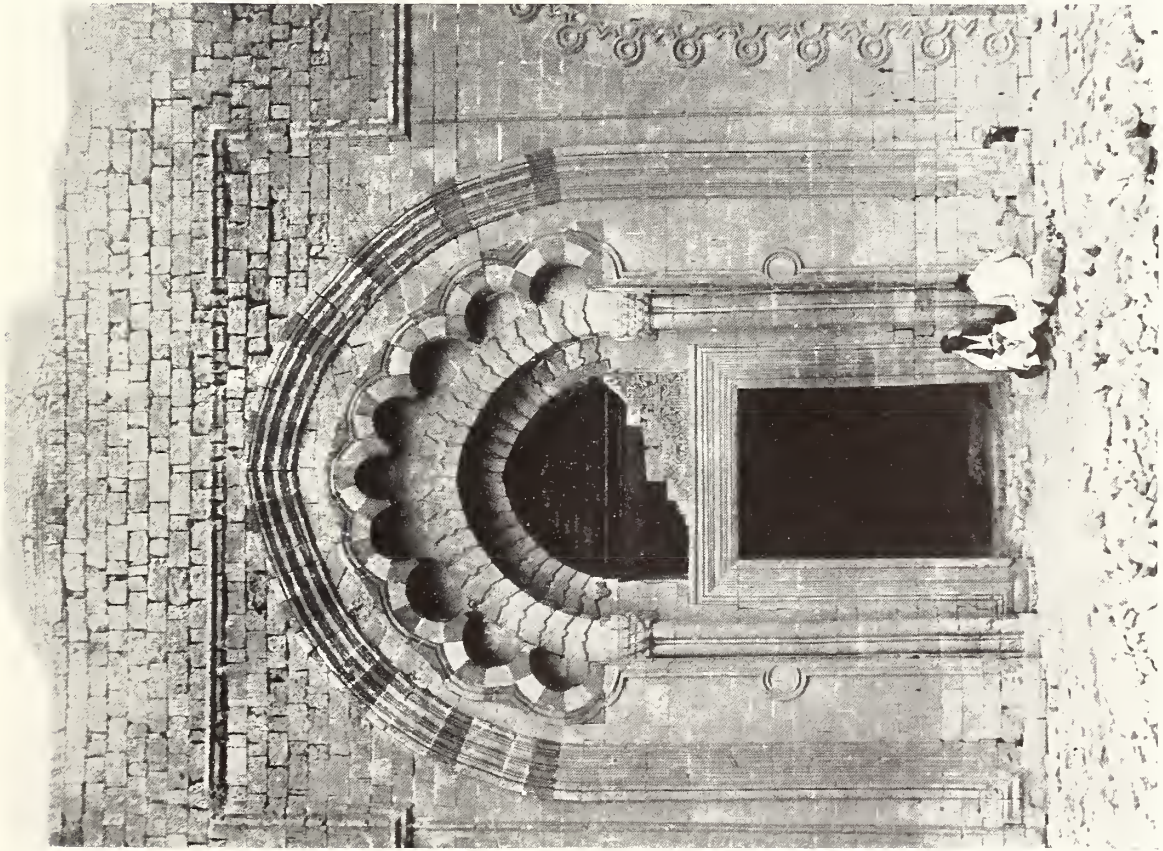


FIG. 7—GRANDE MOSQUÉE, PORTAIL PRINCIPAL

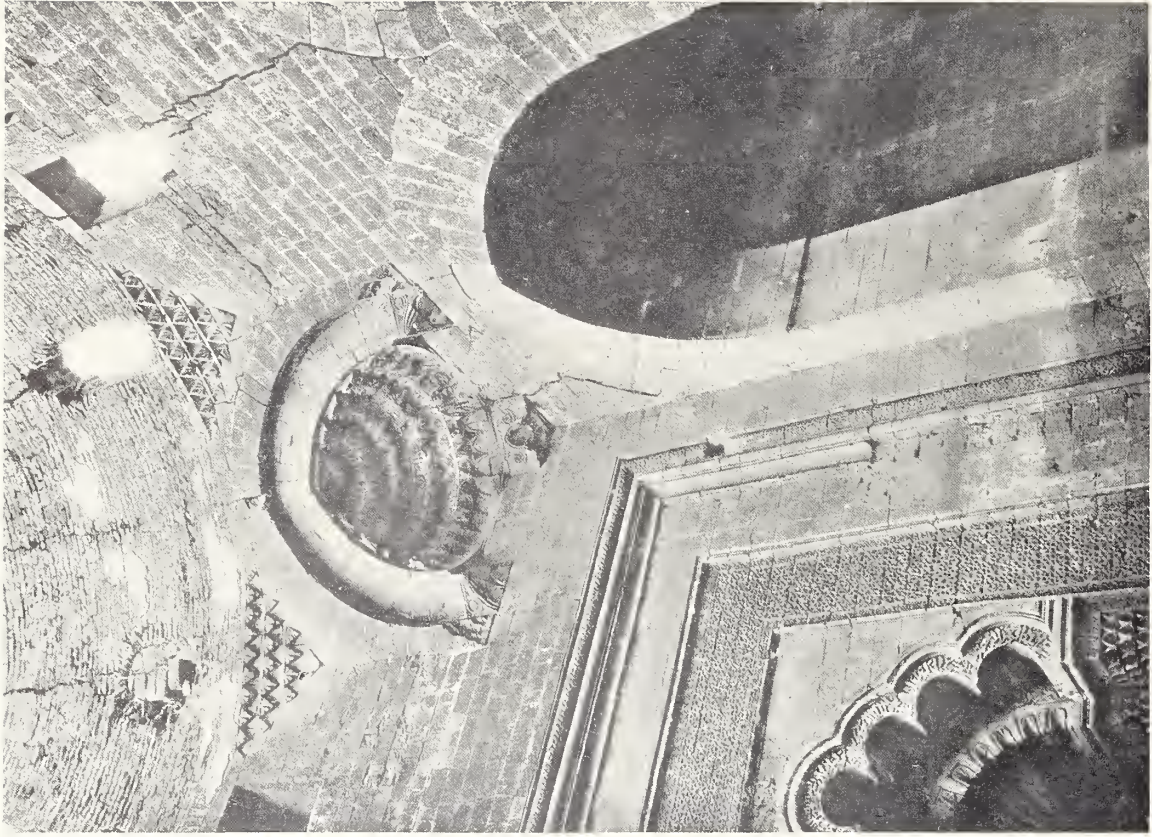


FIG. 10—GRANDE MOSQUÉE, TROMPE DE LA COUPOLE

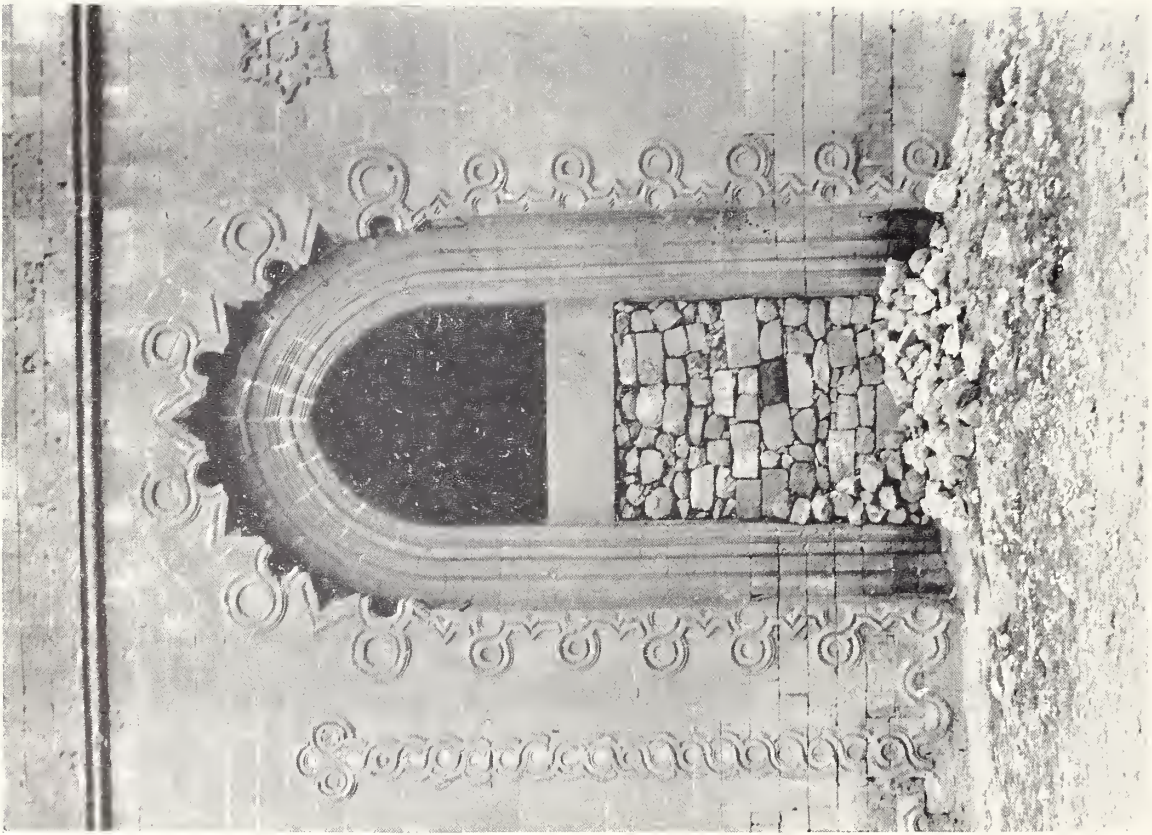


FIG. 9—GRANDE MOSQUÉE, PORTE SECONDAIRE

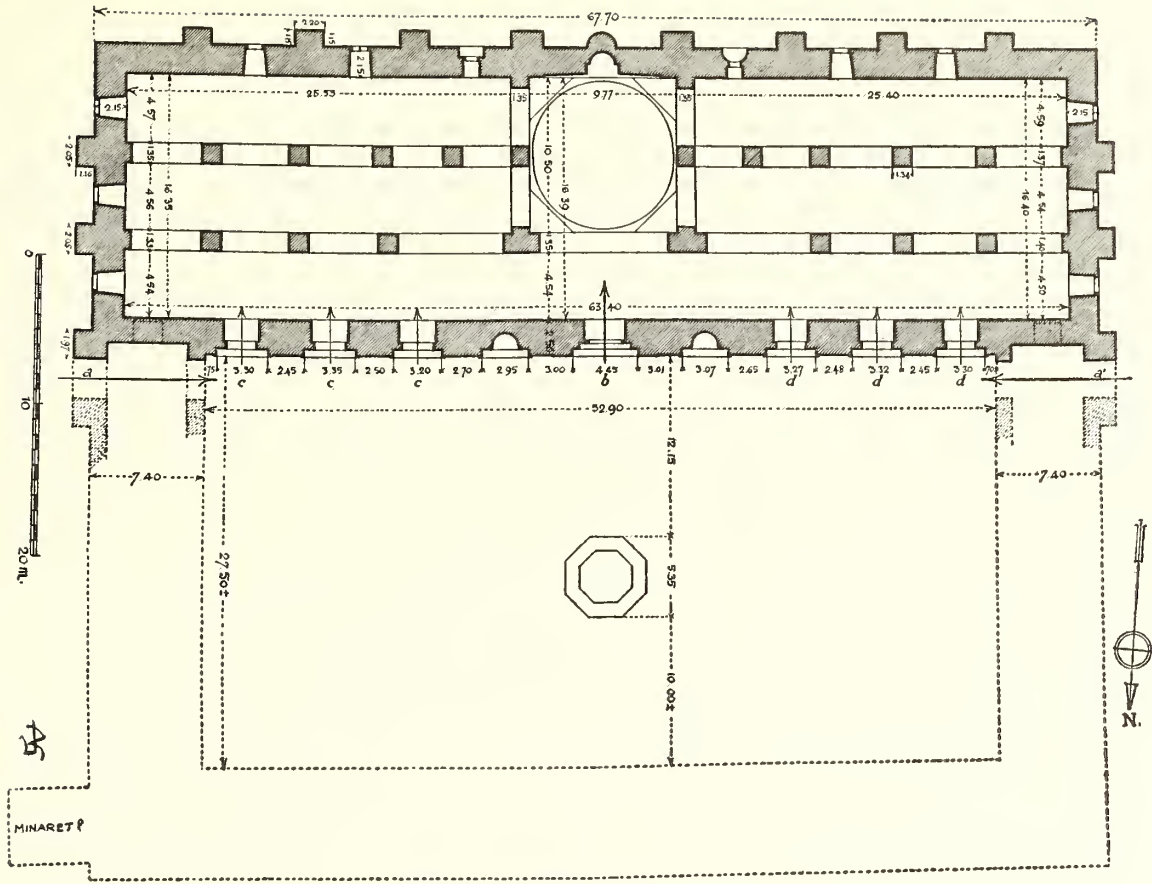


FIG. 3—GRANDE MOSQUÉE, PLAN

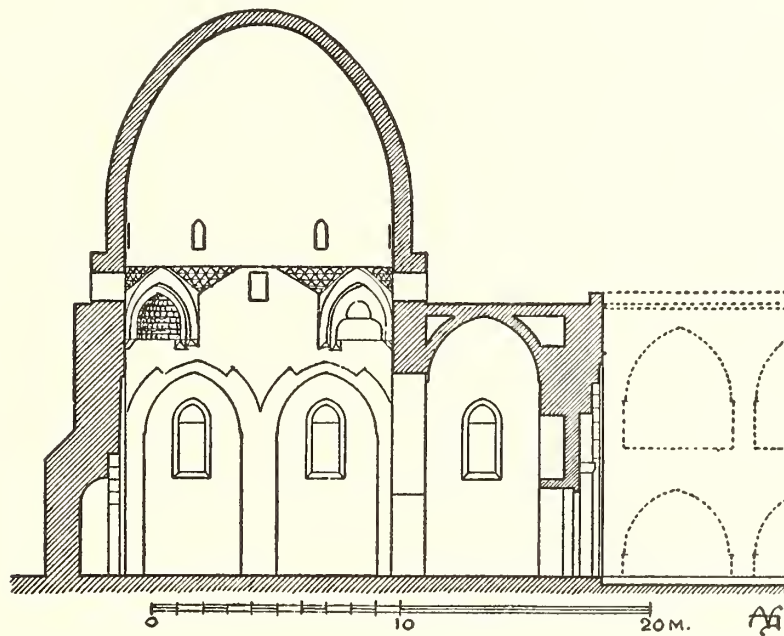


FIG. 4—GRANDE MOSQUÉE, COUPE

très-bien bâtie. On entre premièrement dans une grande cour, le long de laquelle est l'Église qui a sept portes toutes bouchées,²² excepté celle du milieu qui, à chaque côté a une grande niche; au dessus de ces portes il y avait des Mosaïques dont on remarque encore la place,²³ et à chaque coin de la cour, il y avait quatre clochers quarrez, fort hauts et couverts de petits dômes, dont maintenant il n'y a plus que trois, encore n'y en a-t'il qu'un seul d'entier; aux deux autres il y manque seulement le dôme; ils sont bâtis de belles petites pierres de taille, avec des ornements d'architecture, ainsi que l'Église, dont le milieu est couvert d'un dôme revêtu de chaux:²⁴ ses murailles sont appuyées par de bons et grands arboutans (*sic*) de pierre. Les Turcs en ayant fait une Mosquée, y ont fait un Keble,²⁵ et une petite chaise (*sic*) à prescher. Prés de cette Ville, il coule une eau que passe sous un pont de cinq arcades;²⁶ elle n'est pas à la vérité fort bonne, mais il y a de bons puits, et chaque maison a le sien: Il y en a un au milieu de la cour de cette église, et tout auprès une espèce de dôme soutenu de plusieurs piliers, je ne say à quel usage, si ce n'est pour se laver, ainsi que font les Turcs lorsqu'ils vont à leur Mosquée."

Il est bien certain que la mosquée n'eut jamais d'autre destination et qu'on n'y saurait voir une ancienne église.²⁷ De même, les clochers quarrez sont des minarets et rien d'autre. Ils auraient occupé, selon Thevenot, les angles de la cour qui précédait la salle de prière, mais je doute fort de l'exactitude de cette information. Buckingham qui vit, lui aussi, trois minarets debout spécifie en effet qu'un seul d'entre eux appartenait à la mosquée et s'élevait à l'angle Nord-Est: "The mosque itself had been surrounded by a court and outer wall, which was strengthened by buttresses, and from the north-east angle of this arose a lofty minaret of a square shape, from a hundred and fifty to two hundred feet in height. It was similar in form, equal in elevation, and superior in execution, to that of the great mosque at Aleppo. Its sides were divided into storys, each of which was ornamented by sculptured arches and other devices in relief; and in a wide band near the centre, running round the whole of the building, was an Arabic inscription of well-formed letters, in high preservation, but which I could prevail on no

²² Les vantaux de menuiserie ayant disparu, on élève entre les tableaux des portes des murs en pierre sèche analogues à ceux qui obturent actuellement les baies (cf. Fig. 9).

²³ Au dessus du portail principal, le tympan en arc brisé était obturé par une cloison appareillée de 15 cm. d'épaisseur, portant sur le linteau. Ce tympan était décoré à l'extérieur d'un cadre où se déroulait une inscription et de motifs d'arabesques. Le fragment qui subsiste (Fig. 7) permet d'affirmer que le portail principal ne possédait aucun décor de mosaïque.

Au dessus des portes secondaires, aucune trace de remplissage. Le tympan devait être muni de volets permettant l'éclairage et la ventilation de la grande salle. Il semble bien que Thevenot ait imaginé, par analogie avec certains monuments byzantins, ces mosaïques dont aucun autre voyageur ne fait mention.

²⁴ Indication intéressante: il ne reste pas trace d'enduit sur l'extrados de la coupole, mais il est probable que comme le note Thevenot le briquet était recouverte d'un enduit de chaux.

²⁵ Evidemment le voyageur désigne ainsi le mihrâb qui indique la qibla.

²⁶ Ce pont subsiste encore, intact, son tablier horizontal.

²⁷ On retrouve les mêmes fables dans Tavernier: "Il y avait autrefois trois grands monastères à quart de lieue l'un de l'autre. Les Turcs en ont ruiné deux à la réserve des Tours des Églises qui y sont encore. Le troisième et le plus beau est en son entière et sert de Mosquée. On a fait des boutiques autour du cloître au milieu duquel il y a une belle source d'eau." (Tavernier, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 168-169).

one to stop to read. It was, upon the whole, one of the finest fragments of Arabic architecture and sculpture that I remember any where to have seen."²⁸

Ce minaret était encore intact lors de passage de H. Petermann en 1853.²⁹ Il ne s'écroula, semble-t-il que vers 1870 et certains de Koch-Ḥiṣār, parmi les plus âgés se souviennent d'en avoir vu debout au moins une partie. Ils nous ont indiqué un emplacement qui correspond à l'information donnée par Buckingham. Il paraît donc assuré que la grande mosquée de Dūnāysīr, contrairement à ce que relate Thevenot, ne posséda jamais qu'un seul minaret, situé à l'angle Nord-Est. Était-il entièrement détaché de l'édifice et réuni à ses terrasses par un pont de bois? Cette hypothèse paraît le plus vraisemblable. C'est ainsi qu'était implanté, entre autres, le minaret, de type analogue, de la mosquée extra-muros de Maiyāfāriḳīn et, d'autre part, le minaret qui subsiste à Dūnāysīr même, au Sud-Ouest de la Grande Mosquée, offre un dispositif identique. Je me suis borné, sur le plan restitué (*Fig. 3*) à indiquer que le minaret de Ulu d̲jami' s'élevait au Nord-Est: son emplacement exact et ses dimensions ne pourraient être fixés rigoureusement que par une fouille.³⁰

CONSTRUCTION

Le parement des murs est appareillé en assises régulières de 0 m. 235. Mais entre ce parement et le blocage de mollons qui constitue le corps du mur, les liaisons sont insuffisantes, comme on peut voir notamment sur la Figure 1: sur une grande partie du mur Sud, le parement s'est entièrement détaché de la masse de maçonnerie.³¹

Les vaisseaux parallèles au grand axe sont voûtés de berceaux brisés. Chacun d'eux est constitué par des chaînes d'appareil en pierre alternant avec des remplissages de briques. Pour éviter de surcharger les berceaux, on a construit perpendiculairement à l'axe une série de voûtins de brique sur lesquels repose la terrasse.

La surface rectangulaire, libre de tout point d'appui qui s'étend devant le miḥrāb, est voûtée d'une coupole, retombant sur quatre trompes d'angle qui offrent des dispositions variées (*Figs. 10 et 11*). On remarquera que le raccord du cercle de base de la coupole à l'octogone déterminé par les trompes, est assuré au moyen de petites trompes alvéolées. L'appareil de pierre règne jusqu'à la base de la coupole construite entièrement en brique suivant un profil qui, autant qu'on en peut juger aujourd'hui, affectait la forme d'une chaînette

²⁸ Buckingham, *op. cit.*, p. 310. Le ton de cette relation est un peu forcé. A la p. 309, même exagération: le voyageur compare la mosquée de Koch-Ḥiṣār aux plus beaux monuments du Caire et de Damas.

²⁹ C'est du moins ce qui semble résulter de sa relation assez confuse (Petermann, *op. cit.*, II, p. 347). L'attribution des deux mosquées à Baibars, qui les aurait construits en 1260, en même temps qu'une mosquée de Damas et sous la direction du même architecte ne sont que propositions sans fondement. L'auteur avoue d'ailleurs qu'il n'a pu déchiffrer l'inscription gravée sur le minaret. Il a recueilli auprès des habitants une informa-

tion qui n'est pas dénuée d'intérêt: "Lors de la construction de la mosquée, les gens de la montagne, à une heure de distance au moins apportèrent en une file ininterrompue les pierres nécessaires à la construction de la mosquée." Petermann parle ensuite des *deux coupôles* de la mosquée: confusion évidente.

³⁰ Buckingham, *loc. cit.*, lui attribue de 150 à 200 pieds de hauteur, soit de 45 à 60 mètres. Les dimensions du minaret qui subsiste (cf. *infra*, pp. 367 et 368) sont beaucoup plus réduits mais peut-être le voyageur anglais est-il, sur ce point également, tombé dans l'exagération.

³¹ Cf. notamment *Fig. 2*.

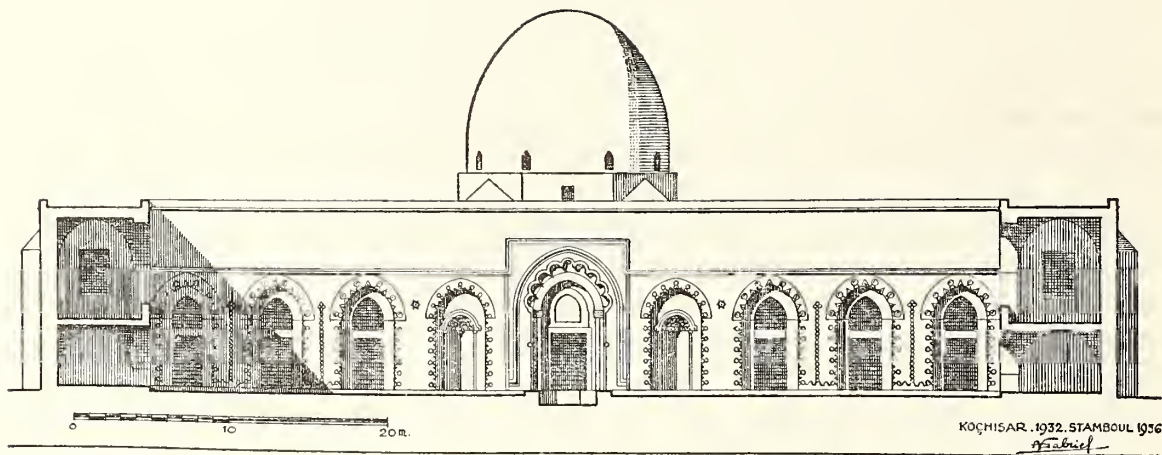


FIG. 12—GRANDE MOSQUÉE, FAÇADE NORD RESTITUÉE

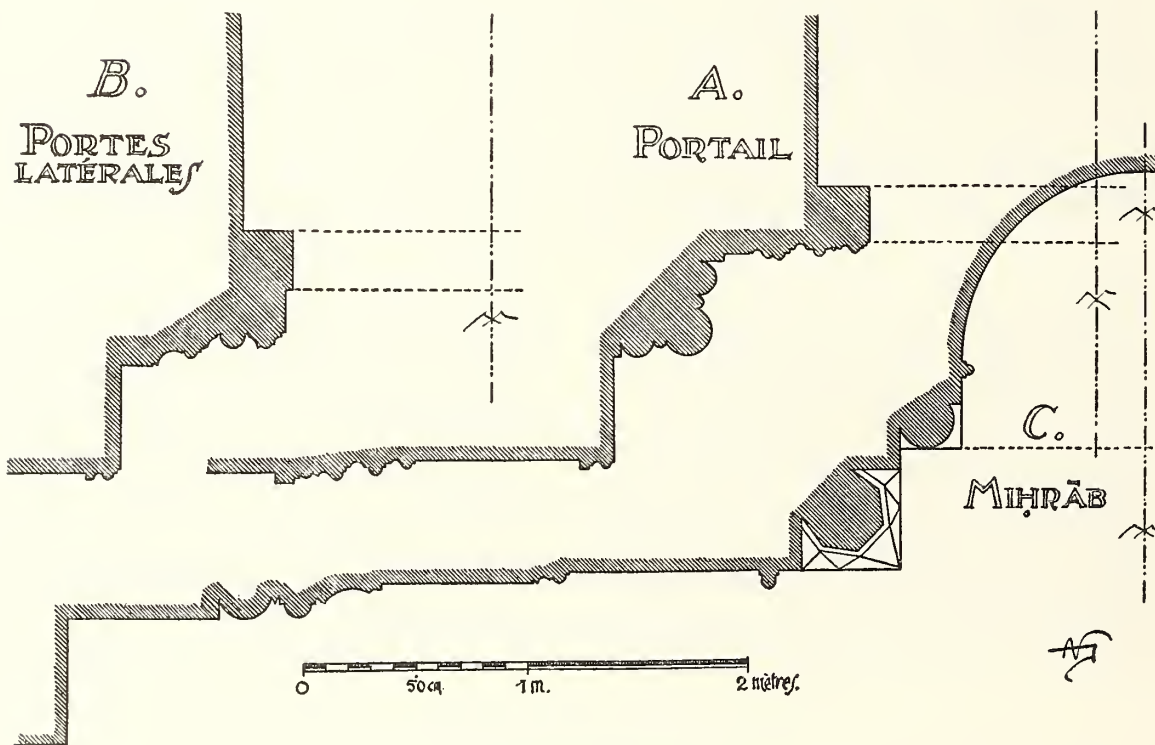


FIG. 16—GRANDE MOSQUÉE, PROFILS

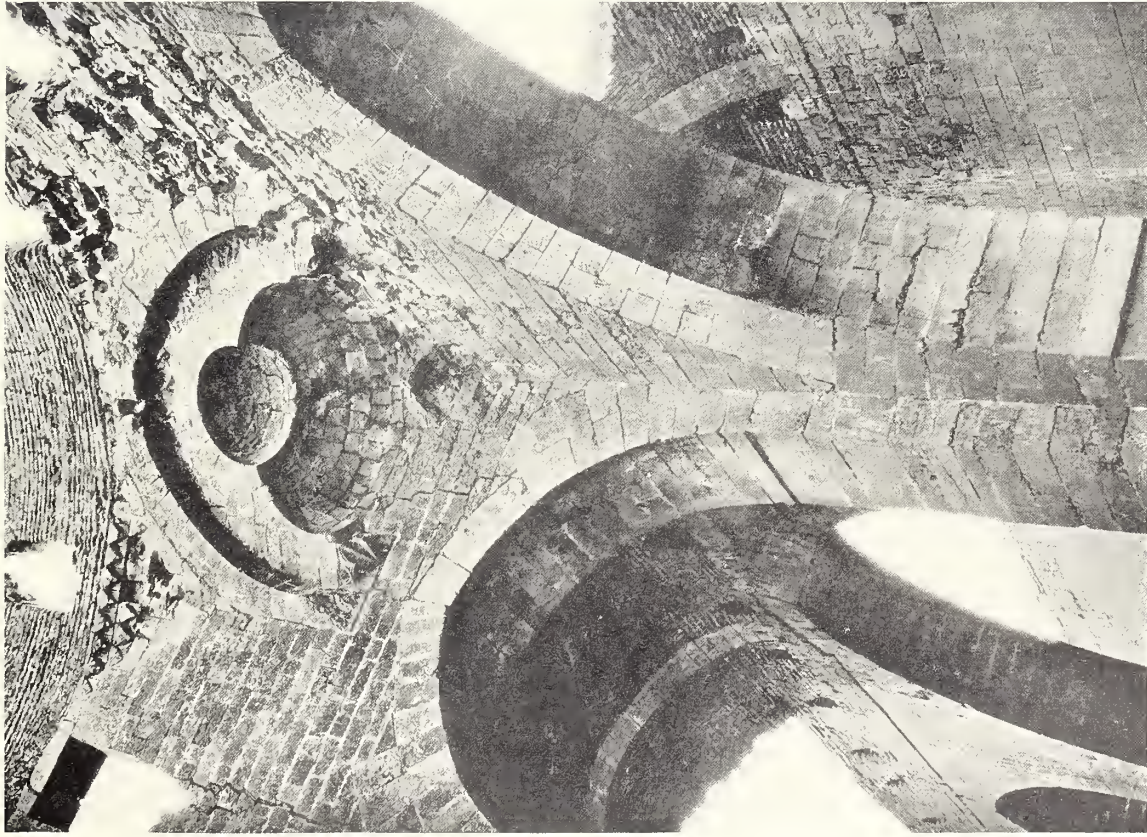


FIG. 11—GRANDE MOSQUÉE, TROMPES DE LA COUPOLE

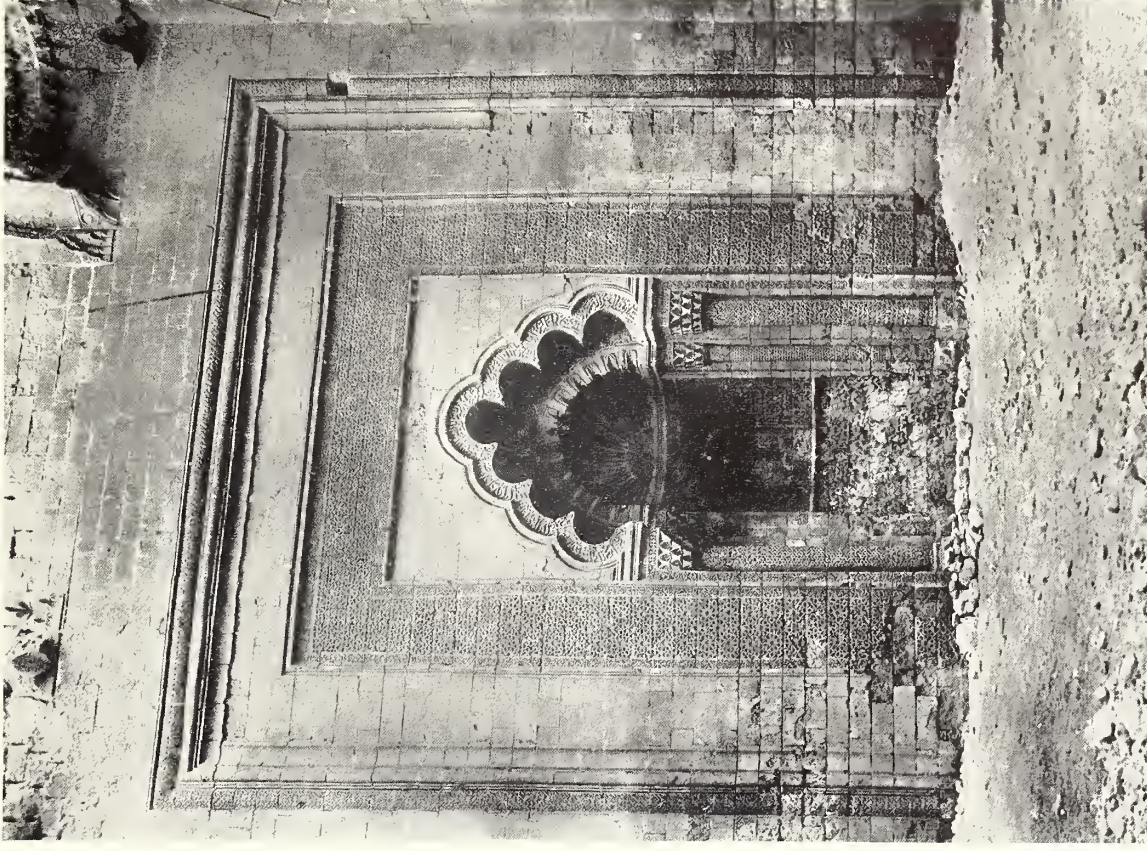


FIG. 13—GRANDE MOSQUÉE, MIHRAB

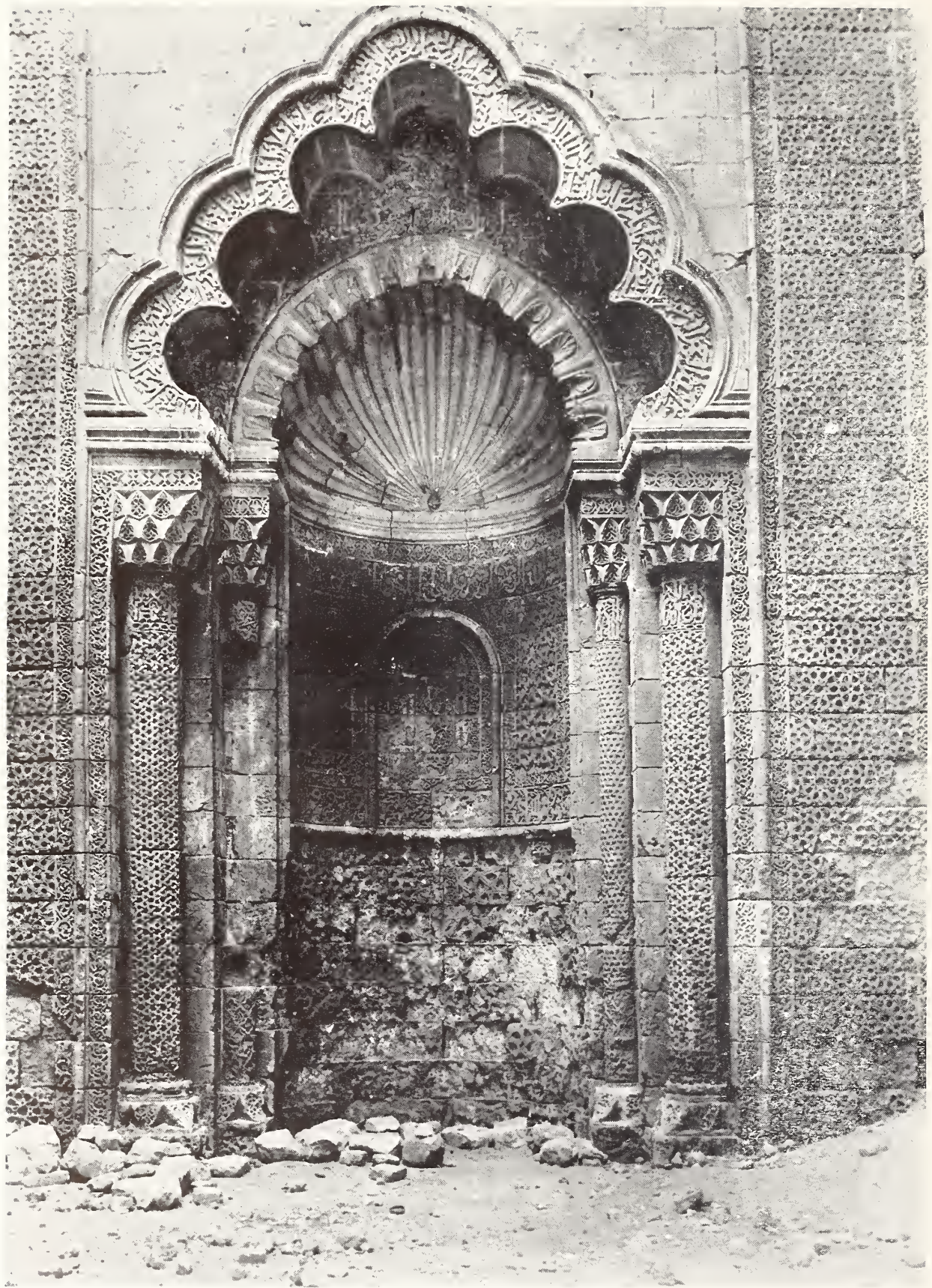


FIG. 14—GRANDE MOSQUÉE, MIHRĀB

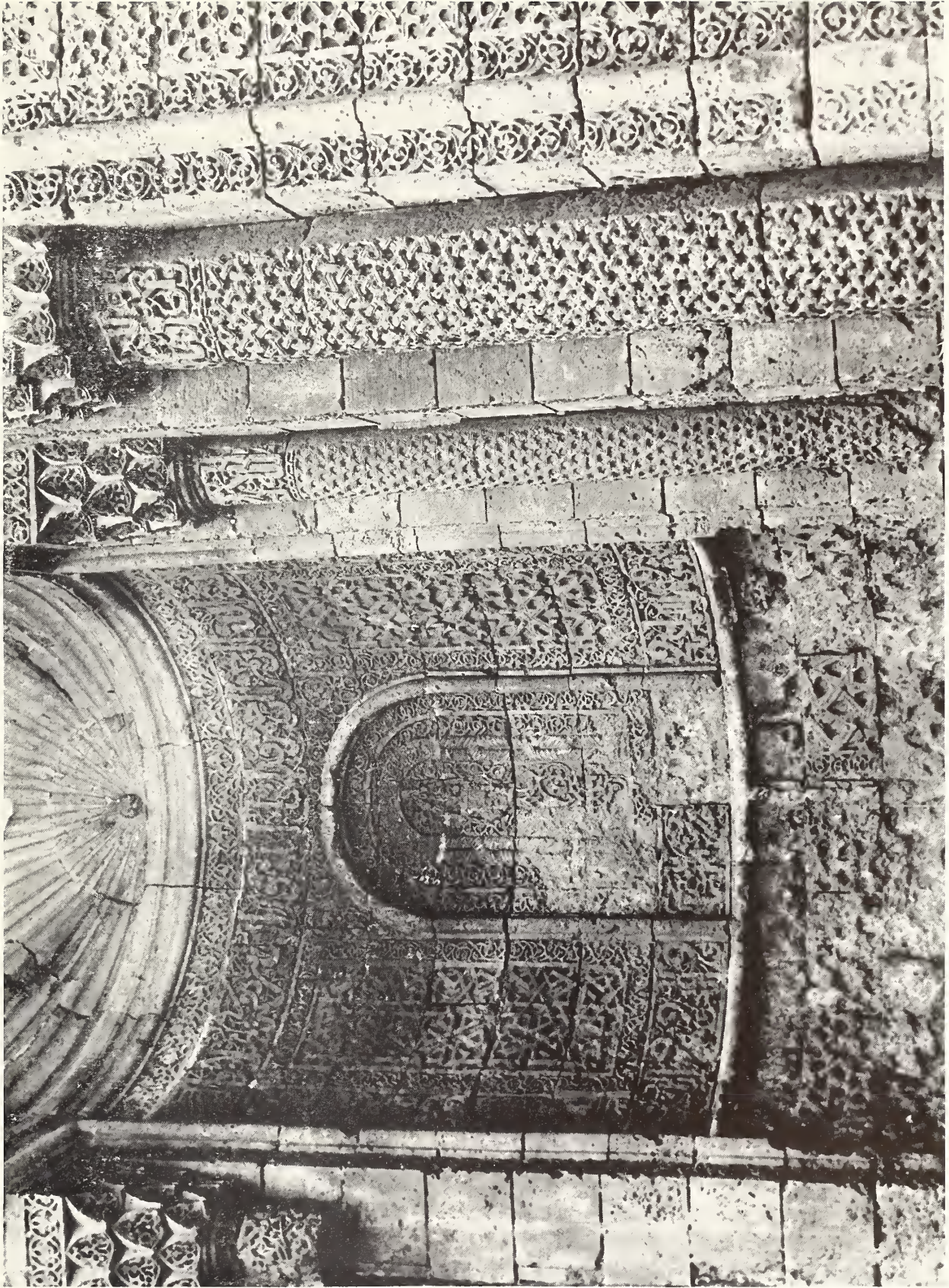


FIG. 15—GRANDE MOSQUÉE, DÉTAIL DU MIHRAB



FIG. 17—MINARET



FIG. 18—TOMBEAU DE SHAIKH SELİM



FIG. 19—TOMBEAU ANONYME

renversée.³² A la base étaient percées huit ouvertures; quatre autres s'ouvraient dans la maçonnerie suivant les axes du carré, en sorte que, cette partie centrale de la mosquée était abondamment éclairée.

DÉCORATION

Le portail principal (*Fig. 7*), les portails secondaires (*Fig. 9*), les mihrābs extérieurs (*Fig. 8*), et surtout le grand mihrāb de la salle de prière (*Figs. 13, 14, et 15*) offrent un ensemble important de motifs décoratifs très variés. Les photographies et les profils (*Fig. 16*) rendent inutile toute description. On se bornera à faire remarquer la disposition singulière des chaînes verticales formées de motifs d'entrelacs disposés entre les portes de la salle de prière. Le croquis de la façade restituée montre leur répartition (*Fig. 12*).

INSCRIPTIONS ET DATE

Dans la niche du mihrāb de la salle de prière, on lit de nombreuses inscriptions coraniques. Sur les lobes de l'arc de couronnement est gravé le texte ci-contre, en beau naskhī ayyoubide primitif:

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ هَذَا مَا تَطَوَّعَ بِاتِمَامِ عِمَارَةِ مَا اِنْشَأَهُ اَخُوهُ الْمَلِكُ السَّعِيدُ حَسَامُ الدِّينِ يُولُقُ اِرْسْلَانَ رَحِمَهُ اللَّهُ
 الْعَبْدُ الْفَقِيرُ إِلَى رَحْمَةِ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى أَبُو الْفَتْحِ ارْتَقُ اِرْسْلَانَ بْنِ اَيْلِ غَازِي بْنِ الْبَيْ اِبْنِ تَمْرَتَاشِ بْنِ اَيْلِ
 غَازِي بْنِ ارْتَقُ تَقَبَّلَ اللَّهُ مِنْهُ وَذَلِكَ فِي الْمَحْرَمِ سَنَةِ اَحَدٍ وَسِتِّ مِائَةٍ

“Au nom . . . Voici ce qu'a spontanément (fait exécuter) pour achever la construction de l'édifice fondé par frère al-Malik al-Sa'id Ḥusām al-Dīn Yuluḡ-Arslān (puisse Dieu avoir pitié de lui!), l'esclave qui a besoin de la miséricorde du Très-Haut, Abū l-Fatḡ Ortoḡ-Arslān fils d'Īl-Ghāzī fils d'Alpī fils de Timurtāsh fils d'Īl-Ghāzī fils d'Ortoḡ: puisse Dieu l'accepter de lui!—Et cela en Muḡarram 601 (Septembre 1204).”³³

La date de la mort de Yuluḡ-Arslān, qui n'est pas exactement connue, se place vers 597 H.—1200 A.D. C'est ce prince qui fonda la mosquée mais il ne put conduire les travaux jusqu'à leur achèvement. Il y manquait au moins le mihrāb construit par les soins de son frère Ortoḡ-Arslān en 601 H.—1204 A.D. On peut admettre que dès cette date, la mosquée fut complète et posséda sa cour et son minaret.

MINARET AU SUD-OUEST DE LA GRANDE MOSQUÉE

Buckingham signalait trois minarets sur plan carré. Un seul subsiste aujourd'hui au Sud-Ouest de la grande mosquée (*Fig. 17*) mais il ne reste aucune trace de l'édifice auquel il appartenait et dont il était d'ailleurs entièrement détaché.³⁴ Il mesure 3 m. 10 de côté et renferme un escalier à emmarchements rectilignes et paliers carrés dont le départ est situé à 2 m. 50 au-dessus du sol actuel; la porte par laquelle on y accède devait donc être réunie à la mosquée voisine par un ponceau de bois.

Le fût du minaret est conservé dans toute sa hauteur. Au-dessus du soubassement, il

³² C'est ainsi que je l'ai restituée dans le croquis de la Fig. 4. Mais il est possible également que la section verticale de cette coupole ait correspondu à un profil en arc brisé.

³³ Copie et traduction de M. J. Sauvaget.

³⁴ Aucun doute à cet égard: les quatre faces du minaret en parfait état ne présentent nulle trace d'une amorce de maçonnerie. Quant à l'édifice lui-même, c'était peut-être un de ceux que Kātib Ferdī attribue à l'ortokide Naṣr al-Dīn (*op. cit.*, p. 30).

est divisé en quatre étages par bandeaux horizontaux. Dans la hauteur du dernier étage, des panneaux d'arabesques sont sculptés sur les quatre faces. Les bandeaux eux-mêmes sont richement décorés. Sur le bandeau inférieur une inscription coranique se déroule sur un fond d'entrelacs.³⁵ L'escalier du minaret, bien conservé, est praticable jusqu'au sommet. On compte soixante seize marches de 0 m. 25 ce qui met la plate-forme terminale à 19 m. + 2 m. 50 = 21 m. 50 au-dessus du sol actuel. Vraisemblablement, un lanterneau couvert d'une coupole couronnait ce minaret.³⁶

TOMBEAUX

Mausolée de Shaīkh Selīm. On désigne aujourd'hui sous le nom de Shaīkh Selīm Türbesi, les restes d'un tombeau qui, malgré son état de ruine, semble être encore l'objet d'une certaine vénération. Il se composait d'une salle sépulcrale carrée couverte d'une coupole sur trompes d'angles et pendentifs. Ce mausolée n'était pas entièrement isolé et d'après les restes des constructions qui subsistent alentour, il semble avoir été annexé à quelque édifice. C'était sans doute une madrasa, mais les éléments restés debout sont trop incomplets pour qu'on puisse restituer les dispositions de l'ensemble. Les constructions ont été d'ailleurs remaniées et leur date est incertaine. Le tombeau, à en juger par son décor remonte sans doute à la fin du quatorzième siècle.

Tombeau anonyme. Le plus complet des tombeaux de Dūnāysīr est bâti sur plan octogonal et couvert d'une coupole (*Fig. 19*). La salle funéraire, percée d'une ouverture sur chaque face, ne renferme aucun cénotaphe et le monument, anépigraphé, ne peut être daté avec certitude. D'après le caractère de l'architecture il ne paraît pas antérieur à l'époque ottomane.

Un pont de pierre de cinq arches, d'origine médiévale, franchit la rivière qui coule au Nord-Ouest des ruines. Au Sud-Est, les maisons du village, de chétive apparence sont dispersées sur les pentes du tell. Sans doute, au temps même de la prospérité de Dūnāysīr, ces quartiers gardaient-ils un aspect modeste. L'agglomération toutefois était certainement plus étendue et plus dense. Des boutiques et des échoppes bordaient les places où se tenaient les marchés dont parlent les chroniqueurs. Vers l'Ouest s'élevait la ville noble, bâtie par les Ortokides, qui comprenait plusieurs mosquées, des madrasas et sans doute aussi, des caravansérails et des hamams, suivant la tradition constante. Les ruines qui subsistent attestent, en tout cas, l'existence d'édifices amples et robustes, et les traces de murs encore visibles au ras du sol, accusent un plan régulier et homogène tracé suivant des axes orthogonaux. Sans grand effort d'imagination on restitue l'aspect qu'offrait dès la fin du douzième siècle ce centre important de négoce. A côté du "Grand Village" aux maisons de *kerpich*,³⁷ avec ses champs de foire et ses marchés animés, la ville noble dressait les murs épais de ses vastes édifices aux cour spacieuses. Et lorsque caravanes venues de tous les centres de la Haute-Mésopotamie se dirigeaient vers Dūnāysīr, chameliers, marchands et voyageurs reconnaissaient de fort loin, à l'horizon de l'immense plaine, les coupoles aux formes caractéristiques, émergeant au-dessus des terrasses et les fûts rectilignes des hauts minarets.

³⁵ *Ḳor'ān*, S. III, v. 191-192 et fr. de v. 193 (J. Sauvaget).

³⁶ Cf. *supra*, pp. 354-355, les descriptions de Thevenot.

³⁷ Mélange d'argile et de paille hachée, séché au soleil.

THE TREE OF LIFE IN INDO-EUROPEAN AND ISLAMIC CULTURES BY GEORGE LECHLER

IN ISLAM THE TREE OF LIFE IS GIVEN THE NAME *SIḌRA* OR *ṬUBĀ*. IN THE MINDS OF THE Muḥammadans it grows in the midst of Paradise and thus becomes a fit subject for artistic representation, and, consequently, may be found woven into the miḥrāb of prayer rugs (cf. *Figs. 1-4*).

The early authorities of Islam, when interpreting the *Ḳur'ān*, explained that the *Siḍra* stands in the seventh heaven on the right hand of the throne of God, and marks the utmost bounds of Paradise beyond which the angels themselves must not pass. This is impressively told in *Sūra LIII: 16*, and reaffirmed as the *sūra* continues with the statement: "Near it is the garden of eternal abode."¹

The *Siḍret-el muntehā* ("the *Siḍra* of the utmost bounds") has its prototype on the earth in the *Siḍra* tree, a kind of wild plum tree, *Ziziphus jujuba*, which grows in Arabia and India. It produces small plums. This tree is also sacred to the Muḥammadans as is demonstrated by their custom of throwing its leaves into water which they use to cleanse a corpse during a burial ceremony.² Hāfiz in the *Dīwān*³ draws upon ancient Persian traditions in his descriptions⁴ of the *Siḍra*:

On the holy boughs of the *Siḍra*
High up in the heavenly fields
Being beyond terrestrial desire
My soul-bird a warm nest has built.

By the soul-bird he indicates a fresh development, and fusing this with the old Persian ideas he forms a new Islamic interpretation.

In Babylonia the tree of life was called the tree of Ea, the father of the gods; it grows in Eridu, and also has the name *Ukkanū*. Those who ate its fruit were supposed to receive eternal life. From this belief is derived the tree of life of the Old Testament, growing in the midst of Paradise. (The Babylonian Paradise was also situated in Eridu.)⁵

In the religion of Zoroaster the tree of life is called the white haoma (*homa*), and its fruit is used to nourish the blessed spirits in heaven. The beverage made from it has the same name in the *Avesta*.⁶ Very similar to this is the soma of the old Indian Veda.⁷ The word soma is

¹ *The Korān*, trans. G. Sale, New York, 1922, p. 508.

² A. Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Moham-med*, Berlin, 1869, I, p. 306.

³ J. Karabacek, *Die Persische Nadelmalerei Susan-schird*, Leipzig, 1881, p. 154.

⁴ A. Wünsche, "Die Sagen vom Lebensbaum und Lebenswasser," *Ex Oriente Lux*, I, 1905, p. 9.

⁵ S. Langdon, *Mythology of All Races: Semitic*, Boston, 1928, XII, p. 194.

⁶ F. Wolff, *Avesta, die heiligen Buecher der Parsen*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1924.

⁷ A. A. Macdonnell, "Vedic Mythology," *Encycl. Indo-Aryan Research*, Strassburg, 1896-1920, Vol. III, 1 Hft., A.

etymologically derived from haoma and consequently dates back to Indo-Iranian time. The holy fig trees (*Ficus indica* and *Ficus religiosa*) also play an important role in Indian literature.⁸ In the same literature Amṛita gives immortality, and the fruit of the tree Kalpavriksha is probably identical with the fruit of the holy fig trees. In addition to being a source of immortality the holy fig trees fulfill all wishes brought to them, and thus become wishing trees.⁹

Very similar to this is the belief of the ancient Germans who adored the dragon-guarded apple tree belonging to the wife of the god Bragi, the goddess Iduna. These apples bring eternal youth to the Aesir. The Greek idea of the apple tree in the garden of the Hesperides, also guarded by a dragon, corresponds to this. The fruit also preserves the lives of the Greek pantheon.¹⁰

Some writers have deduced that the myth of the ancient German apple tree must be relatively young because of the fact that the Romans brought the knowledge of this tree into the North. The opinion is an erroneous one. Excavations at Alvastra in Sweden have proved that the ancestors of the ancient Germans cultivated apple trees of two different kinds.¹¹ The settlement in which the apples were found belongs to neolithic time in the third millennium B.C. (The climate was two degrees centigrade warmer than today.) The remains of apples are found in mound burials of about 1500 B.C. These apples were placed as symbolic additional gifts in the oak coffins during the period of the primitive Germanic culture in Denmark.¹²

As a consequence of closer contact with Christianity, the Muḥammadans developed the idea of the tree of life inspired by pictures of the Sidra tree of Sassanian-Arabian art. This is especially noticeable in the Greek *Apocalypse* of Moses in which Adam, facing death, sent his son Seth to Paradise to secure some oil from the "tree of mercy." Through the entire medieval period this narrative was transformed by French, English, and German poets into fables about the wood from which the Cross of Christ was made. In these Seth is portrayed as hastening to Paradise and there receiving from the Cherub three seeds of the tree of life. When he returned Adam had died, and Seth placed the three seeds in Adam's mouth. From this beginning there grew the tree from which the Jews made the Cross of Christ. This became the new tree of life which has brought life to the souls of men just as the old tree of life inspired and gave immortality to the souls in heaven.

The principal works and writers on this subject, according to Wünsche,¹³ are: Nicodemus' *Evangelary*; Ethiopian Christian *Book of Adam*; *World Chronicle*, by Rudolf of Ems; *Book of Excerpts*, by Floridus Lambertus; *Speculum Historiales*, by Vincent of Beauvais; *Legenda Aurea*, by Jacobus de Voragine; Heinrich von Meissen; and *The Holy Cross*, by Henry of Freiburg. The last work Wünsche cites as being especially interesting in its full text.

⁸ B. Keith, *Mythology of All Races: Indian*, Boston, 1927, VI, p. 46 ff.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ J. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, trans. S. C. Stallybrass (*Teutonic Mythology*), London, 1883.

¹¹ O. Froedin, "Einzigartige Steinzeitfunde bei Alvastra," *Mannus, Zeitschr. f. Vorgesch.*, I, 1909, p. 309.

¹² G. Lechler, *5000 Jahre Deutschland*, Leipzig, 1936, p. 56.

¹³ Wünsche, *op. cit.*, pp. 15 ff.

There are also some dozen medieval dramatic or epic works which Wünsche discusses, and finally there are the principal writers of later times: Tirso de Molina, Calderón, Milton, Rückert, and Seidl. Even in novels such as *The Adventurous Simplicissimus* by Hans von Grimmelshausen, written before 1671, there is found the motif of the tree of life transformed into a social picture. In chapter fifteen, the author describes a dream in which the hero saw a huge tree transforming its leaves into human figures; on the top were the nobility and at the roots the peasants. The people above forced those beneath them to work hard; thus the author satirizes the social conditions of his time (cf. *Fig. 21*).

The fact that the old Germanic god Odin hung for nine days on the great ash tree of the universe, Yggdrasil (Hávamál), is often incorrectly described as a result of Christian influence; this myth probably leads back to old Nordic belief. Moreover the holy tree of the Old Germans and Slavs is the linden tree, that of the Celts is the holy stone oak.¹⁴ Here mention must be made of the old belief of the creation of the first man out of trees. In the *Edda* the first couple have the names Ask and Embla, and they were created from the ash and the elm (their names are identical with the names of the trees). The same kind of fables are found in Persia, Rome, and Greece.

The belief that man was created from the tree of life reached as far as the Yacuts: The first man as "the white youth" was below the seven stories, the nine disks of heaven in the central place, and there he approached the tree of life and prayed to the mistress of life for a partner as did Adam in the Bible. Then the leaves of the tree began to rustle, and finally the tree creaked, and a female being rose up from under its roots.¹⁵ In Egypt, Greece, and India there was a belief that men were transformed into trees as were Osiris, Daphne, and Soma. The old Romans planted plane trees as "patron saints" for the newborn children. This practice resulted in an ever flourishing worship of trees, as for example that of the oak of Zeus at Dodona or of the oak of Diana at Lake Nemi. Thus it happened that frequently women were married to trees (Pliny). This was reversed at the sanctuary of Diana at Lake Nemi where the first priest, whose title was "King of the Woods," became the husband of the "holy oak."¹⁶

The extent to which the concept of the tree of life occupied the Christian mind is shown by the fact that many churchmen and religious teachers discussed this question in great detail.¹⁷ Thus Ephraim, the Syrian, called the tree of life the "Sun of Paradise" before which all the other trees bowed their heads (cf. *Fig. 136*). Other religious writers who have discussed the tree of life include Chrysostom, Theodoret, Augustine, Anselm of Canterbury, Peter Lombard, Thomas Aquinas, Rupert of Deutz, Bonaventure, Luther, and Calvin.

Closely connected with the tree of life was the water of life which ran out of its roots or in which the tree stood. To the Indo-Europeans water was the creator of life. Thus in the

¹⁴ C. Clemen, *Religions of the World, Their Nature, Their History*, New York, 1931.

¹⁵ U. Holmberg, "The Tree of Life," *Mythology of All Races: Finno-Ugric, Siberian*, Boston, 1927, IV, p. 352.

¹⁶ J. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, New York, 1935, I, p. 40.

¹⁷ H. Wace, *Dictionary of Christian Biography and Literature*, London, 1911.

Veda, the god Agni originates and maintains life with the help of heavenly water. In the Greek tradition the same thing was done by Oceanus, the god of the Ocean, who created all the other gods. In the *Edda*, also, the water Elivagar was the source from which the primeval giant Ymir, the first being, was made.

In 1905 August Wünsche published his researches, which are fundamental on this subject. The present article may be said to be a continuation of his researches¹⁸ and those of Ward,¹⁹ and it also indicates the available archaeological material. The documents demonstrate that the tree of life had a central position in the religious worship of the past and that it was equally established in all branches of Indo-European culture. Its origins lie farther back than the neolithic culture.

Thirty years ago Kossinna pointed out that in the original Germanic language the word for tree trunk was identical with the god concept. However, from the documentary material as far back as four thousand years ago we learn that the later tradition was present which said that the tree trunk was an abbreviation or abstract form of the tree of life or world tree. This world tree was symbolized by the asherah (see p. 388).

A place of sacrifice which belonged to the "Hamburgian" culture contemporary with the Magdalenian period was found by Rust at Ahrensburg near Hamburg, Germany.²⁰ This place chronologically dates back by pollen profile to the Würm glacier before 12000 B.C. In the deposit of sedimentary strata from a pond of that time, Rust discovered the remains of a large number of young reindeer. They had been submerged in the pond, and each reindeer had a large stone in its breast. That these reindeer were victims of the hunt is evident from the arrow holes in their scapulae. It is probable therefore that they were thrown into the water as a sacrifice to the life-giving god. On the bank of the pond a large wooden post had been erected upon which was placed a reindeer skull. Here occur together the sacrifice, the water, and the tree trunk, and this was perhaps fifteen thousand years ago. (The sacrifice of the reindeer and the erection of the post belonged to the "Ahrensburg stage.")

It may be that the interpretation is in some details open to discussion as to exact meaning, but one thing is certain and that is that there existed a very old religious tradition in neolithic times in Europe and at the beginning of historic times in the Orient. The find is not an isolated one. There are examples of primitive art undoubtedly with a religious significance in caverns in the south of Europe. Carvings of snakes have been found in the caverns of Langerie Basse and La Pileta, and sculptures of them at Montespan and Tuc d'Audoubert. A carving, found in Denmark at Herring, belonging to the mesolithic culture of Maglemose probably seven thousand years before our time (*Fig. 102*) may also be noted. Here already

¹⁸ Wünsche, *op. cit.*; A. Wünsche, "Schoepfung und Suedenfall," *Ex Oriente Lux*, II, 1906.

¹⁹ W. A. Ward, *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, Washington, 1910.

²⁰ A. Rust, "Die jungpalaeolithischen und fruehmesolithischen Kulturschichten aus einem Tunneltale bei Ahrensburg (Holstein)," *Nachrichtenblatt f. d. Vorzeit*, XI, 1935, p. 223; A. Rust, "Die Grabungen bei Ahrensburg," *Nachrichtenblatt f. d. Vorzeit*, XII, 1936, p. 229.

there is the same composition found in later periods of Nordic prehistoric times, which will be discussed later in connection with the archaeological documents of Crete.

Among the old recorded traditions on this subject the best known, of course, is in the Old Testament where the story of the tree of life (*ēz hachajjim*) which stands in the midst of Paradise is related in Genesis 2 and 3. This is obviously the original belief. The so-called Yahvist who edited Genesis in the ninth century B.C. introduced the tree of knowledge standing beside the tree of life in order to explain the first sin.²¹ On this tree of knowledge was fruit which enabled those who ate of it to distinguish between good and evil. The expulsion from Paradise was accomplished so that man might not eat of the fruit from the tree of life and receive eternal life. The fruit of the tree of life secured eternal youth. An original opinion is found again in the Proverbs of Solomon: "A tree of life is wisdom to those who acquire it" (Prov. 3: 18). According to Gen. 9: 20, the tree of life was probably the stem of a vine. Thus very often the stem of a vine represents the tree of life on Christian sarcophagi (*Fig. 27c*).

It seems possible that the tree of knowledge is not a later introduction, as Wünsche and Ward²² point out, because there are two trees also mentioned in old Indian literature, although unfortunately without clearly stated arguments. In the famous Greek "Alexander novel"²³ it is obvious that both trees were placed in the midst of Paradise, representing the upper world and the lower world; one named Helios ("Sun"), the other named Selene ("Moon"). In the *Ḳur'ān*, Sūra XCV: 1, they are mentioned both as a fig tree and an olive tree. It is not very easily established, but clearly the *Ṭubā* might have corresponded to the tree of knowledge rather than having been a substitute or second name for the *Sidra*. The Muḥammadan tradition leads back to the Jewish; thus it does not support the theory of the priority of the tree of knowledge.

In the book of Henoah, chapters 24 and 25, which is part of the Old Testament Apocrypha, it is related that at the south of the world there exist seven mounds built with precious stones and on the central mound stands the tree of life. The archangel Michael told Henoah that the Lord of Lords when he descends to us will have his throne upon one of the mounds. The tree will give eternal life to the elected few by its fruit, which might be compared in shape to a bunch of dates. The tree will be transplanted to the north beside the temple of the Lord in order that it may stand on the holy place. Obviously the Israelite author was thinking in terms of customs of worship in which a tree was brought into the temple as part of the ceremony. A Hittite cuneiform document from the thirteenth century B.C. is proof of the existence of this kind of custom. Its source is only a continuation²⁴ of prochattic (pre-Hittite) ideas and therefore it belongs to a time before 2000 B.C. The described festivity, celebrated for six days to praise the return of the god Telebinus at the yule time, December 25, took place in the city of Kashā. Telebinus, the husband of the sun goddess Arinna, disappeared from the world and

²¹ Wünsche, "Die Sagen vom Lebensbaum und Lebenswasser," p. 4, footnote.

²² Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

²³ J. Friedländer, "Alexanders Zug nach dem Lebens-

quell," *Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft.*, XIII, 1910.

²⁴ E. Forrer and G. Lechler, "Der Ursprung des Weihnachtsbaumes," *Germanen Erbe*, I, 1936, pp. 262 ff.

cultural life began to die. All the other gods searched for him; finally a bee found him, and he came back. The cuneiform text speaks of the festivity:

Telebinus presents also the king and the queen with
 life, strength and the future.
 In this manner Telebinus loads the king with presents:
 before him stands a tree, but on the tree hangs a sack
 which is made from sheepskin
 therein is mutton suet
 therein are barley, ears of corn and also grapes
 therein are cattle, many years and also descendants
 therein lies the wholesome message of wisdom
 therein lies a courageous happy nature.
 therein lies . . .
 therein lies the right will
 therein lies . . .

Surely there is here a prototype of the Christmas tree; and the sack containing gifts, which hangs on the tree, today is carried by Santa Claus or Saint Nicholas. Further, the sack was a gift of a bearded and rugged god, Indar, who is called in the inscriptions "The God of the Sack."

The withered tree of the year before was taken from the temple, and was replaced by the new tree before the millstone of the god Telebinus. Then followed the bestowal of presents to the king, gifts of cookies in symbolic forms such as cattle, the year, and the future. The god Indar of the sheepskin sack, whose name appears in all the treaties among the gods of oaths such as Mithra and Varuna,²⁵ was venerated in two temples of the Hittite kingdom. In these were put up the sacks brought by him. The temples were called the "temples of the sack of the sheepskin." Obviously Indar was the god of the mountains, valleys, and wild animals, in other words the god of nature. Thus he brought the sack as a tribute of nature to Telebinus, the god of culture.

That in addition to this in the cultural circle of the Near East the tree was an item of cultic rites is indicated by Assyrian seals on which appear figures wearing fish disguises. In the Phrygian festival of Attis, the god of spring, there also took place the introduction of a tree (*arbor intrat*), and Lucian reported a similar cultic rite at Hierapolis in Syria.²⁶ In Figure 68 the god Ashur is soaring as a winged sun over the tree of life or tree of the world; at each side of it stand two priests in fish disguises. The fish is a particularly strong symbol of life and resurrection.²⁷ On the seal (*Fig. 69*) appears a trinity of gods in a winged sun which is

²⁵ J. Garstang, *The Hittite Empire*, New York, 1930.

²⁶ C. Clemen, *Primitive Christianity*, Edinburgh, 1912.

²⁷ F. Doelger, *ΙΧΘΥΣ*, Münster, 1922-1928, Vol. I, "Das Fischsymbol in fruehchristlicher Zeit" (2nd ed.,

1928); Vol. II, "Der heilige Fisch in den antiken Religionen"; Vol. III, "Die Fischdenkmaeler in der fruehchristlichen Plastik, Malerei und Kleinkunst." Shorter outline, Doelger, *Christentum und Antike*, Münster, 1932.

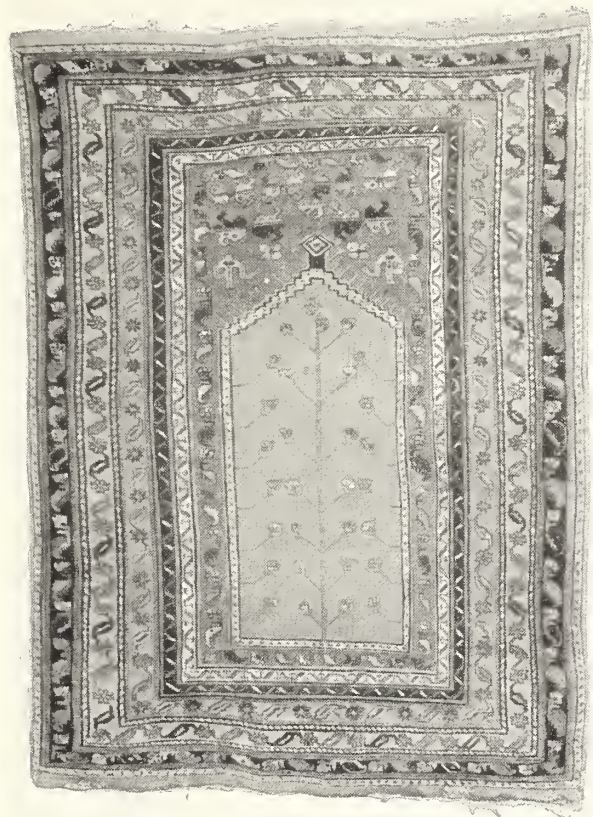


FIG. 1

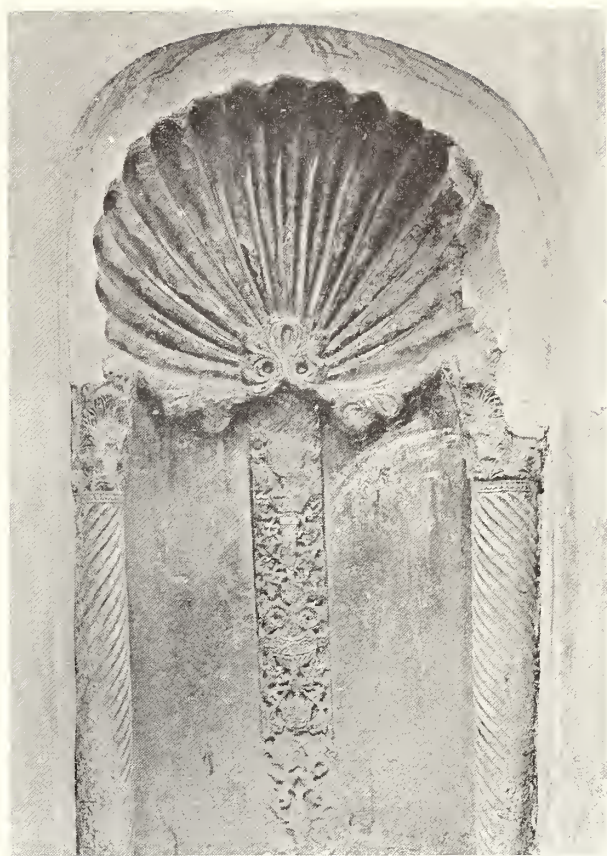


FIG. 2



FIG. 3

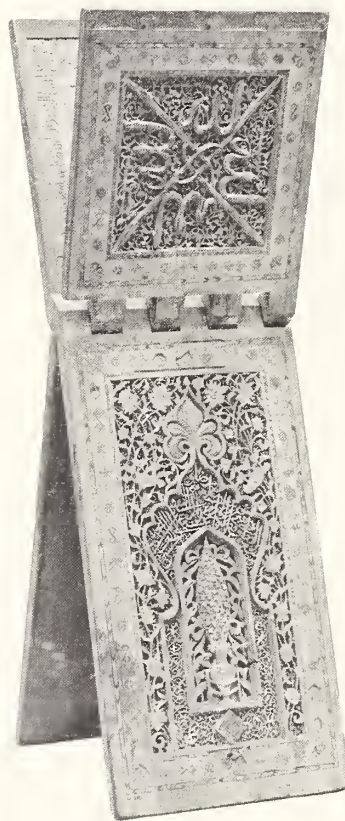


FIG. 4



FIG. 5



FIG. 6

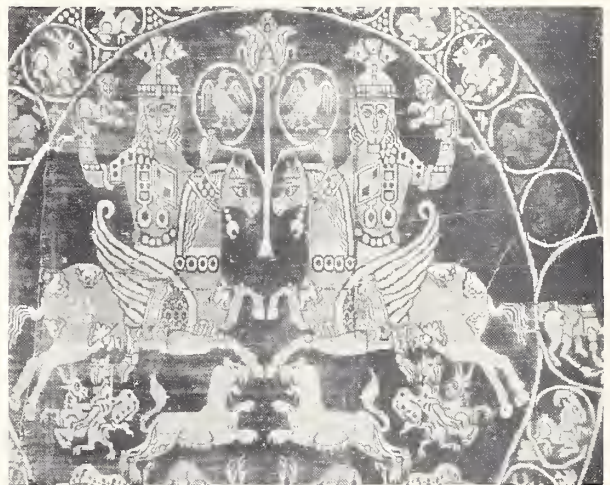


FIG. 7



FIG. 8



FIG. 9

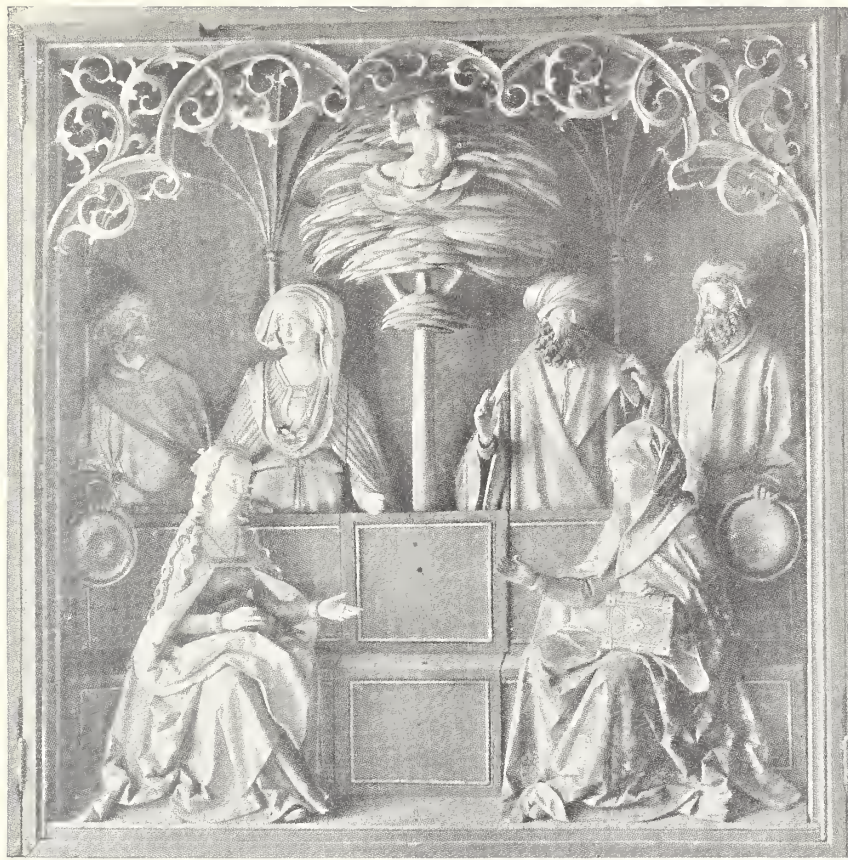


FIG. 10



FIG. 11



FIG. 14



FIG. 15



FIG. 16

carried by two creatures, half bull, half man, above the tree of life. Beside it are pictured the cross and a star with eight rays, which is the cuneiform ideogram for *ilu* = god = sun = year. Corresponding to this on the right is the moon cycle; this gives a complete symbolization of the circle of the year. Again, beside this is a priest in fish disguise. The identity of the tree of life with the tree of the world is clearly denoted by the seals in Figures 70, 73, and 74. In Figure 73 the tree is crowned by a radiant sun, and in Figure 70 the tree itself has changed into a tree trunk or post, and the sun is symbolized on its top by a wheel with eight spokes. The sun wheel represents the ideogram *ilu* = god, found on the other pictures beside the tree.

Other parallels include European neolithic finds. In Figures 101-107 the sun symbol is soaring near the tree. Figure 22 shows the Swedish midsummer post ("yule rusk"), that is, the tree of the year which is erected annually at the solstice. Figure 23 brings the "queste" which bears the wheel of the year and which will be renewed every Pentecost. Beside the wheel of the year (*Fig. 70*), which is also reported in pictures of Hittite seals (Louvre, Nos. 611-612), appear again two fishes soaring above two griffins. Both fishes are also visible on seals in Figures 67 and 71. The fish called Karafish in connection with the tree of life, the world tree, is also reported in the *Avesta* (*Yasht* 14, 29).

Following the *Bundahish* 18: 19, ten Karafish circle the root of the tree of life (Gaokerena), growing in the midst of the sea (Vourukasha), and defend it against the dragon of the depth. The tree Gaokerena produces haoma, the beverage of life, the aforementioned soma of the Indians, which gives eternal life.²⁸

The Artemis, "the mistress of life," of the Boeotian vase of the eighth century (*Fig. 60*), wears on her skirt a fish as an especially powerful symbol of fertility. This symbolism exists even today in the customs of Europeans; thus in Germany, for example, the carp is the traditional food for yule time.

The Kalmucks show in every detail dependency upon the Indian beliefs. Thus the Kalmucks call the tree of life Zambu, which is derived from the Indian name Yambu. The Yambu rises out of the Marvo Sea from which place four great rivers flow toward the different points of the compass.²⁹ They emerge from rocks which look like an elephant, a bull, a horse, and a lion. The animals represent the east, south, west, and north. This is an extremely old belief among the civilized peoples of Asia. For this reason it is reported that the Mongols, in order to prevent diseases, built sanctuaries at the four sides of which they erected wooden images of the points of the compass, a tiger, a lion, an eagle, and a dragon. Sometimes the palmettos, which are obviously abbreviations of the tree of life (cf. *Figs. 42-44, 64-65*), are arranged in cross form as Montelius has pictured with excellent examples.³⁰ Perhaps hereby emphasis is placed upon the four directions of heaven; perhaps at other times these are represented by animals (cf. *Fig. 80*). This old method of representation of the points of the compass may make comprehensible the frequent appearance in Sassanian art of animals in connection

²⁸ Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

²⁹ Holmberg, *op. cit.*

³⁰ O. Montelius, *Die aelteren Kulturperioden*, Stockholm, 1916-23, Figs. 380, 393-395.

with the tree of life (cf. *Figs. 59-64*). This symbolism was not always a conscious one in the Islamic silk fabrics; it may explain only the origin of the animals. As the tree used in the Hittite festivity of Telebinus on December 25 demonstrates, and also as the fish of the Assyrian seals informs us, the tree of life is nothing but a synonym for the tree symbolizing the year, which means it has a cosmic interpretation. Further confirmation of this is received from Indian poetry of the late period Vedas, such as the Upanishad, which is contemporary with the late Assyrian seals:

The roots upward, the branches downward thus stands the
eternal fig tree
the leaves of which are Veda songs; Veda is thinking of
those who think of this tree
Upward and downward its branches are bending
Nobody on the earth is able to conceive of its form
either its end or beginning or its duration.³¹

The eternal fig tree spoken of in the above poem has the name Ashvattha³² or "seed of all things." The juice that it produces, amṛita, identical with soma, is the water of life. It is also possible that the Assyrians considered the fruit of the tree of life to be a liquid, since on the relief of the Nimrud palace, for example (*Fig. 82*), the winged genius with an eagle head holds in his hand a vessel of liquid; this kind of vessel is sometimes decorated with the tree of life. The relationship to the year is shown on the Assyrian tree of life by symbolic numbers. The palmetto forming its crown has seven parts, and the palmetto "fruits" are $12 + 1 = 13$. On each side of the trunk, as in Figure 84, are seven branches, and in the palmettos of the crown there are nine. The same thing occurs in Figure 79; the tree (1) is placed in a circle with six crowns of trees and six fruits on the outer rim ($1 + 6 + 6 = 13$), a symbolic arrangement in the shape of a sun wheel. This symbolization occurs again in Figure 80; beside the tree stands a wheel the four spokes of which are formed out of four figures holding trees in their hands (cf. above, the four animals representing the directions).

An Altaic folk song relates of the tree of life: "In the center of the earth there is an iron mountain and on this iron mountain a white seven-branched birch." Holmberg established the fact that the mythology of Altai depended completely upon the old Iranian peoples.

In the traditions of the Yakuts: "This tree is so old that its age cannot be reckoned in centuries. Its roots stretch through the Lower World and its crown pierces the nine heavens. The length of each leaf is seven fathoms and that of the cones, its fruit, nine fathoms."

Frazer's *The Golden Bough*, dealing with old cults and myths concerning trees, has informed the whole world about old Greek and Roman ideas. The title suggests that the leaves

³¹ *Kāthaka Upanishad*, VI, 1, *Sechzig Upanishads des Veda*, ed. P. Deussen, Leipzig, 1921.

³² H. Wirth, *Die Heilige Urschrift der Menschheit*, Leipzig, 1931-35, pp. 406-431.

of the holy tree were made of gold. In Siberia is found the same idea, dependent in its mental speculation upon the Old Orient, as already mentioned. In an old Minusinsk poem the tree is described:

Piercing twelve heavens
 on a summit of a mountain
 a birch in the misty depths of air
 golden are the birch leaves
 golden its bark
 in the ground at its foot a basin
 full of the water of life
 in the basin a golden ladle.

It is very interesting to note that at the Šušinak temple of Susa were found, as deposited, gifts of votive leaves made of golden bronze (*Fig. 123*). The same idea exists in northern Europe. Here the world tree, the ash Yggdrasil, also has golden leaves, and the same thing is reported in the Indian Vedas. This supports the contention that we have to deal with an idea—more than five thousand years old—common to all Indo-European branches.

In the oldest Babylonian tradition the tree of life is called a palm and is symbolized by a palmetto:

In Eridu (the place of creation) grows a dark palm
 from virgin soil it sprouted up,
 The life of Ea is full of plenty in Eridu
 his home is the Lower World.
 . . . inside dwell Shamash and Tammuz.³³

Later the tree of life becomes a kind of pine or palm. This originated probably from Sumerian times; the cedar is spoken of as the holy tree under Gudea, 2340 B.C., where Ĥumbaba guarded "the mountain of cedar." This mountain, which was the sanctuary of Irnini (= Ishtar), was identical with the mountain of the gods.

The Gilgamish epic says:

They stand considering the forest,
 Gazing on the height of the cedars,
 Gazing on the entrance of the forest,
 Where Ĥumbaba is wont to wander about with great strides;
 The ways are laid out, the paths are well made;
 They gaze on the hill of cedars, the dwelling-place of
 the gods, the sanctuary of Irnini.
 In the front of the hill a cedar rises in grandeur,
 Goodly is its shade, full of gladness . . .
 It produces samtu-stones as fruit;
 Its boughs hang with them, glorious to behold;
 The crown of it produces lapis lazuli;
 Its fruit is costly to gaze upon.

³³ S. Langdon, *Tammuz and Ishtar*, Oxford, 1914.



FIG. 12



FIG. 13

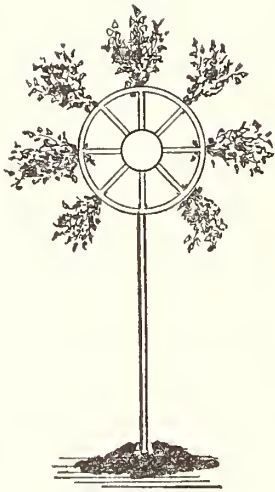


FIG. 22



FIG. 23

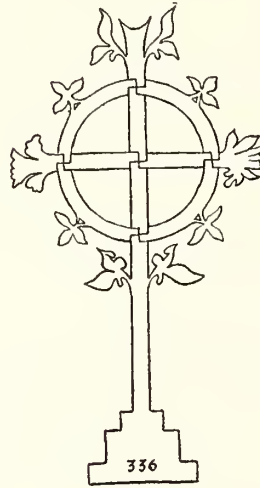


FIG. 24

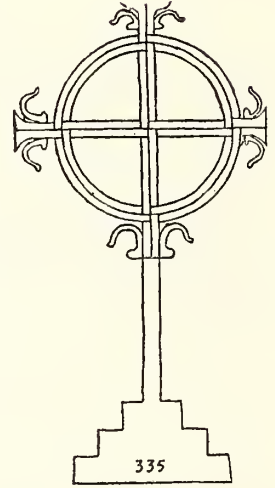


FIG. 25

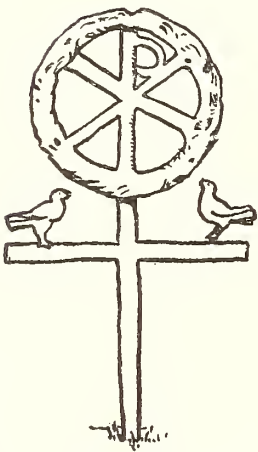


FIG. 26

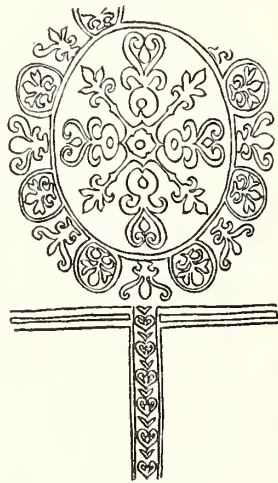


FIG. 27

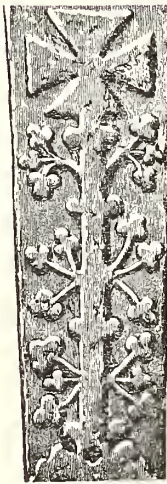


FIG. 28



FIG. 29

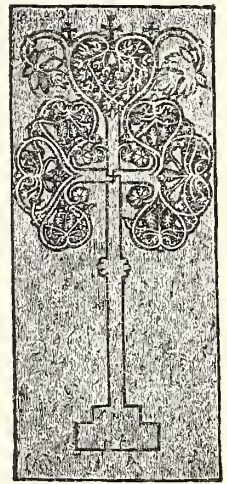


FIG. 30



FIG. 17



FIG. 18



FIG. 19



FIG. 20



FIG. 21



FIG. 27 a

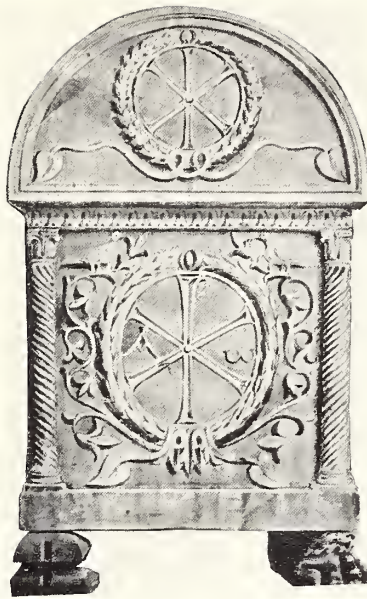


FIG. 27 b

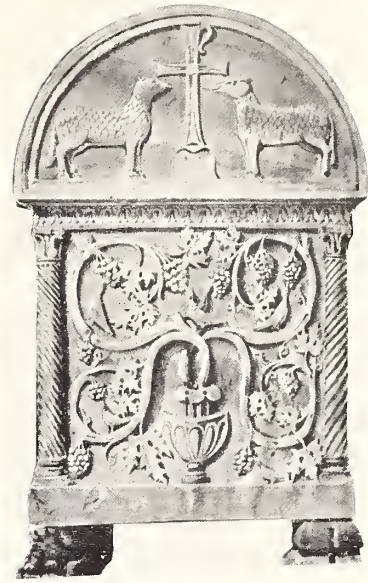


FIG. 27 c

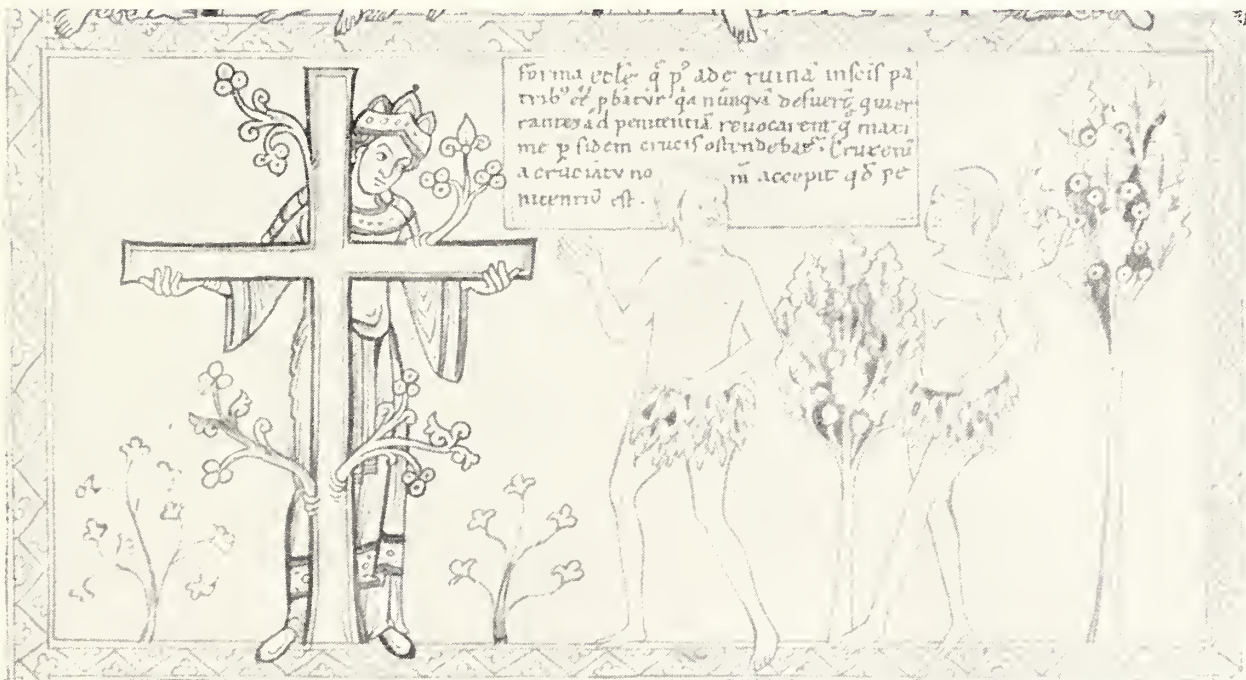


FIG. 31



FIG. 39



FIG. 41



FIG. 38



FIG. 40



FIG. 32

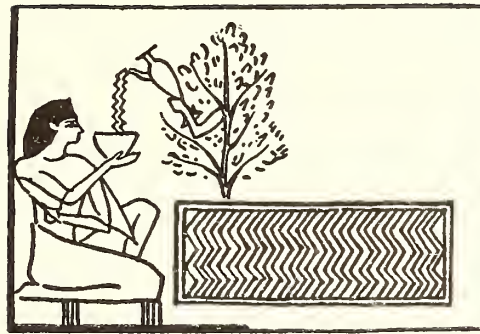


FIG. 33



FIG. 34 a



FIG. 34 b

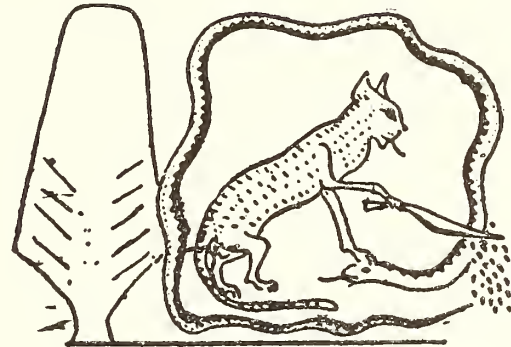


FIG. 34 c

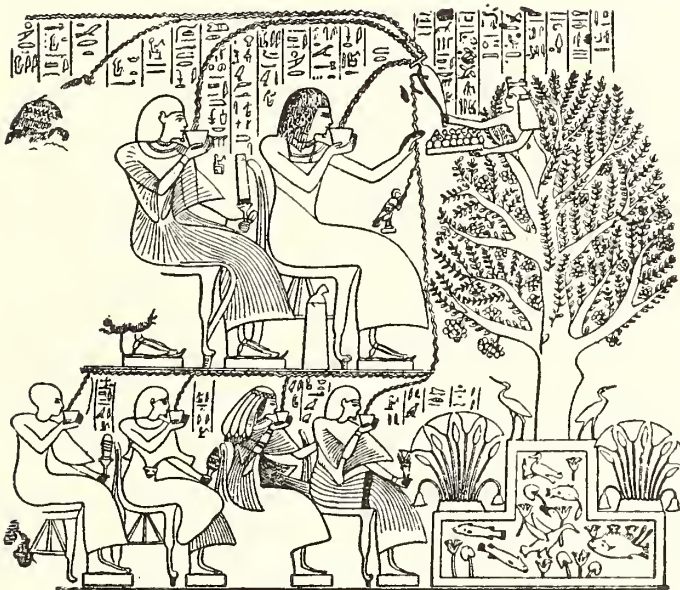


FIG. 35

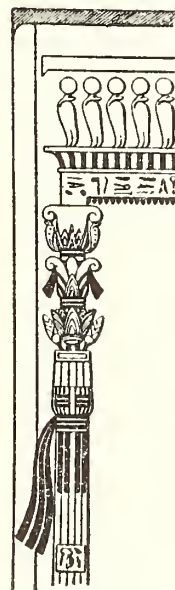


FIG. 36



FIG. 37

There are also traditions in Europe that coniferous trees were sacred trees, as von Zingerle pointed out.³⁴

The myth of the "Mountain of the Gods" as the home of the pantheon (= Paradise) must have had its origin in pre-Sumerian time, since there were no mountains in Babylonia. The belief³⁵ that this mountain was located in the north may have been the result of their migrations from that region.³⁶

The same complex of ideas from tradition is expressed in the Old Testament, Ezek. 31: 1, which relates that the sacred cedar, as the "world tree," has its topmost branches high up in the heavens; in Ezek. 28: 1, it states that the garden of Eden, the garden of God, is situated on God's sacred mountain. Believing this the Israelites only took over pre-Israelite cults of Canaan, whose people were obviously closely related to the Indo-Europeans, as is established in many places in the Old Testament.³⁷ As late as Josiah the Israelite cult was concentrated in Jerusalem, and all sanctuaries on the tops of the mountains were declared illegal (Deut. 16: 21). What was the form of the sacred Canaanite high places adopted by the Israelites? (Mic. 5: 13, 14; Isa. 17: 8, and 27: 9; Jer. 17: 2; I Kings 14: 23; II Kings 17: 10, 16.) In addition to many sites that are unknown, there were many famous ones such as Garizim, Carmel, Moria, and Sinai. An altar on the highest point of each holy mountain was the center of the sanctuary; beside the altar stood a sacred tree, asherah, and a stone pillar, massebah. Here it is possible to determine the various conceivable shapes of the sacred tree. The descriptions of the asherah, especially important because they belong to the second millennium B.C., are nearly the same as the ones two thousand years later for the Germanic "Irminsul." The asherah, or tree of life or world tree, was either a real tree or at least a trunk of a tree. It could have been in the natural state with its roots in the soil, or it could have been cut down (Isa. 17: 8; I Kings 14: 15; 16: 33; Jer. 6: 26). It could have been carved at the top, the same as found, for example, in Middle Germany (*Fig. 121*). If it was destroyed or broken into pieces, a new one could then be erected. Consequently it seems that there is here documentary proof that a symbolic abbreviation such as a tree trunk or wooden column could have been substituted for a living tree.³⁸ These facts also shed light on North European conditions because there are dolmens and megalithic graves in Canaan of the same character as those in North Europe (Denmark, Sweden, northwest Germany).

Holmberg summarizes the identity of the tree of life and world column as follows:

In the belief of the peoples related to the Turks this tree which with the growth of the universe has grown from a small sapling to its present height, is intimately connected, like the World mountain, with the construction of the universe. And independently of whether it rises from the earth, a high mountain or some story in the sky, its position always resembles that of the world pillar. Like the former,

³⁴ V. Zingerle, "Der heilige Baum von Nauders," *Zeitschr. f. d. Mythen und Sittenkunde*, IV, 1859.

³⁵ Lechler, *op. cit.*, pp. 112 ff.

³⁶ H. Gressmann, *The Tower of Babel*, New York, 1928.

³⁷ *Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. J. Hastings, New York, 1908, I, p. 164.

³⁸ J. Newton, *Assyrian Grove Worship*, New York, 1922.

the gods use this also to tether their horses to. It is a fact also that it is often pictured as many-storied. Thus it resembles the World-pillar.³⁹

In the light of this it may be understood why the tree of life was interchanged with a column at various times in Crete (*Figs. 92-93*). The most famous example of the column is that of the lion gate of Mycenae. There are three very important relationships in Crete: the tree of life associated with a lion or bird, the tree of life associated with a snake, and the tree of life associated with a ship.

The lion as a symbol of power or the griffin as a supernatural beast still more powerfully connects the tree of life = the world tree = world pillar with the goddess ruling over life and death. For Crete and Greece this means the mistress of animals, Cybele, who later became Aphrodite-Artemis. Here it may be mentioned, in order to demonstrate how old the first traces of a fertility goddess are, that already in the Aurignacian of the Upper Palaeolithic appeared statuettes of maternal fertility. This period runs from about 100000 B.C. to about 65000 B.C. (Venus of Willendorf, Brassempouy, Mentone, Lespugue). Figure 64 portrays the mistress of animals with wings (as omnipresent), with four lions (ruling the four regions of the earth), two snakes (the two parts of the year), and an eagle (the sun). In Figure 60 the same winged goddess appears, accompanied by two wolves, two peacocks, and also a head of a bull, a swastika, and a bull's leg with a swastika (animals perhaps symbolizing seasons of the year: birds, summer; wolves, winter; the relationship to the heaven is given by the leg of the bull = constellation of Ursa).⁴⁰ A fish is designed on her skirt, and the outline of the skirt is formed by waves; consequently she is also mistress of the waters, and the fish indicates the connection with the symbols of the Babylonian-Assyrian cylinders (fish disguise). On both the right and left border of the picture there is a snake beside which are ears of grain. The whole constitutes a perfect picture of an all-encompassing divine power and fertility.

Originally the snake belonged to the same system of thinking as the fish. The word for eel in many Indo-European languages is the same as the word for snake, which is proof that the eel was considered to be a snake-fish. This conclusion is comprehensible in view of the small knowledge of anatomy at that time. Later the snake became a symbol for the sun because in the north the snake, like the sun, hibernates during the winter (the sun "hibernates" for forty days in the polar winter), and the snake moves in spirals as the sun does also in the course of a year. Thus the spiral was a symbol of the sun. Further, there is documentary proof that the Egyptian *How* snake was a symbol for the sun.⁴¹ Paralleling this are Babylonian and Hittite seals on which the snake is carved on the tree of life. The same snake, of course, may be found on the tree of knowledge referred to in the Bible. In reality the snake on the Babylonian seals symbolizes "death and birth" as an allegory of the cosmic course of the year compared with living beings. The sun wheel with its four, six, or eight spokes symbolizes also

³⁹ Holmberg, *op. cit.*

⁴⁰ W. Schultz, "Das Hakenkreuz als Grundzeichen des westsemitischen Alphabets," *Memnon, Zeitschr. f. d.*

Kunst und Kultur des alten Orients, III, 1910, pp. 176 ff.

⁴¹ O. Almgren, *Nordische Felszeichnungen als religiöse Urkunden*, Frankfurt, 1933, p. 74.

the cosmic course of the year,⁴² but this is taken from the circular movement of the sun, indicated in the Veda to the sun: "Be rolling as a wheel" (*Tilak*, III: 61, 3; cf. Montelius⁴³ who has established this as a primeval Indo-European symbol of the sun year).

Figures 58, 59, and 61 show still more Greek representations of the eighth century B.C., of the mistress of life together with birds, lions, boughs of trees, the sun wheel on posts, the swastika, and the double ax. The same birds perch very often by themselves on the tree of life (cf. *Fig. 66*), or later on Christian sarcophagi (*Figs. 26-27a-c, 43*). Frequently the tree of life was attacked by animals, and they ate its foliage. Already in Mohenjo-Daro before 3000 B.C. bulls are represented thus (*Fig. 51*—notice the sun wheel signifying the world tree). Consequently hunters protected the sacred tree from hungry animals as does the archer on the Sumerian seal (*Fig. 52*). From this it seems probable that hunting was a holy magic action, a sympathetic rite supporting the gods of life in their rule. These motifs may be traced later in the Sassanian art to hunting scenes in which kings hunt. It must be remembered that the king was the highest priest and the substitute for, the representative of, the god. Thus the Hittite kings called themselves sons of the sun or, to give a Babylonian example, the king Eannatum of Legaš about 2700 B.C. called himself the much loved husband of the goddess Innina. There existed certain rites for the festival days on which the kings were married in the temple of the goddess.

The appearance of symbolic animals in Sassanian art, such as eagles, lions, and leopards may not be explained in any other manner. In the beginning these animals were attributes of the mistress of life; then they became attributes of the substitute of the god, the king. It may be that later the symbolism was weakened and very often forgotten, but the formal tradition endured. Thus even in the Islamic woven fabrics of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the symbolism was a conscious one as Karabacek established by Arabic inscriptions. Naturally the weaver may not have had any knowledge of the symbolism at that time, but the artist who designed the patterns must have had it. Falke opposed this view because he was unaware of the old documents concerning symbolism, and he considered the representations as a mere confusion of animals (*Tiersalat*) or as a mere planless collection of game animals (*Tiersammelsurium*). He took his stand simply because he observed these things from a formalistic point of view. An example from German peasant art manifests how long traditions remain alive. In the *Edda* the world ash Yggdrasil is eaten by four stags. The illustration in Figure 147 shows peasant embroidery picturing the world ash standing in a water vessel; this corresponds to the Nordic tradition that the ash grows in a well, and moreover there are four stags depicted eating the leaves.

Much may be said in connection with the relationship of the Cretan sacred tree to lions, birds, and snakes. The relationship of the Cretan tree of life to a ship leads in two directions. On an Armenian-Persian seal there is a design of a wagon of the seventh century B.C.

⁴² S. Reuter, *Germanische Himmelskunde*, München, 1934.

⁴³ O. Montelius, "Das Sonnenrad und das christliche Kreuz," *Mannus, Zeitschr. f. Vorgesch.*, I, 1909, pp. 43 ff.

which carries a ship, and the mast of the latter is formed by a tree. This vehicle represents the "boat-chariot" (*carrus navalis*) which gave the name to the spring festival-carnival (*Fig. 101*). Of the existence of this "boat-chariot" contemporary evidence is derived from Europe.⁴⁴ This again shows the connection with the idea of the course of the year, the drama of the seasons. In the old days peoples symbolized the changing of the seasons in dramatized actions comparing the year to the life of man.⁴⁵ The carnival is the festival of the "spring sun" and of the rebirth of nature.

The other direction leads to the Nordic Bronze Age, which is contemporary with the Cretan designs. The tree also stands on a ship in the rock carvings of the second millennium in Sweden (*Figs. 97-100*). Sometimes the ship has a crew of warriors, suggesting that it represents a ceremonial rite. Almgren established the fact that the rock carvings in Sweden represent seasonal rites. The ship gives the tree of life a cosmic relationship and emphasizes the idea of its being a world tree; in other words it is a symbol of the natural cycle. The ship brings back the god of the sun and of growth.

The Sassanians took over the old Indo-European traditions of the Persians (*Figs. 5, 7*). In his famous book on silk fabrics, Falke⁴⁶ has firmly established this fact and has demonstrated further how Sassanian art was continued by Islamic art. Sassanian fabrics were sold in the West where they were modeled into Christian ritual garments. A good example of one of these fabrics, the Saint Cunebert cloth in Cologne (*Fig. 7*), has designs of mounted archers who as hunters defend the tree of life against the animals that would eat its leaves. Islamic silk manufacturers produced new motifs or patterns of the tree of life revealing a wonderful artistic re-creation of the old Indo-European, Semitic, Christian, and pagan traditions. In spite of the Islamic origin and inspiration these stuffs were almost exclusively used for liturgical garments throughout the Middle Ages. At this time the Christian tendency was toward mysticism, and it has been noted that the myth of the tree of life now became identified with the wood that formed the Cross. Thus in a certain manner the Islamic patterns correspond to Christian symbolism (*Figs. 38-41*).

Many fragments of woven fabrics were found in Egyptian tombs, and Falke has demonstrated their development from the point of view of cultural history. He described this development especially in the silk fabrics made in Antinoë, founded by Hadrian (*Figs. 117-138*). The fabrics begin in a Greek style. At a somewhat later period Greek and Egyptian motifs are intermingled; then ensues the dominance of the Sassanian style as a result of the conquest of Egypt in the year 616 A.D. by Khosrau II. After a short East Roman interregnum, 640 A.D., Egypt fell permanently under Islamic rule. Antinoë, Alexandria, and the Coptic weaving establishments of Akhnīm-Panopolis reflect the historical events in the shifting of their styles; and their skill was maintained under Islamic rule, thus explaining the sources of the motifs in Islamic silk stuffs (*Figs. 5-9, 42-50*).

⁴⁴ Lechler, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

⁴⁵ Almgren, *op. cit.*, pp. 118 ff.

⁴⁶ O. von Falke, *Kunstgeschichte der Seidenweberei*, Berlin, 1913, I.



FIG. 51

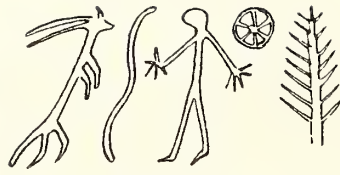


FIG. 52



FIG. 53

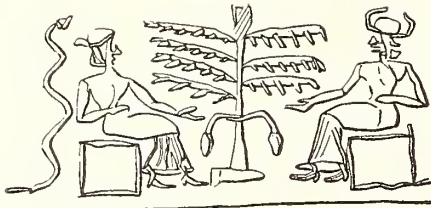


FIG. 54

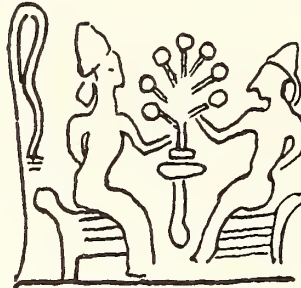


FIG. 55

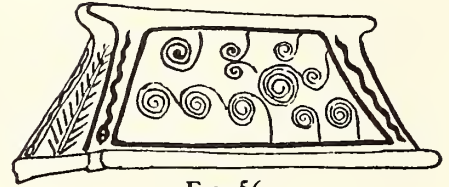


FIG. 56



FIG. 57



FIG. 58



FIG. 59



FIG. 60

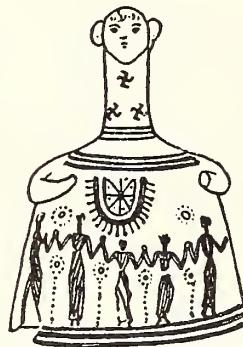


FIG. 61



FIG. 65

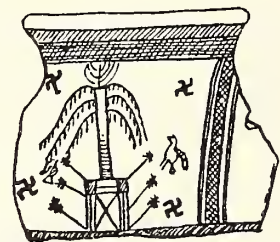


FIG. 66



FIG. 67



FIG. 68

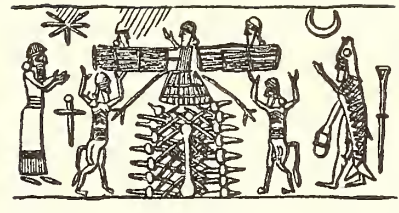


FIG. 69

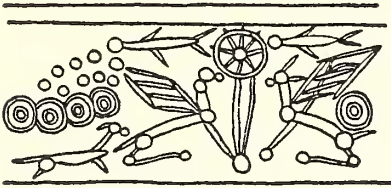


FIG. 70



FIG. 71



FIG. 72

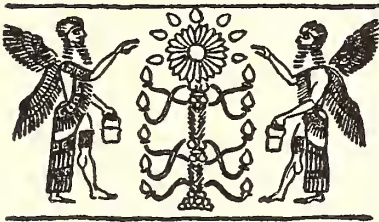


FIG. 73



FIG. 74



FIG. 75



FIG. 76

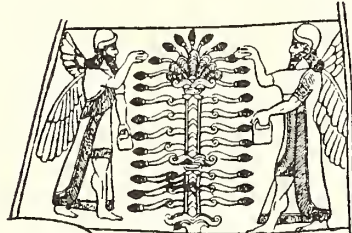


FIG. 77



FIG. 78

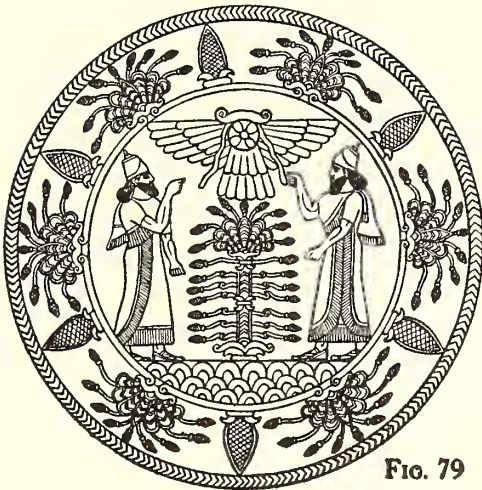


FIG. 79



FIG. 80

Falke may be correct in saying that these patterns were woven into the materials for purposes of decoration, but they were likewise symbols. They combined the decorative with the useful. Symbols brought good fortune and represented aid to the bearer and protected him and sanctified him. Figure 42, for example, is a clear proof of the symbolical value of these patterns. Falke speaks only of patterns composed of busts, lions, and dolphins. The bust, however, is that of the goddess Artemis, since her head is decorated with a crown and crescent with nine circles. The dolphins represent the fish shown in Figure 60. The palmetto is symbolical of the tree of life, indicated by its roots being identical with the root of the tree of life and by the typical position of the rampant lions. That even in this time the palmetto represented the tree of life is established by the relief of a tombstone from the Faiyum (*Fig. 43*) in the Berlin Museum. Here the sacred tree is flanked by two peacocks (cf. *Fig. 60*) and a figure of the goddess with a cross in either hand, emphasizing her significance as a bringer of life (cf. *Fig. 64*, with Assyrian palmettos). Other fabrics also testify to the existence of the old symbolic traditions in their representations of holy birds, sun geese, peacocks, horses, or zebras (*Figs. 45-48*). The trees of life are formed of palmettos flanked by two birds in a Greek-Egyptian style (*Fig. 47*). The old tradition of symbolism is clearly evident in the typical form of the root, similar to a reversed heart in its shape, which is divided into three parts because it reaches down into three springs or into three wells as does the world ash Yggdrasil.

Falke contradicts himself when he emphasizes the fact⁴⁷ that in the same workshop at the same time Christian, pagan, and secular patterns were used. Thus he mentions as a special symbolic motif the scene of the education of the god Dionysus. Opposing Karabacek he questions the possibility of pagan motifs in Egypt about 600 A.D., when all Egyptians were good Christians. In my opinion this indicates a complete misunderstanding of human superstitions and their persistence. However, Falke did not have the opportunity to use Jung's *Germanische Götter in der christlichen Kunst*, which offers plentiful material of Romanesque art illustrating the long continued existence of old pagan tradition. Jung brings, in addition to Romanesque pieces, examples of clerical art of the fifteenth century, which add further proof. As late as the thirteenth century the bishop of Fulda forbade the people, under penalty of death, to take part in pagan sacrificial rites on the mountain of Numburg.⁴⁸ This occurred in Germany, but the evidence indicates that it might well have happened also in Egypt.

In order to prove the existence of symbolism in textiles, may I offer two examples? Falke explains as being a simple decoration the so-called quadriga fabric of Brussels, seventh century A.D. (*Fig. 8*). But the technique of composition is completely identical with that of Greek vase paintings on which it is clear that the sun god Apollo is intentionally represented.⁴⁹ The similarity is so perfect that it extends to even such details as the unreal wheels. Strzygowski is correct in stating that this is a performance of Helios. The crown of seven beams speaks for

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

⁴⁸ Lechler, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

⁴⁹ Almgren, *op. cit.*, p. 344.

the sun god in the same manner as the lifting of the arms, which would be impossible for a circus driver. Both hands are lifted, and the fingers are spread like those pictured of the gods of light from neolithic times on (*Figs. 20, 121*). The two whips do not prove that this is an ungodlike driver. Even today the switching of a whip is a holy action in peasant rites, as in the beginning of spring, Easter, midsummer, and yule.⁵⁰ Chariot races, which are already pictured in the second millennium B.C. in Sweden, are a cultic rite which endured until the time of the Roman emperors.⁵¹

The purpose of the races arranged during the solstice or beginning of autumn was to select the best horse in order that it might be sacrificed to the sun god, *ob frugum eventum*, to secure a plentiful harvest. In classic Greek times on the island of Rhodes a complete quadriga was hurled into the sea as a sacrifice every year. On the quadriga fabric a sun wheel, with eight spokes to emphasize its godlike character, is added apparently as a determining factor in the same manner as on the pictures of the tree of life. The Dioscuri fabric of Maastricht, 600 A.D., should convince any skeptic (*Fig. 9*). That the warriors are really the Dioscuri is apparent from the fact that both are standing upon the top of a column or post, the old German cultic wooden post, the Irminsul, posed in the wreaths of the year and flanked by sacred trees. The double-headed Roman god Janus represents the course of the year in the same manner as the "double godhead" of the Dioscuri. In the instance of Janus the function of guiding the year is symbolized by a circle divided by diameter in two parts.⁵² The cult of the Dioscuri bloomed again, especially from 300 A.D. on in the Roman Empire, because after the disappearance of the old legionary system Germanic regiments took over the guarding of the Roman provinces and were paid in land, food, etc. Even the war office had officially the name *fuscus barbaricus* ("office of the barbarians"). Gautier has clearly pointed out these facts.⁵³

At the end of classical antiquity intellectualism had pressed back symbolic performances; but the latter broke through again with the victory of mystical Christianity (260 A.D.) and with the barbarian, consequently not the Roman, military as the main political factor. Corresponding to this there was a return in the field of economics from money economics to barter economics.

In 226 A.D. the Sassanian regime, founded by Ardashīr, began the development of Sassanian art. This art continued not only old Persian but also Mesopotamian and Assyrian traditions, as is reported by the Arab writer Maṣūdi. The Sassanian king Shāpūr II transplanted silk weavers to Persia in 360 A.D. Even in the sixth century Greek-Syrian silk weavers were brought to Persia, which after 626 A.D., definitely in 640 A.D., fell into the hands of the Arabs. Now began the tremendous increase of Islamic silk weaving, expounding the old motifs of the tree of life shown by examples in the accompanying illustrations. How stubbornly the old

⁵⁰ P. Sartori, *Sitte und Brauch*, Stuttgart, 1910-14, Vols. I-III; Bächtold-Stäubli, *Handwörterbuch des Deutschen Aberglaubens*, Leipzig, 1927.

⁵¹ H. Rosén, "Sacrifice of Horses and Horse Cult,"

Fornvännen, Stockholm, 1913; R. F. Johannsson, *ibid.*

⁵² O. Huth, *Janus*, Bonn, 1932.

⁵³ Gautier (trans. into German and ed. by Lechler) *Geiserich, König der Wandalen*, Frankfurt, 1934, p. 71.

Babylonian-Assyrian sacred tree, handed over by the Sassanians, was preserved in its formal details is demonstrated in the best manner possible by the prayer rugs, which in fact prolong the old form of asherah (*Figs. 83-85*). The prayer rugs were for each Muḥammadan an especially meaningful symbol because the point of the prayer niche on the rugs during the ceremony was pointed toward Mecca. The Sīdra in the niche reminded the praying man of the desired goal in heaven (*Figs. 1-2*).

Ward⁵⁴ offers a remarkable sample of living symbolism concerning the sacred tree. Rabbi Baba, a member of the Nestorians of Urumia, who wrote a complete dictionary of the Nestorian-Syriac dialect, told him that the seven-branched tree on the prayer rugs represents the fortune of life: the lower fruit, light green, means the ignorance of childhood; red, the stirring of blood; black, trouble, etc. Ward concludes that the sacred tree may be a tree of gifts of fortune. This conforms with the reported Hittite tree of Telebinus in Figure 53, where also appears a horn in connection with the tree. The horn was later, in Roman times, the symbol of the goddess Fortuna.

After the breakdown of the Roman Empire two factors were essential pillars in the reconstruction leading to the medieval world. As already pointed out, these factors were represented by the Christian Church and by the military caste of barbarians.

Necessarily the growth of a new system of ideas must have been affected materially by both of these elements. Only from this point of view is it possible to understand the appearance in Christian times of not only the symbols of the old Orient, but also the North European symbols with a partly transferred meaning. Even as late as 1000 A.D. there is found in Sweden during the time of its conversion to Christianity the same absorptive process of symbolism (*Figs. 22-30*).

The midsummer post, the "yule rusk" of today, is a Swedish folk custom. It is a sun wheel decorated with green shrubbery attached to the top of a post, either planted postlike or carried in processions. This custom was common to all Germanic tribes.⁵⁵ Mention may be made of the "queste" in Questenberg in the Harz Mountains (*Fig. 23*), which represents a Pentecostal custom. That the carrying around of sun disks attached to sticks is very old is demonstrated by a comparison with the Boeotian Greek figure in Figure 61. On the raiment of the goddess is pictured a cultic dance between sun disks on sticks obviously carried around before the dance began. Similar sticks with disks are used today in Germany in the same manner, at first in the procession; and later during the following folk dance they are planted in the ground, as for example every year in the festivity called *sommergewinn* ("winning of the summer"), which occurs on Laetare Sunday at Eisenach, Thuringia. It is obvious that the "queste" or midsummer post really represents the tree of life = world tree = tree of the year because the Cross of Christ clearly is designated as "queste," midsummer post or tree. Figures 24 to 30 demonstrate this development.

Thus it may be recognized that the design of Akhnim-Panopolis, Egypt, sixth century A.D.,

⁵⁴ Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

⁵⁵ Grimm, *op. cit.*; Sartori, *op. cit.*



FIG. 81

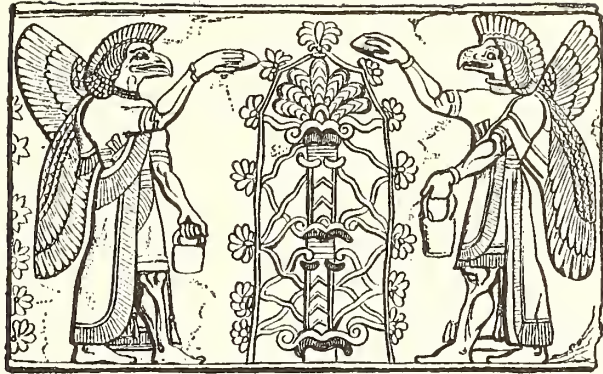


FIG. 82

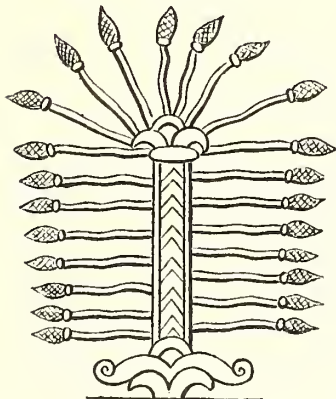


FIG. 83

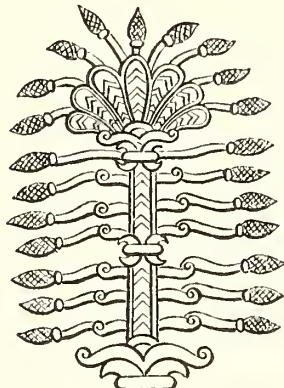


FIG. 84

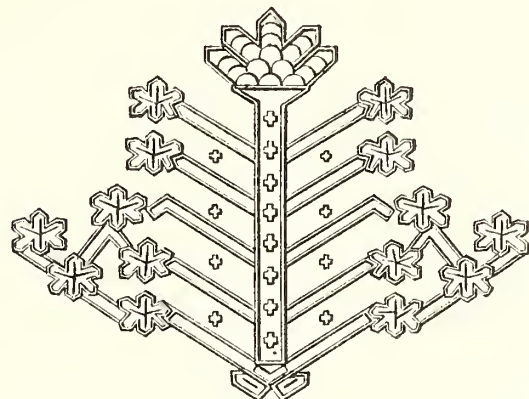


FIG. 85

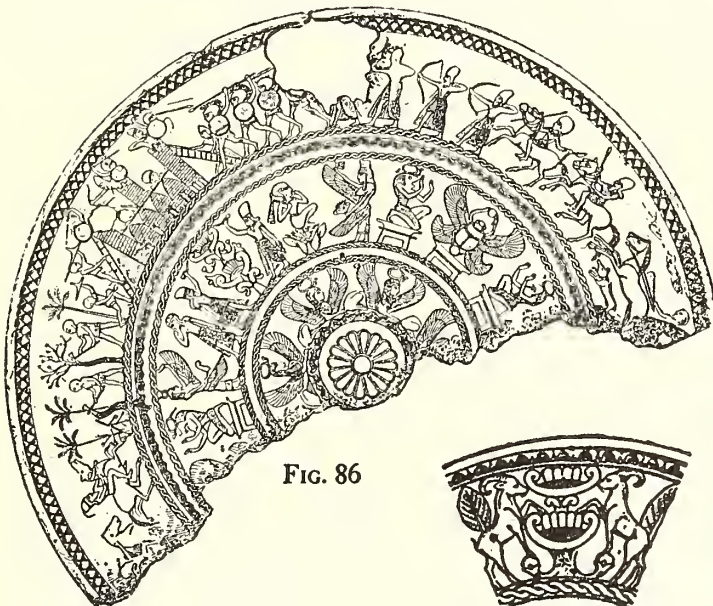


FIG. 86



FIG. 89

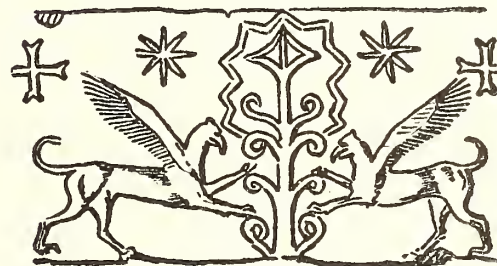


FIG. 87



FIG. 88

is a decorative but symbolic formation of the tree of life cross (*Fig. 27*). The importance of the idea of the tree of life in Christian dramatic and epic performances must not be forgotten. Such a miniature as is represented in *Figure 31* is a direct proof of the foregoing statement because the accompanying text is directly related to the legend of the wood of the Cross: "The Church offers to mankind the blooming tree of life of the cross." Only thus does it become comprehensible that Christ is pictured sitting in the top of a tree, and the Holy Mary with the Child on the "wild thorn bush" (*Figs. 10-11*).⁵⁶ This connection with the tree of life did not originate in medieval times, as is demonstrated by such a picture as *Figure 12*, showing the Holy Mary with the Child, and before them the three Magi in adoration; behind the Holy Mary stands the tree of life. Here is a thread leading back to an old Babylonian belief, as is shown in *Figure 14*, in which the mother of the gods with the godlike child Tammuz⁵⁷ sits before a sacred tree accepting libations. Similar pictures are found in Egypt, and it may be mentioned in passing that it has been supposed for many years that the Nagada-Egyptians derived from the Luvians in Asia Minor.⁵⁸

Here I may relate a personal experience of last spring (1936) in France. I was making an excursion to Meudon, near Paris. In the forest of Meudon are five dolmens of the neolithic period on the top of a mountain around a menhir. In the center of this site is also a huge old oak tree, and contemplating its wonderful top I discovered on its highest branches a figure of the Holy Mary with the Child, carved in wood. The peasants told me that when the weather has spoiled the figure they replace it with a new one, and that this is an old tradition of the place. This shows again how deeply the cult of the tree is fixed in the folk mind and feelings. Even Caesar learned this two thousand years ago when his soldiers refused to obey his command to cut down the holy oaks of the Gauls near Marseilles.⁵⁹

The church tried to divert the old pagan feeling, as may be illustrated by one example from Germany. At Lehnin near Brandenburg an old church of pilgrimage is built over the trunk of a holy oak, and the stump of the oak is directly before the altar. Charlemagne built a church of Saint Peter at Obermarsberg over the place where he had had cut down a holy oak which the Saxons called Irminsul, the column of the world.⁶⁰

The old festivity of the Merichslinde at Nordhausen shows that the cult of the tree as observed at Meudon existed also in other parts of Europe. The picture of this festivity, shown in *Wirth*,⁶¹ contains highly original features. Wreaths decorated with ribbons hang in the holy tree representing the tree of life; as in Germanic times it is a linden tree. The same decoration with wreaths is found pictured on Etruscan graves, for example, on a grave of 550 B.C.,

⁵⁶ The author wishes to express his appreciation to Mrs. Adèle C. Weibel, of the Detroit Institute of Arts, for information as to the existence of this picture and, further, for very material aid in the field of textiles.

⁵⁷ Langdon, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

⁵⁸ E. Forrer, "Stratification des Langues et des Peuples dans le Proche-Orient Préhistorique," *Journ. Asia-*

tique, 1930, pp. 242 ff.

⁵⁹ W. Mannhardt, *Der Baunkultus der Germanen*, Göttingen, 1875; W. Mannhardt, *Antike Wald und Feldkulte* (new ed.), Leipzig, 1904.

⁶⁰ Knieving, "Wo stand die von Karl zerstörte Irminsul," *Mannus, Zeitschr. f. Vorgesch.*, 1936, p. 333.

⁶¹ *Wirth, op. cit.*, Fig. 143.



FIG. 42



FIG. 43

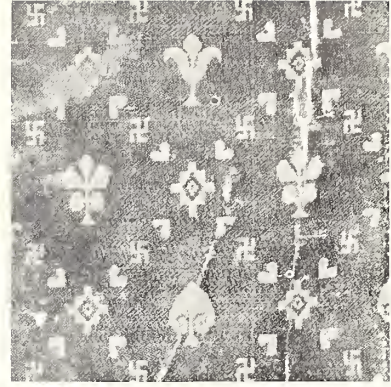


FIG. 44



FIG. 45



FIG. 46



FIG. 47



FIG. 48



FIG. 49



FIG. 50



FIG. 64



FIG. 62



FIG. 63

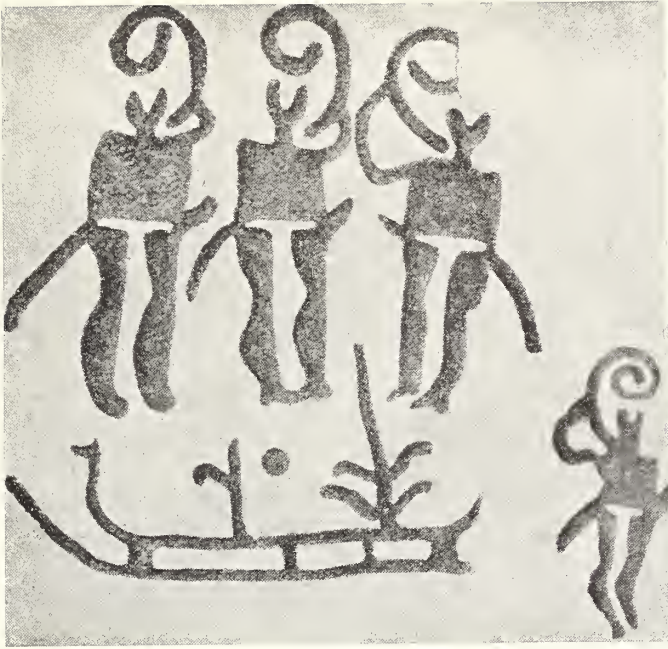


FIG. 97



FIG. 98



FIG. 100



FIG. 101

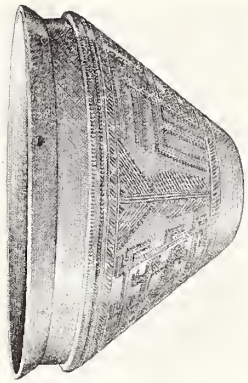


FIG. 128



FIG. 131



FIG. 134



FIG. 129



FIG. 132



FIG. 135



FIG. 130

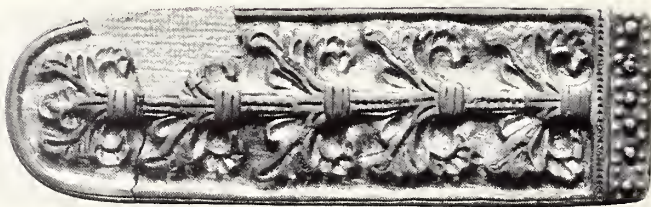


FIG. 133

Tomba della Caccia e Pesca near Corneto with designs of carnival festivity, or on the Tomba dei Vasi Dipini with dancers before trees with wreaths. Besides the wreaths the Merichslinde is decorated with shining globes arranged in a circle which corresponds to the old symbol of the sun wheel with spokes, indicating the sun god or year. The hut made of bent twigs in which the "Mother Earth" sits may also be observed in this picture. Here it may be permissible to suggest that this is the old Indo-European fantasy, since this hut of bent twigs occurs in the folk customs of all Europe, and the same thing is found on several old Babylonian-Assyrian seals on which the god sits on a twig hut designed like a niche. A comparison with seals of this kind⁶² indicates why the Assyrian tree of life often shows a very peculiar arrangement of an arch and a surface covered with a sort of wickerwork. These observations will be a proof for the fact that the Assyrian asherah is the sacred tree that symbolizes the course of the year. This may not be surprising. By studying various symbols it may be learned that they have a constant tradition from the Stone Ages to the Middle Ages; for example, the sun wheel, the swastika, the tree of life, the fish, the cross, the so-called anchor, the ship, the ship chariot, the ax, the spiral, and the labyrinth, to mention only those symbols referred to in this paper, continually reoccur.

Thus it may be surmised that the Islamic mihrāb is derived from the twig arch or hut. This idea would conform with what has already been said concerning the framework around the Assyrian asherah.

DESCRIPTIONS OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. 1.—Anatolian prayer rug, Asia Minor. A common example from the middle of the nineteenth century. The form of the tree of life is still recognizable. (W. Grote-Hasenbalg, *Meisterstücke orientalischer Knüpfkunst*, Berlin, 1921, Pl. 7 [5].)

Fig. 2.—Mihrāb of *Djāmi' al-Khāṣakī*, ninth century, Omayyad. In the niche a palmetto trunk forms a tree of life in the shape of a palm tree. The trunk is carved and depicts a world column on a water vessel. The capital of the column supports another water vessel. The vessels symbolize the water of life. (F. Sarre, *Archaeologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebeit*, Berlin, 1911, III, Pl. XLV.)

Fig. 3.—Sorceress textile in Vich, Spain, made in Sicily after 1150 A.D. The tree of life, similar to the Assyrian asherah (*Figs. 83-84*), is in an arch flanked by two peacocks. This composition, already noted in Early Christian reliefs, was later developed into patterns as in Figure 39, where the tree is transformed into the tail of the peacock. (O. von Falke, *Kunstgeschichte der Seidenweberei*, Berlin, 1913, I, Fig. 209.)

Fig. 4.—Carved wood *Ḳur'ān* stand, dated 1360 A.D. In a niche the tree of life is represented as a cypress. (M. S. Dimand, *A Handbook of Mohammedan Decorative Arts*, New York, 1930, Fig. 41.)

Figs. 5-6.—Sassanian silk fabric made before 640 A.D. The Sassanian king Yazdegerd, personified with Ahuramazda, is shown in connection with mythological Zoroastrian elements based on ancient Persian tradition. He struggles against Ahriman, his enemy, and in doing so

⁶² Ward, *op. cit.*, Figs. 399-400.



FIG. 90



FIG. 91



FIG. 92



FIG. 93



FIG. 94

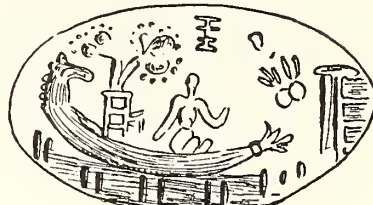


FIG. 95

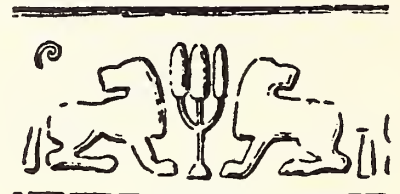


FIG. 96



FIG. 99

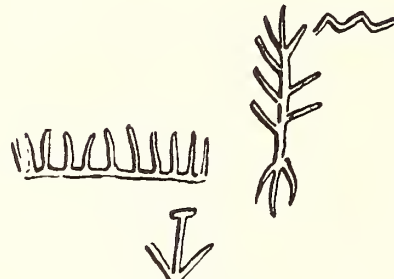


FIG. 102



FIG. 103

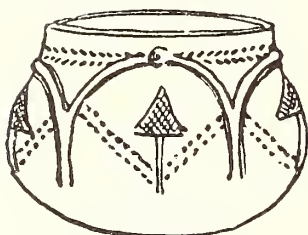


FIG. 104

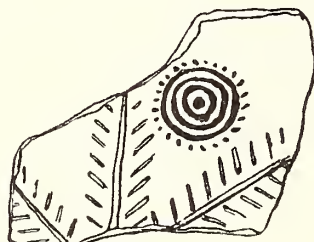


FIG. 105



FIG. 106



FIG. 107



FIG. 108



FIG. 109

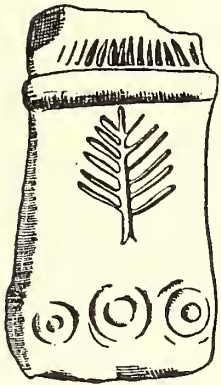


FIG. 110

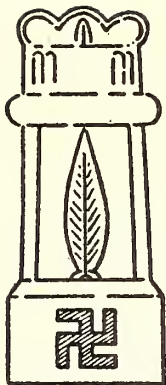


FIG. 111



FIG. 112



FIG. 113

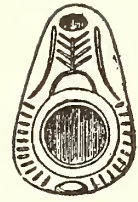


FIG. 114



FIG. 115



FIG. 116



FIG. 117



FIG. 118

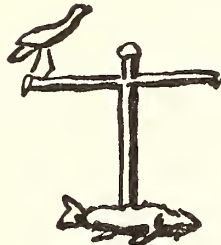


FIG. 119

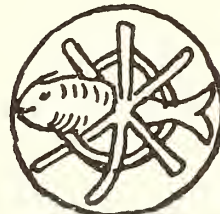


FIG. 120

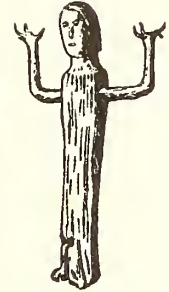


FIG. 121

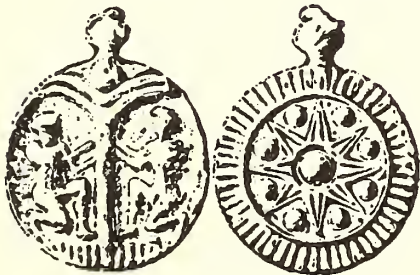


FIG. 122

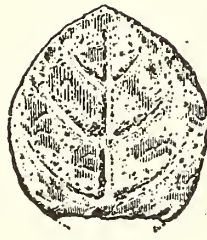


FIG. 123



FIG. 124



FIG. 125



FIG. 126



FIG. 127

protects the tree of life. The Babylonian hero Gilgamesh has a similar mythological background. Ahuramazda is in the tree blessing the fighter; in Figure 6 he is represented as a bird. (Cf. *Figs. 14-15, 33-34, 143-144*; von Falke, *op. cit.*, *Figs. 105-106.*)

Fig. 7.—Sassanian stuff from the shrine of Saint Cunebert, Cologne, 600 A.D. Archer protecting the tree of life.

Fig. 8.—Quadriga stuff in Brussels, seventh century, Alexandria, Egypt. Apollo with a crown of seven beams stands in his chariot. Connecting the wreaths are ornamentally designed sun wheels with eight "plant-spokes"; in the space between them is a chariot with two horses. The wagon of the moon is symbolized by the crescent tiara. (*Ibid.*, I, Fig. 74.)

Fig. 9.—The Dioscuri stuff in Maastricht, Netherlands, seventh century, Alexandria, Egypt. In the circle of the year, symbolized by a wreath, stand the Dioscuri. The sun wheel has four ornamental spokes. In the space between the wreaths is a tree ("tree of the year"). Under the column, the world pillar, two bulls are being led to sacrifice. (*Ibid.*, I, Fig. 77.)

Fig. 10.—The Son of God in a tree, Thaulow Museum, Kiel. From a carved wood high altar by Hans Brueggemann, 1540 A.D. Christ as the new tree of life. (H. Wirth, *Die Heilige Urschrift der Menschheit*, Leipzig, 1931-35, Pl. 157.)

Fig. 11.—The Holy Mary with the Child, by Nicolas Froment, 1475, Aix Cathedral, France. *Le Buisson ardent* ("the burning thorn bush") is an ecclesiastical interpretation of the idea of the tree of life. Behind the Holy Mary and bush are flaming rays. Note that the bush stands on a hilltop, the world mountain. (Cf. *Figs. 36, 24 ff.*; L. Brehier, *L'Art chrétien*, Paris, 1928, p. 376, Pl. XII.)

Fig. 12.—Old Christian gem. The adoration of the Magi. The Holy Mary sitting with the Child before the tree of life. (Wirth, *op. cit.*, Pl. 145, Fig. 8.)

Fig. 13.—The Babylonian goddess with the child before the sacred tree. Similar to the Egyptian pictures of Isis with the child Horus. There is also a series of seal carvings from Babylonia with the mother goddess and the godlike child Tammuz. In the Near East the cult of the mother goddess flourished until Christian times. This idea is a common Indo-European one, and the Christian belief is only a transformed continuation of this old religious complex. (W. H. Ward, *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, Washington, 1910, Fig. 404.)

Fig. 14.—A miniature from the Psalter of Landgraf Hermann of Thuringia, 1217 A.D. Behind the head of Abraham, with Lazarus on his lap, is a halo from which grows a symbolic tree of life or world tree. It is designed in the style of a heraldic lily; in the lower leaves to the right is the sun, to the left the moon. On the upper leaves over three oaklike leaves are three heads which certainly represent the Holy Trinity. Thus this tree is only a continuation of the old Irminsul, the world-pillar-tree. (H. Swarzenski, *Vorgotische Miniaturen*, Leipzig, 1927, Fig. 75.)

Fig. 15.—Christ in the tree of life on an Early Christian gem, Staatliche Museen, Berlin. Christ as a lamb in a circle, sun wheel, with his monogram XP, which is only a Christian interpretation of the six spokes of the old sun wheel, as Montelius pointed out. Under the tree top fly two birds; the trunk is flanked by two animals. The tree stands on pyramid-like steps.

Fig. 16.—A relief from San Marco, Venice, seventh century. On an altar over the cross (T = stauros and on the top of it the Latin cross) is, in a sun ring or wheel, Christ symbolized as a lamb. On both sides of the altar the twelve Apostles as lambs are flanked by palmlike trees of life, each between two stylized mountains (cf. *Fig. 126*).

Fig. 17.—A processional cross, ca. 1200 A.D., Denmark. The cross, formed as the ancient holy sun wheel with four spokes, is interpreted as the new tree of life. Evidence of this is given by the branches with leaves and blossoms. On these boughs are the symbols of the four evangelists. Already in Ezek. 1:10 the same animals are described as a vision. These processional crosses were very commonly used in Christian rites; best examples of them are in the possession of the cathedral of Hildesheim. Here the sectors of the sun wheel are also filled with ornaments of leaves. (O. Montelius, *Die älteren Kulturperioden*, Stockholm, 1907, Fig. 1140.)

Fig. 18.—An Assyrian altar, 900 B.C. Men, with helmets decorated with sun wheels, carry sticks surmounted by sun wheels with four and eight spokes. In the midst stands the adoring king. The Christian processional crosses are to be traced back to these ancient, pre-Christian, Indo-European rites. In Sweden sun wheels of baked clay were used as processional crosses in the Neolithic age before 2000 B.C. (*Ibid.*, Fig. 1300.)

Fig. 19.—Saint Godehard Church, Hildesheim, Germany, twelfth century. This Romanesque capital shows the tree of life between two eating animals flanked by figures in the position of imparting a blessing.

Fig. 20.—The Resurrection of Christ on a Romanesque tympanum, 1200 A.D., Elstertrebnitz, Germany. Christ in the typical hand position comes out of a step pyramid on the top of which is an arched niche (the grave). On the left is the lily-like tree of life; on the right, Christ on the Cross. This is flanked by two worshipers; one of them has a lily, the plant of life, in his hand; behind him is the pentagram as a wheel. Over the head of Christ and also behind his head soars a sun wheel with four spokes; in the right corner is the Holy Bird.

Fig. 21.—A relief of the thirteenth century, Cathedral of Trier. This tree symbolizes the tree of life as the tree of the cosmic year (death and life) or Irminsul, column of universality. On the left, human heads with wings; on the right, skulls. On the left, fresh leaves; on the right, withering leaves. (*Ibid.*, Fig. 1270.)

Fig. 22.—Swedish "yule rusk," midsummer custom. The sun wheel on a stick with green shrubbery representing the course of the year.

Fig. 23.—The "queste" on the top of a mountain, Questenberg, Germany. The tree of life symbolized by wreaths forming a sun wheel.

Fig. 24.—A runic gravestone in Gotland, Sweden, fifteenth century. The cross formed as a sun wheel with five swastikas. The leaves show that the same idea is depicted in Figure 23. The cross is identified with the tree of life, tree of the world, "queste." The cross stands on a hill with steps. (G. Lechler, "Kreuz Hakenkreuz Irminsul," *Mannus, Zeitschrift für Vorgeschichte*, XXVII, 1935, Fig. 31.)

Fig. 25.—Runic gravestone in Gotland, Sweden, 1449 A.D. The cross as a sun wheel, on

the ends of the spokes stylized sprouts indicating the cross as the world tree. The cross stands on a stepped mountain. (*Ibid.*, Fig. 29.)

Fig. 26.—The cross as the tree of the year on a sarcophagus, sixth century, Lateran Museum, Rome. The Latin cross, with two birds on the horizontal beam, is crowned with a sun wheel, the spokes of which are transformed into Christ's monogram, XP. The circle is composed of wreaths.

Fig. 27.—The cross as the tree of life. A design of a silk fabric by Zacharias of Akhnim-Panopolis, Egypt, sixth century. The leaves are made of palmettos; the eight spokes of the sun wheel or wreaths of the year are also formed like plants. The trunk of the cross-tree is decorated with hearts. Under the cross two figures carrying sticks with leaves. (von Falke, *op. cit.*, Fig. 61.)

Fig. 27*a*.—A sarcophagus, Saint Apollinare in Classe, Ravenna, fifth century. The cross flanked by two trees of life with pigeons, and flanked also by cross rosettes.

Figs. 27*b*, *c*.—A sarcophagus of Saint Rinaldo, fifth century, Cathedral, Ravenna. The sun wheel with six spokes, interpreted as XP, and with inscribed A Θ , is accompanied by pigeons and an ornamental tree of life, a vine stem. Two lambs flank the cross, identified by a loop with the monogram of Christ, XP. The tree of life is represented, according to Gen. 9: 20, by a vine stem growing from a water vessel.

Fig. 28.—Swedish gravestone, fourteenth century. The cross as the tree of life. On a hill stands the Greek cross crowning a trunk with three leaves (trinity). (O. Montelius, "Das Sonnenrad und das christliche Kreuz," *Mannus, Zeitschrift für Vorgeschichte*, I, 1909, Fig. 67.)

Fig. 29.—Swedish gravestone, fourteenth century. The cross is formed out of stylized branches. Thus the cross represents the tree of life. (*Ibid.*, Fig. 69.)

Fig. 30.—Swedish gravestone, 1316 A.D. The cross as a symbolic tree. The branches form hearts. The heart is a Christian symbol for the love of the Lord. In the crossing point of the beams is a swastika. Three crosses on the top of the tree represent the Holy Trinity. (*Ibid.*, Fig. 70.)

Fig. 31.—Miniature from the "Praise of the Holy Cross," Regensburg, twelfth century. The cross as the blooming tree of life. The text reads: "The Church offers to mankind the blooming tree of life of the cross." (Swarzenski, *op. cit.*, Fig. 59.)

Fig. 32.—Illustration from the Egyptian *Book of the Dead*, chap. 64. The sun on the top of the tree of life, to which a dead man is praying.

Fig. 33.—Illustration from the Egyptian *Book of the Dead*, chap. 63*a*. The tree of the mother goddess Isis giving the water of life to the soul. The tree is growing out of the depth of the water symbolized by the ideogram: "water in the square."

Fig. 34*a*.—Osiris hidden in his pillar. The pillar represents the heavenly tree, the world tree. (M. Mueller, *Mythology of All Races, Egyptian*, Boston, 1928, XII, Fig. 83.)

Fig. 34*b*.—Osiris in the celestial tree, National Museum, Cairo. The tree between two obelisks (cf. Fig. 126) representing time. (*Ibid.*, Fig. 84.)

Fig. 34c.—The cat god killing the serpent at the foot of the heavenly tree. (*Ibid.*, Fig. 104.)

Fig. 35.—A wall painting of the nineteenth dynasty (1400–70 B.C.). The mother goddess sitting in the top of the sacred tree giving the water of life. The tree stands on a mountain top (cf. *Figs. 24–30*), the inside of which is filled with “the water of the depth.” (Wirth, *op. cit.*, Pl. 165, Fig. 5.)

Figs. 36–37.—Egyptian pillars with lotus capitals, Figure 37—Old Kingdom; Figure 36—New Kingdom. Symbolizing in this manner the world pillar or world tree, the holy tree of Nut or Hathor who has the surname “mistress of the holy tree”; she corresponds with Isis the all-mother (Montelius, *Die älteren Kulturperioden*, Figs. 356, 354.)

Fig. 38.—Persian silk fabric of the twelfth century (according to Koechlin and Migeon), Musée des Arts décoratifs, Paris. A stylized tree of life is flanked by double-headed eagles soaring over lions. The Arabic inscription reads: “Let us praise the Lord.” According to Falke this fabric is Hispano-Moresque or Siculo-Arab. These motifs were taken over and imitated by the Lucca manufacturers in Italy of the thirteenth century, where the symbolism became formalized. (von Falke, *op. cit.*, I, Fig. 202.)

Fig. 39.—Hispano-Moresque silk textile, twelfth century, Saint Severin, Toulouse, France. Peacocks flanking a lance-shaped tree of life. Wonderful deep red and light green patterns alternate. The birds and the springing or standing animals as well as the peacocks and tree of life reflect a Sassanian tradition. (*Ibid.*, I, Fig. 205.)

Fig. 40.—A copy of Islamic motifs, Lucca, thirteenth century. The tree of life between griffins and hinds obviously copied from a textile of Hispano-Moresque origin. (*Ibid.*, II, Fig. 276.)

Fig. 41.—A late Hispano-Moresque silk fabric, fifteenth century, Musée de Cluny, Paris. The tree of life as the world pillar flanked by two lions with crowns. Religious motifs changed into worldly symbols of power. (*Ibid.*, I, Fig. 171.)

Fig. 42.—A silk fabric from Antinoë, sixth century A.D., Musée de Lyons. Artemis with a crescent over her head is depicted within a palmetto, decorated with dolphins. Below are two lions. (*Ibid.*, I, Fig. 40.)

Fig. 43.—A gravestone from the Faiyum, Egypt, Staatliche Museen, Berlin. Mother goddess with palmetto tree of life, two crosses, and two peacocks.

Fig. 44.—A silk fabric from Antinoë, fifth century, Staatliche Museen, Berlin. Three different kinds of trees are surrounded by crosses with four points, eight spokes, swastikas, and hearts. (*Ibid.*, I, Fig. 32.)

Fig. 45.—Antinoë textile, sixth century, Staatliche Museen, Berlin. Two horses (zebras) in a circle before the sun hearts, and the tree of life in the form of a plant ornament (cf. *Fig. 49*). (*Ibid.*, I, Fig. 44.)

Fig. 46.—Antinoë textile, sixth century, Aachen Museum. Peacocks before a sun disk with a lily above, flanked by pillars, the tree of life, world column. (*Ibid.*, I, Fig. 43.)

Fig. 47.—Antinoë textile, sixth century, Staatliche Museen, Berlin. The tree of life flanked by two birds (holy ibis). (*Ibid.*, I, Fig. 45.)

Fig. 48.—Antinoë textile, late Greek style, fifth century, Sens Cathedral, France. Pattern with rosettes in addition to griffins and ducks flanking the tree of life. (*Ibid.*, I, Fig. 55.)

Fig. 49.—Fabrics by Zacharias, Akhnim-Panopolis, Egypt. Coptic, sixth century. The tree of life in a circle. (*Ibid.*, I, Fig. 59.)

Fig. 50.—A silk textile from Alexandria, sixth century, Maastricht. In a circle the Dioscuri as archers. On the bottom are lions; on the top, the tree of life. (*Ibid.*, I, Fig. 73.)

Fig. 51.—A seal from Mohenjo-Daro, India, 3000 B.C. The tree of life with two bulls or bull-headed snakes, eating; on the right, the symbol of the year (sun wheel with six spokes); in the midst, a pillar; on the left, a fish. (J. Marshall, *Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization*, London, 1931, III, Fig. 387.)

Fig. 52.—A seal found in Susa, Persia, lowest stratum, third millennium. A figure attacking a springing antelope before a tree of life with a sun wheel of six spokes. (G. Wilke, *Kulturbeziehungen zwischen Indien Orient und Europa*, Leipzig, 1913, Fig. 144d.)

Fig. 53.—Seal, hoard of Courion, Cyprus. A sacred tree from which goats are eating. Beside the tree are sun and crescent, horn and cross. (*Ibid.*, Fig. 144e.)

Fig. 54.—The "temptation," Babylonian seal. A man and woman sitting beside the tree of life; the snake behind the woman. (Ward, *op. cit.*, Fig. 386.)

Fig. 55.—Late Hittite seal. Man and woman before the tree of life, with seven branches, standing on a pillar, indicating the world tree. Behind the woman is the snake. (Wirth, *op. cit.*, Pl. 173, Fig. 5.)

Fig. 56.—The lid of a sarcophagus, Crete, ninth century. Snakes flanking the tree of life. Spirals. (Wilke, *op. cit.*, Fig. 126e.)

Fig. 57.—From a decoration on a bowl, Susa, late period. The tree of life and the serpent, flanked by sun and moon. (S. Langdon, *Mythology of All Races*, Boston, 1931, V, Fig. 68.)

Fig. 58.—Boeotian clay figure, 700 B.C. The Greek mistress of life with tree symbols, geese, comb (holy symbol), sun whirls, swastika, and double ax (on the back). (G. Lechler, *Vom Hakenkreuz die Geschichte eines Symbols*, Leipzig, 1920, Fig. 44, 2.)

Fig. 59.—Vase painting, Thera, Greece, eighth century B.C. Mistress of life accompanied by a lion. Swastika, sun disks, and cross with four circles. (*Ibid.*, Fig. 45, 10.)

Fig. 60.—A vase painting, Theben, Boeotian, eighth century B.C. Mistress of life with a fish on her lap. A perfect representation of her omnipotence (see text). (*Ibid.*, Fig. 45, 11.)

Fig. 61.—A clay figure of the mistress of life, Boeotian, eighth century B.C., with swastika and eight spokes. On her skirt a cultic dance between sticks surmounted by sun disks. (*Ibid.*, Fig. 44, 4.)

Figs. 62–63.—Seals, Staatliche Museen, Berlin. Persian mistress of life. Tree of life, snake, subdued animals, and sphinxes. (von Falke, *op. cit.*, Figs. 131, 132.)

Fig. 64.—Etruscan mistress of life, seventh century B.C., with four lions, four snakes,

two hares, and an eagle standing on the tree of life. (R. Forrer, *Urgeschichte des Europäers*, Stuttgart, 1908, Pl. 155.)

Fig. 65.—Vase painting, Greece, seventh century B.C. The tree of life between two mountains or obelisks (cf. *Fig. 34b*) flanked by two geese. Sun disks, sun wheel, and swastika. (Lechler, *op. cit.*, Fig. 46, 22.)

Fig. 66.—Altar with the tree of life, birds, and swastika. Cyprus, seventh century B.C. (*Ibid.*, Fig. 48, 4.)

Fig. 67.—Syro-Hittite seal. The tree with two fish and winged genii. (Ward, *op. cit.*, Fig. 960.)

Fig. 68.—Assyrian seal. The god Ashur in the winged sun soaring over the world tree, a column on the top of which a branching tree is embowered by an arch of wickerwork. Two priests of Ea or Ea himself in a fish disguise. Behind a worshiper Marduk kills an ostrich under a star with light spokes. (*Ibid.*, Fig. 681.)

Fig. 69.—Assyrian seal. Trinity in winged sun, with hands or three-pointed rays, sun star (*ilu*), moon, cross, priest of Ea in a fish disguise, a worshiper. (*Ibid.*, Fig. 682.)

Fig. 70.—Syro-Hittite seal. An asherah, a trunk supporting a sun wheel with eight spokes, the tree of the year. Two fish, two griffins, five sun disks, and seven stars (Pleiades). (*Ibid.*, Fig. 991.)

Fig. 71.—Late Assyrian seal. The sacred tree with the winged sun and fish; on the left, the mother goddess; on the right, the god with the ax, Pleiades, moon, and worshiper. (*Ibid.*, Fig. 680.)

Fig. 72.—Bronze bowl from the palace of Nimrud (1100 B.C.) The world pillar supports a sun (disk with uraeus snakes) flanked by two worshipers and sphinxes. The world pillar stands under nine globes supporting waves. The arch above rests on two pillars. In the middle the sun with uraeus snakes over the arch; the winged sun and uraeus snakes flanked by rows of swans. This "world system" is flanked by two columns with winged scarabs, with the sun and uraeus snakes, which are not shown. The motif is repeated four times; a rosette encircles the middle part (the sun with concentric circles of palmettos). (Montelius, *op. cit.*, Fig. 1004.)

Fig. 73.—Assyrian seal. The tree of life, its top with the sun as world pillar; two winged genii with buckets. (Ward, *op. cit.*, Fig. 693.)

Fig. 74.—Assyrian seal. The god Ashur as a winged sun carried by two genii who bear in their hands three-pointed twigs corresponding to the three-pointed beams of the winged sun; the moon and an eye. The world pillar with the sun, the rays of which are poppy stalks. (*Ibid.*, Fig. 696.)

Fig. 75.—Assyrian seal. The god Ashur in the winged sun over the asherah, a pillar bearing a palmetto, surrounded by a circle of rays. The beams (streams of the water of life) coming from the winged sun reach the buckets of the genii who wear cross-decorated helmets. Bird. (*Ibid.*, Fig. 692.)

Fig. 76.—Assyrian seal. Two bull men bear the winged disk with the god Ashur. (*Ibid.*, Fig. 685.)

Fig. 77.—Embroidery from a raiment, Nimrud, 1100 B.C. Two winged genii with buckets for the asherah. (W. Schultz, *Zeitrechnung und Weltordnung mit ihren übereinstimmenden Grundzügen bei den Indern Iranern . . .*, Leipzig, 1924, Fig. 60.)

Fig. 78.—Marduk fights with the dragon. Beside the mountain, from which Marduk is emerging, stands the world pillar with the tree of life, on the top of which sits an adoring monkey; beside the pillar is an antelope. (Ward, *op. cit.*, Fig. 571.)

Fig. 79.—Embroidery from the garment of Assurnazirpal. See text. (*Ibid.*, Fig. 670.)

Fig. 80.—Assyrian seal. Two bull-men beside the sacred tree; on the right a sun wheel, the spokes of which are formed by four figures with plants of life. Thus the sacred tree is indicated as the world tree of the year. (*Ibid.*, Fig. 706.)

Figs. 81–82.—Assyrian reliefs from Nimrud. Asherahs in a kind of network, a bower flanked by genii with eagle heads. (J. Karabacek, *Die Persische Nadelmalerei Susanschird*, Leipzig, 1881, p. 152.)

Figs. 83–84.—Assyrian reliefs. Asherahs more treelike, but trunks similar to columns. (*Ibid.*, p. 153.)

Fig. 85.—From a Kurdistan rug. The form of the tree of life shows clearly that it is a deviation from Figures 83–84. (*Ibid.*, p. 154.)

Fig. 86.—Silver bowl of Amanthus, Cyprus. Egyptian-Cyprian style. In the middle, the birth of Horus from a lotus flower; on the right, a winged goddess with lotus flowers in her hand; on the left, the tree of the world as a pillar with palmettos, flanked by priests with crosses in their hands. (Forrer, *op. cit.*, Fig. 322.)

Fig. 87.—Assyrian seal. The tree of life stylized by degenerated lotus-palmettos (see *Figs. 86 and 89*) flanked by two griffins, two crosses, and two sun ideograms, *ilu* ("god"). (Ward, *op. cit.*, Fig. 700.)

Fig. 88.—Greek vase, 1300 B.C., British Museum, London. Two sphinxes beside the tree of life.

Fig. 89.—Silver bowl of Courion, Cyprus. Two gods flanking the world tree formed by lotus palmettos. (Montelius, *op. cit.*, Fig. 382.)

Fig. 90.—Seal, hoard of Courion, Cyprus. The sacred tree adored by a man. (Wilke, *op. cit.*, Fig. 160e.)

Fig. 91.—Minoan gem. Woman before an altar bearing a three-branched tree. The moon is under the altar. (*Ibid.*, Fig. 160b.)

Fig. 92.—Mycenaean gem of Vaphio. Two horsemen (priests in horse disguise?) libating over a tree which stands on a pillar-like altar. (*Ibid.*, Fig. 160c.)

Fig. 93.—World pillar with altar flanked by two griffins. Crete, fifteenth century B.C. (Montelius, *op. cit.*, Fig. 1214.)

Fig. 94.—Plate of the gold ring from Mycenae, sixteenth century B.C. Woman and man praying; in the middle is a dancing woman; on the right, on an altar or in an enclosure, the tree of life. (Wilke, *op. cit.*, Fig. 160d.)

Fig. 95.—Minoan ring of Mochlos. Ship with a sacred tree and the mother goddess. (*Ibid.*, Fig. 160e.)

Fig. 96.—Seal of the third millennium B.C., Susa. Lions flanking the trifurcated tree of life. (Montelius, *op. cit.*, Fig. 1211.)

Fig. 97.—Rock carving, Bronze Age, 1200 B.C., Kalleby, Sweden. Cultic rite: four lure players beside a ship with a sacred tree, disk, and post with one hook. (G. Lechler, *5000 Jahre Deutschland*, Leipzig, 1936, Fig. 264.)

Fig. 98.—Germanic rock carving of Solberg, Norway, fifteenth century B.C. A tree with ships, sun disk, and wheel (on the right) of Mercurago type. (*Ibid.*, Fig. 286.)

Fig. 99.—Germanic rock carving of Lockeberg, Sweden, before 1000 B.C. A ship carrying a pine tree, another smaller tree, and two sun disks. A smaller ship at the bottom carries a cross. (Wirth, *op. cit.*, Pl. 160B, 4.)

Fig. 100.—Germanic rock carving of Kalleby, Sweden, second millennium B.C. Cultic rite of a marriage in a ship under the sacred tree. The couple are accompanied by a band of trumpet players (cf. *Fig. 97*). (Lechler, *op. cit.*, Fig. 333.)

Fig. 101.—Armenian-Persian seal with carnival picture, 700 B.C. A ship chariot with a tree as a mast. Behind the ship is a worshiper, and before it an eight-pointed sun, *ilu*. (*Ibid.*, Fig. 315.)

Fig. 102.—Carving of Maglemose culture, Herring, Denmark, sixth millennium B.C. A ship, sacred tree, snake, and "anchor." (Wirth, *op. cit.*, Pl. 160B, 2.)

Fig. 103.—Vessel of neolithic Danubian culture, South of Russia, 3000 B.C. A sacred tree with concentric circles on the left and sun star with six spokes on the right; on both sides are three points. (*Ibid.*, Pl. 140, 2.)

Fig. 104.—Danubian pottery, third millennium B.C., Spessart, Germany. A tree in an arch. (Wilke, *op. cit.*, Fig. 162a.)

Fig. 105.—A tree with three branches and a sun symbol, Troy, about 2000 B.C. (*Ibid.*, Fig. 29c.)

Fig. 106.—A tree from a clay drum, Quenstedt, Thuringia, Germany, third millennium B.C. (P. Grimm, "Eine Miniaturtrommel aus einem Huegelgrabe bei Quenstedt," *Jahresschr. f. d. Vorgesch. der sächsisch thüringischen Länder*, XXIV, 1936, p. 102, Fig. 3.)

Fig. 107.—A potsherd, trifurcated tree, Danubian culture, third millennium B.C., Grossgartach, Germany. (Wilke, *op. cit.*, Fig. 162b.)

Fig. 108.—A potsherd, tree with sun symbol, Anau, third stratum. (*Ibid.*, Fig. 162f.)

Fig. 109.—Assyrian seal. A sacred tree with three branches (cf. *Figs. 107, 91*), flanked by two birds and bulls, over the tree an eagle biting the horn of the right bull. On the left a tree trunk (asherah) with fruits directed to the four points of the compass. (Ward, *op. cit.*, Fig. 676.)

Fig. 110.—Celtic altar of Roman time found at Comminges, Museum, Toulouse. The sacred tree accompanied by three sun circles representing the course of the year. (Wirth, *op. cit.*, Fig. 146, 5.)

Fig. 111.—Celtic altar, Museum, Toulouse. The sacred tree is obviously a cypress with the swastika representing the course of the sun. (Lechler, *Vom Hakenkreuz die Geschichte eines Symbols*, Fig. 52, 10.)

Figs. 112–114.—Early Christian, symbolic grave lamps, found in Gezer, Palestine. Fig. 112. The tree of life with six points. Fig. 113. The tree of life in the form of a cross. Fig. 114. The tree of life on a hill. The lamplight forms the top of the tree of life. (R. A. R. Macalister, *Excavation of Gezer*, London, 1912, I–III.)

Fig. 115.—A Christian door stone, Tell el Akkāsēh, Transjordan. The sun wheel with four spokes is identified with the world tree. On the left and right a sun wheel cross. (Wirth, *op. cit.*, Fig. 141, 9.)

Figs. 116–118.—Seals. The cuneiform ideogram $\ddot{\text{c}}$, *ilu*, identical with the sun wheel, as determinative of the sacred tree, indicating it as the world tree or the tree of the year (cf. *Figs. 67–80*). Fig. 116. Palestine, Tell es Safi, pre-Israelite. Fig. 117. Sumerian, Babylonian, Assyrian. Fig. 118. Pre-Elamitic, Susa. (Wirth, *op. cit.*, Fig. 145, 4.)

Fig. 119.—Early Christian gem, British Museum, London. The cross with a pigeon over a fish. The cross is identified with the tree of life, thus connected with the fish as on Assyrian seals (*Figs. 67–71*). Early Christian, carnelian, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. (*Ibid.*, Fig. 360, 9.)

Fig. 120.—The fish in the sun wheel. The old Indo-European fish symbol is given a new interpretation by Christian symbolism. The sun wheel is the year, the fish is Christ, the ruler of the year, of the world. The Greek word for fish is *ichthys*, interpreted as: *Iēsous CHristos THEou HYios Sōtēr* (“Jesus Christ, son of God, Saviour”). (*Ibid.*, p. 400.)

Fig. 121.—Old Germanic Irminsul post, 50 B.C. The top is carved like a face (for arm position compare *Figs. 8, 20, 43, 90*). (Lechler, *5000 Jahre Deutschland*, Fig. 520.)

Fig. 122.—Votive gift at the foundation of Šušinak temple, Susa, after 2450 B.C. On one side, the world pillar adored by two worshipers; on the other side, a sun wheel with a star of eight spokes. (Montelius, *Die alteren Kulturperioden*, Fig. 841.)

Fig. 123.—Votive gift, Šušinak temple, Susa, after 2450 B.C. Goldlike bronze leaf. (*Ibid.*, Fig. 852.)

Fig. 124.—Seal of Gudea, Sumerian king, about 2340 B.C. Ea on his throne gives Gudea the water of life together with the plant of life. (*Ibid.*, Fig. 623.)

Fig. 125.—A Sumerian seal. Gilgamesh protecting the tree of life from a lion, which has the same form as on Figure 122; the tree is topped by three branches, proving that the tree of life legend was already highly developed (cf. *Fig. 124*). Ward said (p. 219) that he misses old Sumerian representations of the tree of life. He gave only one example (*Fig. 126*), but our illustration corroborates its existence; moreover, I have additional similar seals (cf. *Fig. 78*). (Ward, *op. cit.*, Fig. 162.)

Fig. 126.—Sumerian seal of Dungi, 2451 B.C. The tree of life, stylized as in Figures 125 and 122, between both eastern mountains from which Shamash, the sun god, rises each day,

here pictured as an upward flying eagle. The mountains are designed like the network around the Assyrian asherahs (cf. *Figs. 68, 69*). (*Ibid.*, Fig. 663.)

Fig. 127.—Sumerian seal of Gudean period about 2340 B.C. The mother goddess with crown and two long tresses sitting before the tree of life. Before her a woman who is spinning. The top of the distaff shows the same three-pointed form as the tree behind the goddess. (*Ibid.*, Fig. 217.)

Fig. 128.—Old Germanic urn from Bardenfleth, 50 B.C., Museum, Hannover. Tree of life, Irminsul, accompanied by a double swastika and a square with hooks. (Lechler, "Kreuz Hakenkreuz Irminsul," Fig. 24.)

Figs. 129–131.—Old Germanic urn from Nitzahn, Brandenburg, about 100 A.D. The tree of life accompanied by two swastikas and a cross. (*Ibid.*, Figs. 21–23.)

Fig. 132.—Peasant symbolism from a farm near Lübeck, Germany. The brickwork shows the same form of the tree of life as the world tree on the old Germanic ash urn of Figure 129. The peasants of today call these symbols "witch brooms." Three "witch brooms" and two windmills.

Figs. 133–134.—Viking decorations from Ostra Paboda, Smaland, Sweden, ninth century. The tree of life has very close relationship in its form to Assyrian asherahs (*Figs. 69, 81, 87*). Vikings were in contact on the Black Sea with Islam; thus the Old Nordic Irminsul is influenced in its form by the Near East. In Figure 134 there are three palmettos, trees of life, around a six-pointed rosette (sun wheel).

Fig. 135.—From a bucket found at Björkö, Uppland, Sweden, 900 A.D. Irish ornaments. The other influence upon Viking style. The tree of life with griffins in branches transformed into spiral-like forms. The tree on a hill arch enclosing a lily.

Fig. 136.—Relief from the "Externsteine," Germany, 1115. The Descent from the Cross. The Cross of Christ with four equally long spokes. Over the Cross, God the father. On the left, a weeping sun; on the right, a weeping moon. Under the Cross the bended Irminsul (tree of life). The tree is bent either to express mourning (like sun and moon) or to demonstrate that the old tree of life is relieved by the new tree of life, the Christ, corresponding to the legends of the wood of the Cross (see text).

Fig. 137.—Antependium, Cathedral of Halberstadt, thirteenth century. Saints, with cross and swastika decorations, under the tree of life, obviously an oak tree. (*Ibid.*, Fig. 35.)

Fig. 138.—The Irminsul of the Externsteine relief, from Figure 136. The bent tree design, showing that it has the same form as in Figures 122, 125, 135, 137, and 140. (*Ibid.*, Fig. 33.)

Fig. 139.—Antependium, Cathedral of Halberstadt, Germany. Stylized tree of life (cf. *Fig. 129*). (*Ibid.*, Fig. 36.)

Fig. 140.—The catacomb of Domitilla, Rome, fourth century. Christ as a fish (cf. *Figs. 119, 120*), a dolphin, in the water of life from which grows up the tree of life with the sun on its top. Very often misinterpreted as an anchor. (*Ibid.*, Fig. 34.)

Fig. 141.—A relief from Deir es Suriani, ninth century A.D. The representation of the Christian tree of life demonstrates very clearly the Islamic influence upon Christian art. Deir es Suriani was a Syrian monastery in Egypt. The tree of life is flanked by two crosses. (H. Glück, *Christliche Kunst des Ostens*, 1923, Fig. 60.)

Fig. 142.—The descent of Buddha. A relief from Amaravati stupa, India, second century B.C. The sun disk rising from the water with dragons. The outer circle of the disk shows squares and circles filled with sun wheels and swastikas. The middle part has the footprints of Buddha before the pillar-like tree, decorated with sun wheels and covered with blankets because he had gone to the upper world. In the upper part worshipers encircle the world tree before which is an altar with the footprints of the resurrected Buddha.

Fig. 143.—Stravana Belgola, Mysore, India. Tirthakara, one of "the perfected Saints," growing up from a tree between two tree-covered mountains. (B. Keith, *Mythology of All Races, Indian*, Boston, 1927, VI, Pl. XXVIII.)

Fig. 144.—Orpheus in the lower world. Christian relief, fourth century. The soul of Eurydice on a tree (cf. *Figs. 33, 34b, 34c*). (Glück, *op. cit.*, Fig. 51.)

Fig. 145.—Peasant rug from Pennsylvania, 1826 A.D., Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia. Made by German immigrants coming from the Rhinepfalz. Trees of life flanking a mountain on which grows a tree: sun rosettes, swastikas, crosses, and a fruit basket.

Fig. 146.—A door from Provinz Hassia, Germany. Sun wheel in whirling representation with Irminsul. In the lower field a tree of life in a vessel. (K. T. Weigel, *Lebendige Vorzeit*, Berlin, 1934, Fig. 29.)

Fig. 147.—Fourlands near Hamburg. Peasant embroidery representing the world ash Yggdrasil of the *Edda*. It stands in a water vessel, the well of Urd; four stags are eating its foliage, as reported in the *Edda*. (*Ibid.*, Fig. 37.)

Fig. 148.—A door from Reichenan (District Hoexter), Germany. A snake coiled in a stylized spiral under the tree of life on top of a post. The inscription reads: "Our Lord may bless all who come and go." (*Ibid.*, Fig. 29.)



FIG. 137

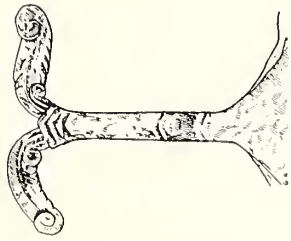


FIG. 138

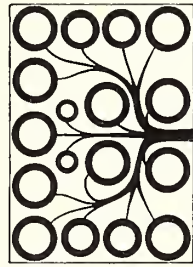


FIG. 139

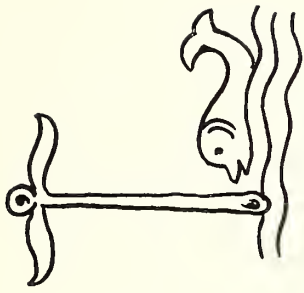


FIG. 140



FIG. 136

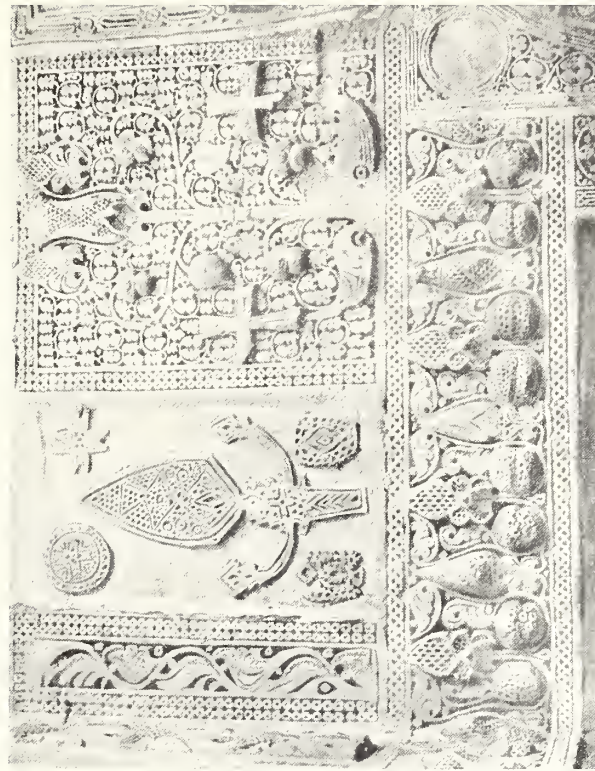


FIG. 141



FIG. 142



FIG. 143



FIG. 144



FIG. 145



FIG. 146



FIG. 147

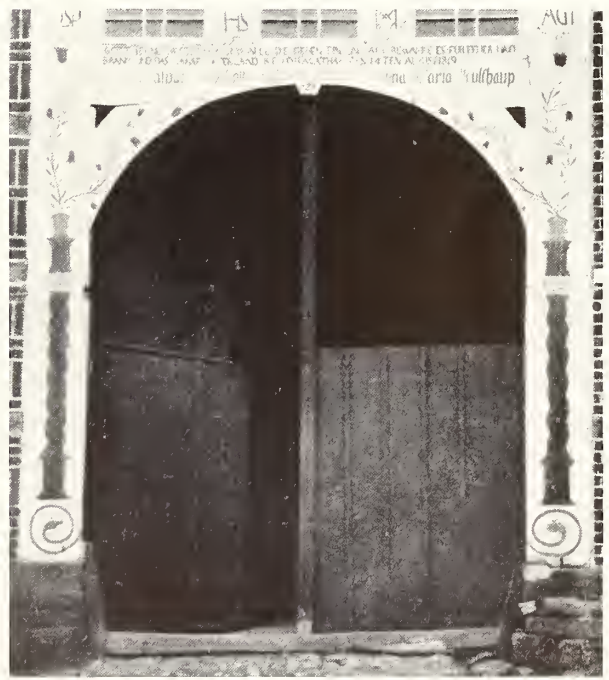


FIG. 148

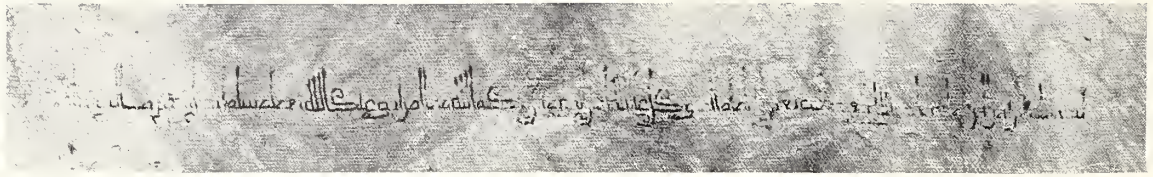


FIG. 1—DATED 241 H. (855-856 A.D.) UNDER MUTAWAKKIL



FIG. 2—DATED 276 H. (889-890 A.D.) UNDER MU'TAMID



FIG. 3—DATED 280 H. (893-894 A.D.) UNDER MU'TAḌID



FIG. 5—DATED 289 H. ? (901-902 A.D. ?) UNDER MUKTAFI

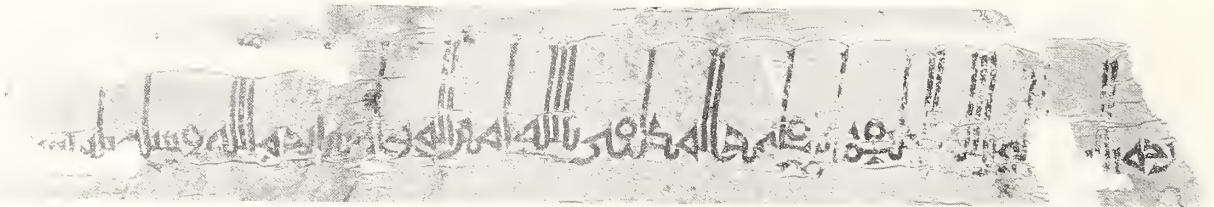


FIG. 6—DATED 293 H. (905-906 A.D.) UNDER MUKTAFI

DATED ẒIRĀZ IN THE COLLECTION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

BY FLORENCE E. DAY

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN IS FORTUNATE IN HAVING A VERY REPRESENTATIVE collection of Islamic textiles dating from the middle of the ninth century to the thirteenth century or later. These are for the most part linen, with fewer in silk and cotton. In their decoration various techniques are used: embroidery, tapestry weaving, stamping, printing, gilding, and writing with pen and ink. The greater part of the University collection consists of textiles without inscriptions, and Mrs. Adèle C. Weibel, Curator of the Department of Textiles, Detroit Institute of Arts, has been asked to publish them. This paper, on the dated textiles, will be followed by another on the textiles with undated inscriptions by the present writer.

The twenty-nine fragments of cloth here described are 'Abbāsīd and Fāṭimid, and come from garments designed to be worn by the caliph or by persons of high rank; ẓirāz is the word given to these robes, as well as to the inscriptions and decorations on them, and the factories in which they were made.¹ As the production of cloth of this type was official, the inscriptions may contain any or all of the following: the names of the caliph, the wazīr, the manager of the factory, the city, the nature of the factory, either private or public, the date, and rarely, after the date, the name of the textile worker, or of the cloth itself, or else merely good wishes.

Over eleven hundred ẓirāz with dated or datable inscriptions had been published by the year 1935, according to the statistics of M. Wiet.² Of these over a thousand were made in Egypt, and forty-five in non-Egyptian countries. That is, for the preservation of most of the ẓirāz known to us we must thank the wonderfully dry Egyptian climate; countless ẓirāz of other countries have been lost;^{2a} for the historians describe the royal factories and the materials they produced, of Transoxiana, Persia, Mesopotamia, Armenia, Syria, the Yemen, North Africa, Spain, Sicily, and of course of Egypt as well.³ The institution of ẓirāz had begun "quite early under the Umayyads;"⁴ by the time of the Ayyūbids it was no longer functioning.⁵

1. *Glazed linen, dated 241 H. (855-856 A.D.), under Mutawakkil; red, silk-embroidered, Kufī inscription. Size 36 x 165 cm. No. 22501.* The linen is rather coarse; the embroidery is all in simple backstitch, and is fairly well preserved. The inscription is 25 cm. long and 1.5 cm.

¹ A. Grohmann, "Ẓirāz," *Encycl. Islam*, IV, 1934, p. 785.

² G. Wiet, "Tissus et Tapisseries du Musée Arabe," *Syria*, XVI, 1935, pp. 282-283. These statistics were based on the material contained in the first six volumes of the *Repertoire Chronologique d'Épigraphie Arabe*, ed. Et. Combe, J. Sauvaget, and G. Wiet, Le Caire, 1931-1935 (cited as *Repertoire*).

^{2a} All the textiles in the University collection were

acquired in Egypt.

³ Grohmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 785-791, and Wiet, *op. cit.*, pp. 284, 286-287, with notes.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 792; also on p. 785 Ibn Khaldūn's mention of Umayyad cloth mills.

⁵ E. Kühnel, "Zur Tiraz-Epigraphik der Abbasiden und Fatimiden," *Festschrift Max Freiherrn von Oppenheim zum 70. Geburtstag*, Berlin, 1933, pp. 59-60 (cited as *Festschrift*).

high. *Lām* and *alif* are 1.1 cm. high; of the low letters *ḥā* and *bā* are occasionally higher than the others; the width of the letters is the width of the single thread. *Kāf* and *dāl*, exactly the same shape, do not reach the height of *lām*. The style is simple, but enlivened by the curling finials of *kāf* and *dāl*, the curling descending tails, the slanting line of the tops of *alif* and *lāms* in Allāh, and by the serifs of the taller letters.

بسمه نعمة من الله لعبد الله جعفر الامام الموتوكل على الله امير المؤمنين ايده الله مما امر ابو عبدالله
بعمله سنة احد اربعين مائتين سلم

Bismilla. Grace from God to the Servant of God Dja'far the Imām al-Mutawakkil 'alallāh, Commander of the Faithful, may God strengthen him. Abū 'Abdallah ordered this made. In the year 241 [855–856 A.D.]. Greeting.

To my knowledge this inscription is the fifth earliest dated inscription on a *ṭirāz* so far published. The four earlier ones are: first, the Victoria and Albert inscription of Marwān, Umayyad, before 750 A.D.;⁶ second, the Berlin Harūn al-Rashid inscription dated 193 H. (808–809 A.D.);⁷ third, that of Amīn in the Musée Arabe, Cairo, dated 197 H. (812–813 A.D.);⁸ and fourth, that of Ma'mūn, in the same museum, dated 216 H. (831 A.D.).⁹ In the *Repertoire* are listed other early *ṭirāz* inscriptions whose texts were preserved by the historians, although the textiles no longer exist.¹⁰ One *ṭirāz* inscription of this caliph is given in the *Repertoire*, but it is not dated;¹¹ recently at the Detroit Institute of Arts I saw another *ṭirāz* of Mutawakkil, and noted the year as 245.^{11a}

Words or phrases of several sorts placed after the date, as mentioned above, are rather rare in these inscriptions.

The name of the wazīr is here given as Abu 'Abdallah, while the historians refer to him as Abu-l-Ḥasan 'Ubaidallah ibn Yaḥya ibn Khaḡān al-Khurasānī (al-Khakānī I), but there is no doubt as to his identity, because al-Khaḡānī became wazīr about 240 H. and remained so until the death of Mutawakkil.¹² As will be seen, there is often a disparity in the spelling of personal names between these *ṭirāz* inscriptions and the historians' accounts.

"Ibn Khaḡān had a beautiful handwriting,"¹³ that is, he was a calligrapher; this makes one wonder if the wazīrs had anything to do with designing the lettering for the *ṭirāz*, and if not, who did. This question will come up again with Ibn Muḡla, under Rādī (No. 15). In

⁶ *Repertoire*, I, No. 36, under the year 132.

⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 87, year 193.

⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 93, year 197.

⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 208A. For each of these four famous textiles the *Repertoire* gives complete bibliography.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Nos. 44, 45, 78, 80, 94, Makrizī; No. 101 al-Azraqī, Ṭabarī, etc; 146 Makrizī.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, II, additions p. 276, No. 476A, listed under the year 247 (861 A.D.).

^{11a} This is apparently as yet unpublished. *Ṭirāz* of

Detroit have been published by Mrs. Adèle C. Weibel, *Bull. Detroit Inst. Arts*, May, 1931, pp. 93–98, and May, 1932, pp. 101–102.

¹² E. de Zambaur, *Manuel de Généalogie et de Chronologie*, Hanover, 1927, p. 6; and Ibn aṭ-Ṭiḡṭaḡa, *Al-Fakhri* ed. W. Ahlwardt, Gotha, 1860, p. 284, line 8, Arabic text. (Cited as *Al-Fakhri*.)

¹³ *Al-Fakhri*, p. 283, lines 14–15: "kāna 'Ubaidallāh ḡasana 'l-khaḡḡ."

Al-Fakhrī there is a story¹⁴ that the governor of Miṣr sent once to al-Khaḳānī a hundred thousand dīnārs and three packages of the garments of Miṣr, but that the wazīr, not wishing to be obligated to him by accepting such valuable gifts, took only one light veil. We are not told of what material the garments were.

2. *Linen, dated 276 H. (889–890 A.D.), under Mu'tamid and Khumārawaih; dark brown, silk-embroidered, Kufī inscription. Size 35 x 15 cm. No. 22502. Fig. 2.* The linen is quite fine, the embroidery is in three different stitches: over-and-over for the tall letters, backstitch for the low letters, and for the base line chain stitch on the reverse appearing on the surface as a double line;¹⁵ this is preserved best at the left end. The inscription is 25.5 cm. long and 7–8 mm. high. *Lām*, *alif*, and *ṭā*, the tall letters, are 6 mm. high, the curved descending tails are 2 mm. Low letters are *rā*, *sīn*, *mīm*, and *nūn*. *Yā* and *wāw* have two forms, *yā final* is low, with curving tail; *medial* it is of medium height; *wāw* is low, with curving tail, and of medium height with tail horizontal on the base line. The other letters are medium. The tops of the tall letters are barred; this is the only sign of decoration. The style is simple, restrained, well proportioned, and precise, in aesthetic effect similar to that of contemporary coins.¹⁶

بسم الله والحمد لله نعمة من الله لعبد الله [حمد] الاما [م] ال [معتمد] لى الله امير
المو [منين] اط [ال الله بقاء و (sic) الامير جعفر امير المؤمنين اعزهما الله مما امر الامير الحسن
خمارويه بن احمد مولى امير المؤمنين بعمله في طراز شط سنة ست وسبعين ومائتين

In the name of God. Grace from God to the Servant of God A[ḥmad] the Imā[m] al-[Mu'tamid 'a]llāh, Commander of the Faithful, may God prolong his life, and [sic] the Amīr Dja'far, Commander of the Faithful, may God glorify them both. The Amīr al-Ḥasan Khumārawaih ibn Aḥmad, maula of the Commander of the Faithful ordered this made in the factory of *Shatā*, in the year 276 [889–890 A.D.].

The “and [sic]” should be “son of,” because al-Mu'tamid was the son of Dja'far al-Mutawakkil. Khumārawaih the Ṭūlūnid is mentioned three times in the *Repertoire* on ʿīrāz of Mu'tamid.¹⁷ It is interesting that the name of Mu'tamid's brother Muwaffak Ṭalḥa has so far been found only on one ʿīrāz,¹⁸ though it occurs customarily on the coinage.¹⁹ The most famous ʿīrāz of Mu'tamid is that of Berlin, found at Sāmarrā and made in Tinnīs.²⁰

3. *Linen, dated 280 H. (893–894 A.D.), under Mu'taḍid; red, silk-embroidered, Kufī inscription. Size 48 x 37 cm. No. 22503. Fig. 3.* The linen is fairly coarse and thick. There are

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 283–284.

¹⁵ Chain stitch of this type, made by using double thread, is quite different from two types of chain stitch, using single thread, found on textiles at Palmyra. See R. Pfister, *Textiles de Palmyre*, Paris, 1934, pp. 51–52, Figs. 16–17.

¹⁶ For coins of Mu'tamid see S. Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, I, 1875,

No. 357, Pl. VI; and of the Ṭūlūnids, II, 1876, Aḥmad No. 219, Pl. III, and Djaish, No. 226, Pl. III.

¹⁷ *Repertoire*, II, 1932, No. 731 (year 272), No. 757 (year 278) and No. 767 (not dated), all three made in Tinnīs.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 753 (year 277).

¹⁹ Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, Nos. 352–377.

²⁰ *Repertoire*, II, No. 769 (not dated).

three kinds of embroidery stitches, exactly as in No. 2. The inscription is 31 cm. long and 1 cm. high; *alif* and *lām* are 8 mm. high, their width is .5 mm. The width of the other letters is that of the single thread. The style of the letters is very similar to that of No. 2, except that the finials of *dāl* and *kāf* are more curved, and that the central tooth of *sīn* is higher than the others (except in the word *bism*). Also similar are two *ṭirāz* of Mu'taḍid, both dated 282 H. (895–896 A.D.), one in the Victoria and Albert,²¹ the other in the Metropolitan Museum.²²

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ بَرَكَةٌ مِنْ [[ا]] لِلَّهِ لِعَبْدِ اللَّهِ أَبِي الْعَبَّاسِ الْإِمَامِ الْمُعْتَضِدِ بِاللَّهِ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ أَعَزَّهُ اللَّهُ وَالْأَمِيرِ حَمَارُويَه
 بن احمد مولی امیر المؤمنین بعمله فی طراز تینیس (sic) علی یدی محمد بن خلف سنة ثمانین مائتین
 بتیس .

Bismilla. Blessing from God to the Servant of God Abu-l-'Abbās the Imām al-Mu'taḍid billah, Commander of the Faithful, may God glorify him, and [sic] the Amīr Khumārawaih ibn Aḥmad maula of the Commander of the Faithful (ordered?) this made in the factory of Tinnīs at the hands of Muḥammad ibn Khalaf, in the year 280 [893–894 A.D.] Tinnīs.

I suggest that instead of the phrase *wa-l-amīr*, which occurs only rarely under this caliph,²³ one should read *mā amara-l-wazīr*, otherwise the phrase *bi 'amalihi* has no grammatical place in the sentence. A verb of ordering is present in other *ṭirāz* of Mu'taḍid which mention either Khumārawaih or his son Harūn or refer to them as "the Amīr."²⁴ The factory manager Muḥammad ibn Khalaf is known to us from four other inscriptions of the years 278 to 289 H. (891–902 A.D.).²⁵ 'Ubaidallah ibn Sulaimān ibn Wahb²⁶ was wazīr during the year 280 H., but naturally the Ṭūlūnid princes controlled the Egyptian factories even though in their inscriptions they did call down blessings on the Abbasid caliph in Baghdād.²⁷ The repetition of the word Tinnīs after the date seems unnecessary; someone else might point and read the letters differently.

4. *Linen with indigo blue borders, dated 289 H. (901–902 A.D.), under Mu'taḍid; black, silk-embroidered inscriptions. Size 89 x 39 cm. No. 22504. Fig.4.*²⁸ The linen cloth²⁹ is pre-

²¹ A. R. Guest, "Notice of some Arabic inscriptions on textiles at the South Kensington Museum," *Journ. R. As. Soc.*, 1906, pp. 387–389, No. 2, and Pl. I, 2.

²² M. S. Dimand, "Dated Specimens of Mohammedan Art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art," *Metropolitan Mus. Studies*, I, Pt. 1, 1928, No. 11, pp. 109–110, Fig. 11 on p. 110. This was incorrectly read and translated by N. Martinovitch, see p. 99, note 1.

²³ *Repertoire*, II, Nos. 805 (dated 285) and 833 (not dated). In these, as well as in the present inscription, the verb of ordering is absent.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Nos. 774, 785, 788, 813, 815, 818, 830, 831.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, II and III, 1932, Nos. 757, Mu'tamid (year 278), 813 and 815 Mu'taḍid (year 287), and 825 Muktafi (year 289).

²⁶ Zambaur, *op. cit.*, p. 7. This wazīr was in office from 279 to 289, when he died, apparently naturally.

²⁷ See Kühnel, *op. cit.*, p. 62, for a similar situation under Rādī.

²⁸ In three of the *ṭirāz* here published the embroidery threads had almost entirely disappeared, leaving scarcely visible holes in the cloth, and it was thought that measured drawings would show the inscriptions better than would photographs.

²⁹ The Research Seminary in Islamic Art is greatly indebted to Dr. D. W. McCready of the University of Michigan, a specialist on paper and on the materials used in its making, for examining the fibers of this textile, and of No. 6 microscopically, thus scientifically determining their nature.

served in its total width, including the selvages; at the edges indigo blue borders, about 8 cm. wide, run the length of the cloth. The end is fringed; at about 5 cm. from the end is a narrow band in a sort of tapestry weave, probably done by hand, in dark and light blue, tan, and the ground color of the cloth (white or creamy); about a centimeter above this is inscription *a*. Inscription *b* is in the middle, next to the fringe, upside down in relation to *a*. The length of *a* is 49.5 cm., its height is 1 cm. The tall letters, *alif*, *lām*, *dāl*, *kāf*, and final *hā* are 7 mm. high, and curving tails descend 3 mm. below the base line. The lower letters vary, 2, 3, and 4 mm. in height, thus giving considerable variety. As ornament there is a little V-shaped finial at the ends of the tall, medium, and even some of the low letters, as *sin*, and on the two branches of the open Y-shaped 'ain; and a small right-angled serif for the base of initial *alif*, and horizontal tail of *wāw*. The length of *b* is 2.3 cm., its height is 8 mm.

(*a*) بسمه [2 cm.] ربّ العلمين الرحمن الرحيم بركة من اله (sic) [1.5 cm.] وسعادة
ونعمة من اله اله (sic) لعبد اله [3 cm.] العبّاس الامام المعتضد بالله اله (sic) امير
المومنين ا^ا عزّ اله اله (sic) مما عمل في طراز الخاصّة [1.5 cm.] اليمن سنة تسع وثمانين
وماّتين [Undeciphered] (*b*)

a) Bismilla. [2 cm.] the Lord of the Worlds, the merciful, the compassionate. Blessing from God [1.5 cm.] and happiness and grace from God to the Servant of God [3 cm.] al-'Abbās the Imām al-Mu'ṭadid billāh, Commander of the Faithful, may God glorify (?) him. This was made in the private factory in San'ā' al-Yaman, in the year 289 [901-902 A.D.]. (*b*) undeciphered.

It is curious that except in the initial Bismilla, the word Allāh is consistently misspelled. The gaps in the reading probably are not of historical importance; in the third gap the first part of the caliph's name might be expected.

The color scheme of this linen, indigo blue, brown or tan, and white or natural color, is the same as that of the Yemenite cotton weave described as *Flammentücher* or "in chiné weave." This type, when the inscription, of a luxuriant and beautiful style, is gilded, dates as early as 247-248 H. (861-862 A.D.).³⁰ A *Flammentuch* in the Musée Arabe, Cairo, was made, according to its white-embroidered inscription, in the private factory in San'ā', dated under Muḩtadir in the year 311 H. (923 A.D.).³¹ A comparison of the epigraphy of the Michigan fragment with that of the one in Cairo, made just twenty-two years later, is very interesting. In the latter may be seen the same variations of high, low, and two medium levels for different letters, the same right-angled serif for initial *alif*, and the curve of the descending tails is still simple, semicircular. But in the Cairo piece there are significant stylistic advances: the

³⁰ A fragment in the R. Pfister collection referring to a son of Muntaṣir, who reigned that one year. Published by Pfister: "Matériaux pour servir aux classements des textiles Egyptiens postérieur à la conquête arabe," *Revue*

des Arts Asiatiques, 1936, X No. ii, sec. D. "Tissus du Yemen," pp. 78-81, No. D1, p. 79, illustrated Pl. XXX.

³¹ Wiet, *op. cit.*, illustrated partially in Pl. XLVIII, at the top; listed in the *Repertoire*, III, No. 1072.

height, and thus the thinness, of the letters, has almost tripled;³² the base line dips before the final *ta* (feminine ending); *lām-alif* has developed from two crossed lines to a whole lattice; the earlier V-shaped open finial has become solid and triangular, like a little pennant; several low letters have acquired stems that reach as high as *alif*. In these twenty-odd years in the work of the private factory at San'ā' there was a definite step towards decoration in embroidered *ṭirāz* epigraphy.

5. *Linen, dated 289 H. ? (901-902 A.D.), under Muktafī; red, silk-embroidered, Kufī inscription. Size 66 x 28 cm. No. 22505. Fig. 5.* The linen is rather canvas-like; the embroidery system is as in No. 2, with the addition of scallops in chain stitch, and of little right-angled points in backstitch, below the inscription. The fabric is worn and stained. The total length of the inscription is 36 cm.; its height, including the scallops, is 1.6 cm. The tall letters, *lām*, *alif*, and *ṭā*, are 1.1 cm. high; the low letters are about 3 mm. high. There are a few V-shaped finials, not used consistently. All tails, descending or horizontal, are absent; their place is taken by the row of regular, purely decorative, scallops. No beauty can be claimed for this *ṭirāz*.

بسمه [a few words] الله للخذ [يفة ابي محمدعلي] الامام المكتفي بالله امير المؤمنين ايده الله مما امر
الوزير بعمله [في ؟] ط [راز ؟ a few words ؟] ثمانين (?) [one word]

Bismilla. [a few words] God to the caliph [several words] the Imām al-Muktafī billah, Commander of the Faithful, may God strengthen him. The wazīr ordered this made in (?) the factory (?) [several words] in the year (?) [2]8[9] ? [901-902 A.D. ?].

The end of the inscription is not only worn, but seems to have been originally confused. The only clue to the date is the letter-group read as *thamā*, part of the word eight; in the seven years of Muktafī's reign, 289-295 H., the figure eight comes only in the first.

6. *Cotton and silk textile, dated 293 H. (905-906 A.D.), under Muktafī; red, silk-embroidered, Kufī inscription. Size 41 x 14 cm. No. 22506. Fig. 6.* The wool is of cotton threads, thin, wide, and flat,³³ parallel with the inscription; the warp is of brownish silk threads, as fine as a hair, and very fragile; the cloth splits parallel with the broad wool threads. The embroidery is a double line of chain stitch making broad letters, varying little in width. Of the inscription the length preserved is 38.5 cm., the total height is 4.3 cm.; the tall letters *lām* and *alif* are 3.2 cm. high; tails descend to 9 mm. below the base line, which often dips between letters. The style is remarkable for its combination of small circles (three *fā*'s and one *mīm*), sweeping curves (base of initial *alif*, final *nūn*'s and *yā*'s), sharp angles, triangles set on one corner (*mīm*'s and final *hā*'s), strong tall verticals, and crisp, pointed serifs, even in the low letters; the style is striking and full of character. A few low letters, *hā*, *tā*, the tail (not the stem) of *wāw*, and a *nūn* are decoratively elongated.

³² Proportions of the lowest to the highest letters, Michigan 2:7, Cairo, 2:20 approximately.

³³ Dr. McCready (see note 29) pronounced the fibers "pure cotton."

[[بسم الله الـ]] رحمن الـ [[حيم]] ٠٠٠ [[را من الله للخليفة ابي محمد المكتفي بالله امير المؤمنين
 ايده الله في سنة ثلث تسع [[مين متين]]

[In the name of God the] merciful, the c[ompassionate . . .] from God to the *kh*alīfa Abū Muḥammad al-Muktafī billāh, Commander of the Faithful, may God strengthen him. In the year [2]93 [905–906 A.D.].

From the photograph the cloth of a ʿirāz in Berlin appears the same as ours, and the similar style of lettering is described by Kühnel: “Sehr charakteristisch ist bei diesem recht dekorativen Stück die sonst kaum bekannte, wirkungsvolle Gestaltung keilartiger Buchstaben mit abfallenden Schafthöhen.”³⁴ The embroidery, also in red silk, is in a double line of chain stitch. The name of Muḥtadir dates it a little later than our piece, that is 295–320 H. (908–932 A.D.). Another cotton and silk piece in the Pfister collection, also with silk, chain-stitched, blue embroidery, is dated about a hundred years later by the name of Ḳādir, 321–422 H. (991–1031 A.D.).³⁵ Because of the style of the letters M. Wiet attributes the Pfister piece to Mesopotamia.³⁶ Pfister has shown that in Islamic times (as well as earlier) no cotton was woven in Egypt and that any cloth containing cotton must have been woven in the Yemen, or in Persia or Mesopotamia.³⁷ Hence the Michigan piece was probably made in one of the latter countries. This opinion is also confirmed by the style of the letters: they have characteristics in common with our No. 8, made in Baghdād in 917 A.D.; and with a piece in the Elsberg collection, made in Sābūr, Persia, of the same year.³⁸ A similar origin seems possible for the Berlin fragment.³⁹

7. *Linen, dated 298 H. (910–911 A.D.), under Muḥtadir; red, silk-embroidered, Kuḫī inscription. Size 50 x 32 cm. No. 22507. Fig. 7.* The cloth is thick and firm; the embroidery is in backstitch, with perhaps chain stitch on the reverse for the base line. The length of the inscription is 34.5 cm., its height 1.1 cm.; a *lām* is 9 mm. high, the tails descend 2 mm.; the width of the letters is that of the silk thread, single. The style is like that of Nos. 2 and 3.

³⁴ Kühnel, *Festschrift*, p. 60 and Taf. II, Abb. 1.

³⁵ Pfister, *op. cit.*, D3, pp. 79–80, Pl. XXXII. Pfister's description of the weave could be applied verbatim to the Michigan piece; it may be noted that the cloth splits in exactly the same way.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 79; see p. 80, note 1, for a piece in the Victoria and Albert Museum, with similar letters, also attributed to Mesopotamia.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 80: “Aucun de ces tissus que nous avons reconnus renfermer du coton n'a été tissé en Egypte,” and p. 81, “Nous voyons que sous le régime arabe (i.e., in

Egypt) l'usage du coton devient fréquent, qu'il s'agisse de tissus manifestement importés du Yemen ou encore de toiles décorées d'inscriptions et venues de Perse ou de Mesopotamie.”

³⁸ Published by A. R. Guest, “Further Arabic inscriptions on textiles,” *Journ. R. As. Soc.*, IV, No. 2, 1931, pp. 130–131, Pl. I, No. 2.

³⁹ As a matter of fact, Kühnel, *loc. cit.*, says that the Berlin fragment is “aus feinem Bastleinen.” Pfister, *op. cit.*, p. 80 and note 2, admits the difficulty in many cases of distinguishing between linen and cotton.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ • بَرَكَاتٌ مِنَ اللَّهِ [several words] لِعَبْدِ اللَّهِ جَعْفَرِ الْإِمَامِ الْمُقْتَدِرِ بِاللَّهِ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ اطال
 اللَّهُ بِقَاهُ مَا أَمَرَ الْوَزِيرُ أَبُو الْحَسَنِ عَلِيُّ مُحَمَّدٍ بِعَمَلِهِ فِي طَرَاظِ الْعَامَّةِ بِمِصْرَ عَلَى يَدِ بَشْرٍ مَوْلٍ (sic)
 أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ سَنَةَ ثَمَانٍ تَسْعِينَ وَمِائَتِينَ • خَيْرٌ مُقْبِلٌ •

Bismilla. Blessing from God [several words] to the Servant of God Dja'far the Imām al-Muḳtadir billāh, Commander of the Faithful, may God prolong his life. This was ordered by the wazīr Abū-l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Muḥammad to be made in the public factory in Miṣr, at the hand of Bishr, maul [sic] of the Commander of the Faithful. In the year 298 [910-911 A.D.]. Good will come.

The wazīr Abū-l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Muḥammad, better known as Ibn al-Furāt,⁴⁰ was in office for the first time under Muḳtadir from 296-299 H. Bishr is known to us from ṭirāz inscriptions as manager or supervisor of the factories in Egypt; this position is indicated in Egypt by the phrase '*ala yadi* or '*ala yadai*.'⁴¹ A ṭirāz in the Metropolitan Museum made in Miṣr and dated by the name of Ibn al-Furāt between 296 and 312 H. (the date of his execution), probably has the name of Bishr.⁴² In 296 H. Bishr al-Khādīm is named in a ṭirāz made at Damietta.⁴³ Then in 298 H. the names of three different men are given with the phrase '*ala yadai*': 'Abd al-Malik, *maula*, in an unknown town, Bishr *maula* in Miṣr, and Shafī' al-Muḳtadirī, *maula*, also in Miṣr.⁴⁴ This is the last year so far known in which Bishr is mentioned.

The phrase "good will come" occurs after the date on two ṭirāz of Mu'taḍid.⁴⁵

8. *Glazed linen, dated 305 H. (917-918 A.D.), under Muḳtadir; red, silk-embroidered, Kufī inscription. Size 53 x 18 cm. No. 22508. Fig. 8.* The light-weight linen is not very fine; the embroidery is chain stitch. Of the inscription the length preserved is 46.5 cm.; the height varies 2.2-2.4 cm.; the tall letters are about 2.2 cm. high, the tails descend 2 mm. and extend horizontally as far as the next tail, which may be a distance of as much as 3 cm. The width of the letters is 5 mm. The style shows a combination of angularity and of small closed curves, lowness in most of the letters, and proportionately very tall stems. In the word *Allāh* the tops of the *lām*'s with the *hā* make a descending line; note that these *lām*'s have been shortened. The tail (not the stem) of one *wāw*, the stem of *rā* in *baraka*, and *tā* in *Muḳtadir*, have all been decoratively elongated. *Ṣād* has a long slanting stem, that of *ṭā* is short and curving. *Fā*, *ḵāf*, and the finials of *dāl*, *kāf*, *ṣād*, and *ṭā*, are shaped like a question mark. Neat serifs are used throughout.

⁴⁰ Zambaur, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

⁴¹ Kühnel, *Festschrift*, p. 61, points out that it means the general supervisor of the factories, rather than the manager of one factory specifically. See also Grohmann, *op. cit.*, p. 789, and 791.

⁴² J. M. Upton, "Dated Egypto-Arabic textiles in the Metropolitan Museum of Art," *Metropolitan Mus. Studies*, III, Pt. 2, 1931, No. 1, p. 162, and Fig. 1; Ara-

bic text on p. 171. The words are: "'ala yadai b . . . r maula . . ." Between the *bā* and the *rā* there is simply a straight line instead of the three teeth of a *ṣīn* or a *shīn*; several other words in this inscription are also misspelled.

⁴³ *Repertoire*, III, 1932, No. 883.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, Nos. 899, 900, 901.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, Nos. 813 (year 287) and 831 (not dated).

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ • الحمد لله رب العالمين وصلّى الله على محمد خاتم النبيّين بركة لعبد الله ج(م)فر
 الإمام المقتدر بالله أمير المؤمنين اطال الله بقاءه ما امر: [عم] له بمدينة السلم عد[ى يد] عد[ى] بن
 محمد بسنة خمس (i)لمئة [محمد] د بن الحسن •

Bismilla. Praise to God, the Lord of the worlds. May God bless Muḥammad, the seal of the prophets. Blessing to the Servant of God Dja(‘)far the Imām al-Muḥtadir billāh, Commander of the Faithful, may God prolong his life. This was ordered made in Madīnat as-Salām at the hand of ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad in the year 305 [917–918 A.D.]... d (or k?) ibn al Ḥasan (or al-Ḥusain).

In the description of No. 6 the resemblance of this ʿirāz made in Baghdād to one in the Elsberg collection made in the same year in Sābūr, Persia, has already been noticed. It is most interesting that the phraseology here is not like that of the ʿirāz made in Egypt, where the formula states: “The wazīr ——— ordered this made in ——— factory, at the hands of ———,” i.e., the supervisor or manager of the factory. At Baghdād, however, it is given: “At the hands of ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad,” that is, that phrase refers to the wazīr: ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Furāt who was wazīr for the second time from 304 to 306 H.⁴⁶ Between the years 295 and 311 H. (908–923 A.D.) there are eight ʿirāz made in both Persia and Mesopotamia in which the formula is “at the hands of the wazīr ———.”⁴⁷ Another, which in the *Repertoire*⁴⁸ is attributed to Egypt, has the same formula, and after the date, in small letters, “. . . sir al-Khurasānī,” which is probably the name of the textile worker; this seems to offer an example of Persian workmen actually employed in a foreign country.⁴⁹ At any rate there was an evident connection at this time between Persia and Mesopotamia in the ʿirāz formula, and this phraseology does not seem to be typical of Egypt.⁵⁰ It would be interesting if enough other ʿirāz were found to prove this formula regularly a sign of Persian or Mesopotamian origin.

After the date comes the name of, perhaps, the workman (weaver or embroiderer ?), a short word ending in *dāl* or *kāf*, then Ibn al-Ḥasan, or -Ḥusain.

9. *Linen, dated 308 H. (920–921 A.D.), under Muḥtadir; green silk, tapestry-woven, Kufī inscription. Size 61 x 34 cm. No. 22509. Fig. 9.* The cloth is fairly coarse but closely woven; at the end is a fringe 4 cm. long; close to it is a very narrow band woven of red silk, and 18 cm. above that, the inscription. The total length is 53.5 cm., the height 4.1 cm. The height of the tall letters, including the tiny finial, is 3.3 cm.; the width of the letters varies from

⁴⁶ Zambaur, *loc. cit.*

⁴⁷ *Repertoire*, III, 1932, Nos. 879 Bisābūr, 997 Bisābūr, 990 Sābūr (Elsberg collection, dated 305), 1017 Madīnat as-Salām, 1018 and 1019 Bisābūr, 1040 and 1073 Madīnat as-Salām. Actually in No. 1040 the words ‘*Ala Yad*’ are missing, but the name of the wazīr is in the genitive (Abī, not Abū) and therefore could only have been preceded by the phrase ‘*ala yad*’. Also within this period of years there are three ʿirāz the inscriptions

of which are incomplete, i.e., Nos. 954 Madīnat as Salām, No. 955 Naisabūr, and No. 969 Bisābūr.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 966, date 303 H. (915–916 A.D.).

⁴⁹ If not Egypt, perhaps Mesopotamia. For a man would be called by his country of origin only if he were abroad.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, No. 847, under Muktafī, dated 291 H. (904–905 A.D.) uses the phrase ‘*Ala yad*’ for the wazīr, but it was ordered by Harun ibn Khumārawaih. This form is rare in Egypt.

3 to 5 cm. In the weaving, the stems of the tall letters are floating on the surface; the unwoven weft threads lie beneath them.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ • بِرَكَّةٍ مِنَ اللَّهِ لِعَبْدِ اللَّهِ جَعْفَرِ الْأَمَامِ الْمُقْتَدِرِ سَنَةِ ثَمَانٍ وَثَلَاثِمِئَةٍ

Bismilla. Blessing from God to the Servant of God, Dja'far the Imām al-Muqtadir [sic!]. In the year 308 [920–921 A.D.].

Tapestry weaving in *ṭirāz* inscriptions is rather unusual at so early a date,⁵¹ but this method becomes more prevalent during the next fifty years, until under Mutī' it is the rule, and the embroidering of inscriptions the exception. In this inscription the style seems to have been determined entirely by the technique; this accounts for the lowness of all letters but *lām* and *aliḥ*, the suppression of descending tails in many letters, the generally square and stumpy look, and the lack of all the refinements of style seen developing in the embroidered inscriptions.

10. *Glazed linen, dated 314 H. (926–927 A.D.), under Muqtadir; red, silk-embroidered, Kufī inscription. Size 29.5 x 26 cm. No. 22510. Fig. 10.* The cloth is fairly fine and compactly woven. The embroidery consists of over-and-over stitches for most of the letters and chain stitch for the tails. Of the inscription the length preserved is 24 cm.; the height is 5 cm.; the tall letters are 4.6 cm. high, the tails descend 4 mm., the low letters are about 1.1 cm. high. The width of the letters is 1–2 mm. Serifs occur on the usual low letters, though not on the high letters, and they extend into a long, narrow, vertical finial. The base line dips occasionally; this, together with the addition of scallops among the descending tails, makes a decorative band below the inscription.

[[ا]]لم[[قتد]]ر [[بالد]]ه امير المومنين اعزه الله ما[[ا]]مر الوزير عبدالله بن محمد سنة اربعمائة

... [a]l-Mu[ḳtadi]r [billa]h, Commander of the Faithful, may God glorify him. The wazīr 'Abdallāh ibn Muḥammad ordered this in the year 314 [926–927 A.D.].

In the date the four is not spelled out completely, but it cannot be any other number. 'Abdallāh ibn Muḥammad is called by the historians 'Ubaidallah ibn Muḥammad, al-Kalwadānī, from Kalwadā, a town in the outskirts of Baghdād.⁵² In 314 and 315 he was deputy for the wazīr 'Alī ibn 'Isā, who had not yet arrived in Baghdād; as the historians do not give him the title of wazīr at this time,⁵³ it is interesting to find it recorded in the *ṭirāz* inscription.

Two *ṭirāz* in the Metropolitan Museum are very similar in style but are a few years earlier.⁵⁴

⁵¹ Upton, *op. cit.*, No. 10, p. 166, Fig. 10. This has the name of Muqtadir but is not dated.

⁵² G. Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Cali-*

phate, Oxford, 1924, p. 295.

⁵³ Therefore he is not listed as wazīr in this year.

⁵⁴ Upton, *op. cit.*, No. 5 and No. 7, p. 164.

11. *Linen, dated 316 H. (?) (928–929 A.D. ?), under Muḫtadir; brown (?), silk-embroidered, Kufī inscription. Size 53 x 50 cm. No. 22511. Fig. 11.* The cloth is coarse, thick, and strong. The embroidery thread is almost entirely worn off, leaving holes in the cloth as the main sign of what the letters had been; over-and-over stitches had been used for most of the letters, and below the inscription there was a straight line in chain stitch. It is impossible to tell how the tails were done. Of the inscription the length preserved is about 40 cm., the height is 2 cm., the width of the letters is 1 mm. The style is very much like that of No. 10.

من الله للخلف (؟) (جم) فر (؟) الام (ام) المقندر بالله
اعزّه اله (sic) ما (أ) مر الوزير على عسى [sic] سنة س (ت) ء (شر ؟) نل [ثمة]

[15 cm.] from God to the Khalīfa (? Dja'?) far (?) the Im(ām) al-Muḫtadir billāh, Commander of the Faithful, may God glorify him. The wazīr 'Alī [sic] 'Isā [sic] ordered this in the year 3? 1? 6? (928–929 A.D. ?).

The whole inscription is full of misspellings and letters omitted, making the reading, especially of the date, problematical. At any rate, the wazīr 'Alī ibn 'Isā was in office during 301–304 and 314–316 H.,^{54a} which would limit the dating of this ʿīrāz.

12. *Linen, dated 310 H. (922–923 A.D.) meaning 317 or 320–322 ? (929 or 932–934 A.D. ?), under Ḳāhīr; red, silk-embroidered, Kufī inscription. Size 41.5 x 26 cm. No. 22512. Fig. 12.* The linen is firm, closely woven, strong, and fairly coarse. The embroidery system and the style are similar to those of No. 2, except that the tall letters are not barred. The length of the inscription, *in toto*, is 34.5 cm.; the height, 8 mm. The tall letters are 8 mm. high, the tails descend 2 mm., the low letters are 2–4 mm. high. Besides the tall letters *lām* and *alif*, *bā*, *hā*, *nūn*, *yā*, and the stems of *ṣād* and final *tā* are elongated. *Kāf* is low; *yā* is low several times. *Dāl* has a tail; the base line dips, chiefly before final letters.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله رب العلمين • بركة من الله لعبد الله محمد الامام القاهر
بالله امير المؤمنين ايده الله ما (امرا sic) لوزير علي بن عيسى بعمله في طراز العامة بمصر على
(:) دي شفيع مولى امير المؤمنين سنة عسر ثلث [ثمة] كسوة

Bismilla. Praise to God the Lord of the worlds. Blessing from God to the Servant of God Muḫammad the Imām al-Ḳāhīr billāh, Commander of the Faithful, may God strengthen him. The wazīr 'Alī ibn 'Isā [ordered] this made in the public factory in Miṣr at the hands of Shafi' maula of the Commander of the Faithful. In the year [3]10 [922–923 A.D.]. Clothing.

There are several difficulties in connection with this inscription. First, the date, which is clearly 310, must be a mistake (there are many misspellings and omissions in this ʿīrāz). A possible substitution is the year 317, when Ḳāhīr for a few days usurped the throne from his brother Muḫtadir,⁵⁵ but 320, 321, or 322 might be better, for after Muḫtadir was killed in 320,

^{54a} Zambaur, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 4, under Muḫtadir.

Ḳāhir was again put on the throne for two years. The confused state of political affairs is reflected in the *ṭirāz* inscriptions, for Muḳtadir's name is found on *ṭirāz* both of Baghdād and of Miṣr dated 320 and 321,⁵⁶ while at the same time there are others bearing the names of both Ḳāhir and Abū 'Alī Muḥammad ibn 'Alī Muḳla (the famous calligrapher) who was in office in 320-321.⁵⁷

From the presence of the name of *Shafī'*, the manager of the factories, the *ṭirāz* could be dated anywhere from 295 H. (911 A.D.) to 321 H. (933 A.D.).⁵⁸

The name of the *wazīr*, which seems to be clearly 'Alī ibn 'Isā, presents another difficulty,⁵⁹ for according to the historians he was suggested for the post which went to Ibn Muḳla.⁶⁰

The word *kiswa* after the date here refers to garment, or to clothing in general, though it is also used specifically for the covering of the Ḳa'ba.⁶¹

13. *Glazed linen, dated 321 H. ? (933 A.D.), under Muḳtadir; red, silk-embroidered, Kufī inscription. Size 26.5 x 11.5 cm. No. 22513. Fig. 13.* The cloth is strong and compact; the embroidery is chiefly backstitch, with chain stitch on the reverse for the base line. Of the inscription the length preserved is 24.5 cm.; the height is 5 mm.; there is scarcely any difference between the tall letters and the low ones, both vary 2-3.5 mm.; tails descend about 1.5 mm. Medial *mīm* occasionally has a tail; the base line dips; tails may be on the wrong side of the letter, so that *wāw* and final *tā* look like *mīm*.

بسمه • برکه من الله لعبد (sic) الله جعفر الامام المقتدر بالله امير المومنين ايده الله مما امر
الوزير بعمله بمصر على يد شفيح مولى امير المومنين سنة احد وعسر ثلث مئة • [؟ م]

Bismilla. Blessing from God to the Servant of God *Dja'far* the Imām al-Muḳtadir billāh, Commander of the Faithful, may God strengthen him. The *wazīr* ordered this made in Miṣr at the hand of *Shafī'* maula of the Commander of the Faithful. Year 321 (?) [933 A.D.] [one word].

Under No. 12 there have already been discussed the other *ṭirāz* mentioning Muḳtadir in 321, the year after his death, and giving the name of *Shafī'* as well. In the Metropolitan Museum a *ṭirāz* of Ḳāhir, dated 320 H., has a style of lettering very similar to this in details as well as in proportions.⁶²

⁵⁶ *Repertoire*, III, 1932, Nos. 1233, 1234, 1235, and 1237.

⁵⁷ Zambaur, *op. cit.*, p. 7, under Ḳāhir.

⁵⁸ *Repertoire*, No. 901 (298 H.); No. 1237 with Muḳtadir's name (dated 321, *sic*); and Nos. 1249 (dated 300, *sic*) and 1254 (dated 320-321 by the name of Ibn Muḳla) and both having Ḳāhir's name.

⁵⁹ Zambaur, *loc. cit.*

⁶⁰ He was refused on account of his uprightness, "the time required some one who was more liberal and

less strict." From: Miskawaihi, *The Experiences of the Nations*, translated by D. S. Margoliouth, Oxford, 1921, I, p. 273. (This is in the series "The eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate," ed. H. F. Amedroz and D. S. Margoliouth, Vol. IV).

⁶¹ Jalāluddīn as-Suyūti, *History of the Califs*, trans. Major H. S. Jarret, Calcutta, 1881, p. 482: since the time of Ma'mūn the *kiswa lil-Ka'ba* had been of white brocade.

⁶² Upton, *op. cit.*, No. 11, p. 166, Fig. 11.



FIG. 7—DATED 298 H. (910-911 A.D.) UNDER MUQTADIR



FIG. 8—DATED 305 H. (917-918 A.D.) UNDER MUQTADIR



FIG. 9—DATED 308 H. (920-921 A.D.) UNDER MUQTADIR

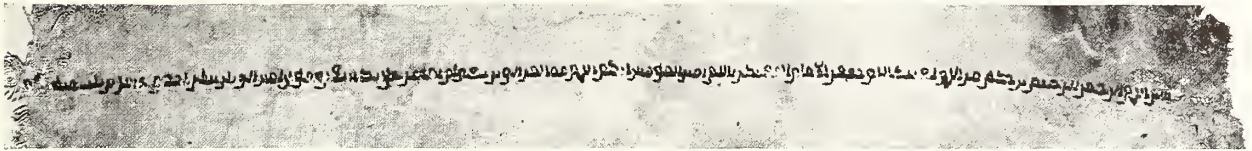


FIG. 13—DATED 321 H. ? (933 A.D. ?) UNDER MUQTADIR

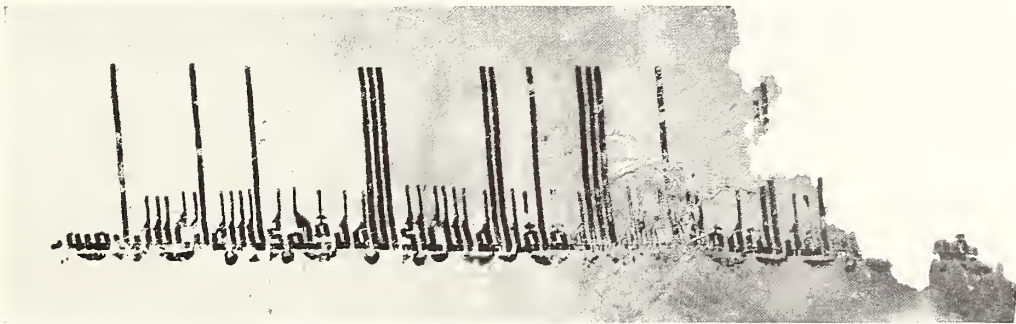


FIG. 10—DATED 314 H. (926-927 A.D.) UNDER MUQTADIR



FIG. 12—DATED 310-317 H. (?-922-929 A.D. ?) UNDER QĀHIR

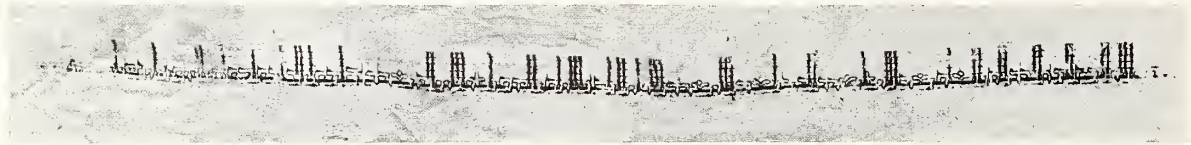


FIG. 15—DATED 322 OR 326 H. (933 OR 937 A.D.) UNDER RĀDĪ

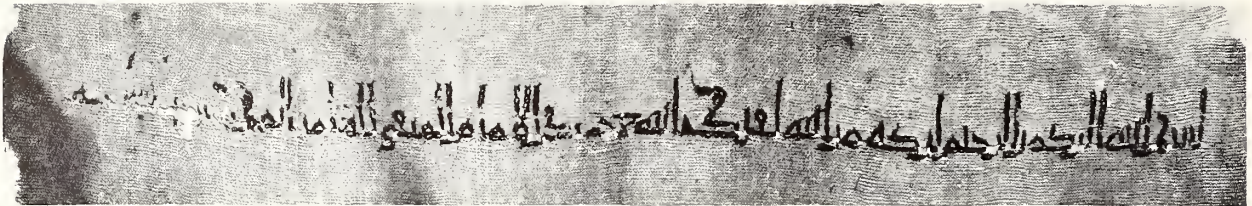


FIG. 16—329-333 H. (940-944 A.D.) UNDER MUTTAQĪ

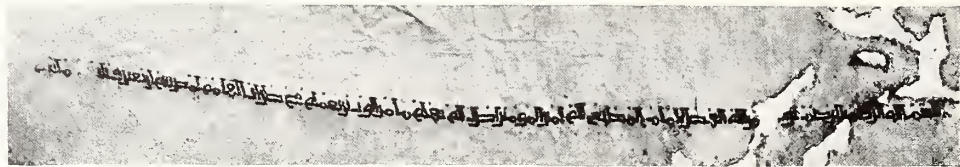


FIG. 17—DATED 340 H. (951-952 A.D.) UNDER MUTĪ'

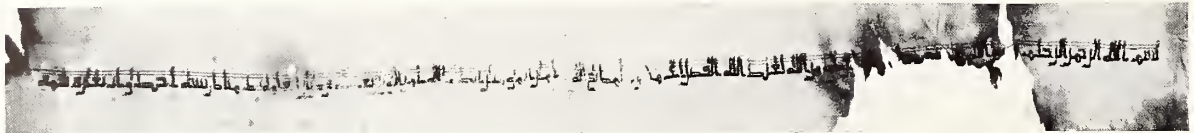


FIG. 18—DATED 341 H. (952-953 A.D.) UNDER MUTĪ'

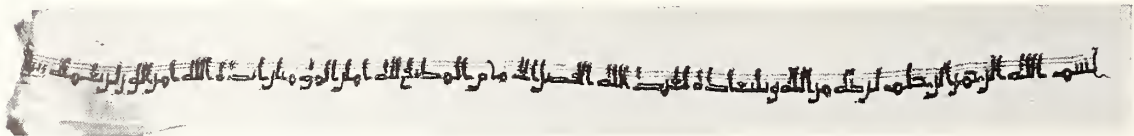


FIG. 19—334-358 H. (946-969 A.D.) UNDER MUTĪ'



FIG. 20—DATED 334-354 H. (946-966 A.D.) UNDER MUTĪ'



FIG. 21—DATED 355 H. (965-966 A.D.) UNDER MUTĪ'

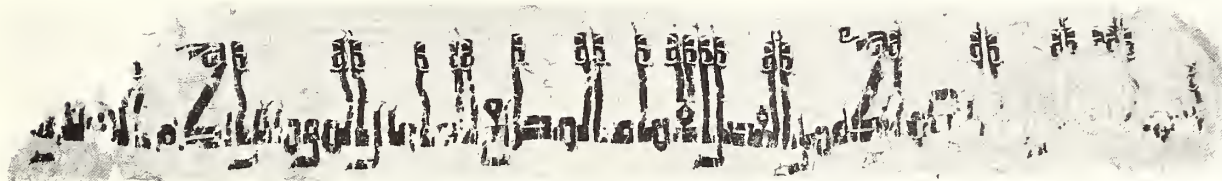


FIG. 22—334-358 H. (946-969 A.D.) UNDER MUTĪ'

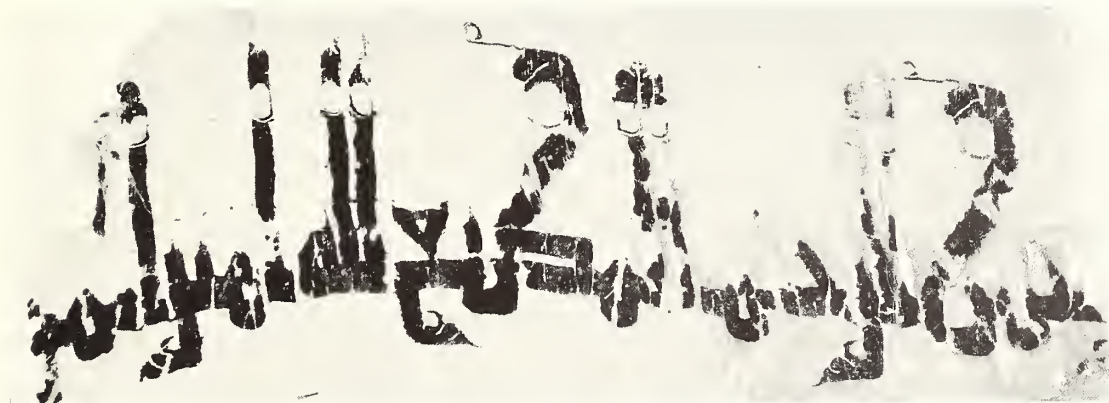


FIG. 23—334-358 H. (946-969 A.D.) UNDER MUTĪ'

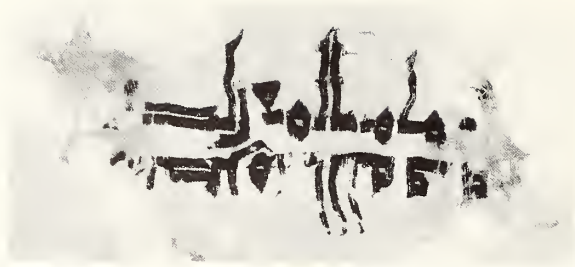


FIG. 24 *a, b*—358–365 H. (969–975 A.D.) UNDER MU'IZZ

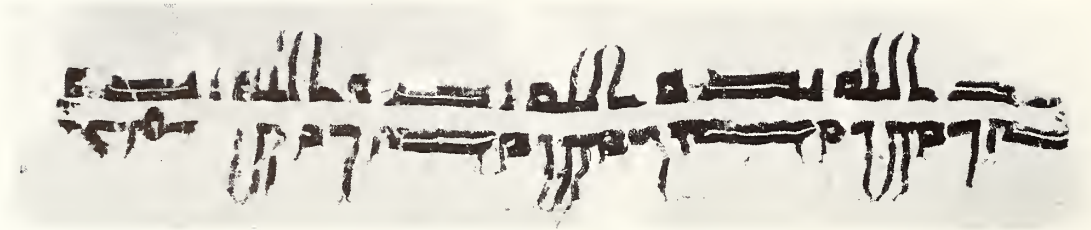


FIG. 24 *c, d*—358–365 H. (969–975 A.D.) UNDER MU'IZZ



FIG. 25—365–386 H. (975–996 A.D.) UNDER 'AZİZ



FIG. 26—386–411 H. (996–1020 A.D.) UNDER HĀKIM

14. *Linen, dated 295–320 H. (908–932 A.D.), under Muḫtadir; brown (?), silk-embroidered, Kufī inscriptions. Size 62 x 49 cm. No. 22514. Fig. 14.* The cloth is thick, firm, and strong. In inscription *a* the embroidery system is like that of No. 2, but the threads are almost entirely gone, leaving holes in the cloth; the color of the silk is very faded. The total length was 35 cm., of which only 23 cm. are legible; the height is 8 mm, the tall letters are 6 mm., the tails, 2 mm. Inscription *b* in backstitch (2.5 x 1 cm., and 6 x 8 mm.) was preserved only because the corner where it occurs was turned over and sewed down; the tall letters have V-shaped finials. The tall letters are 1 cm. and 8 mm.

(*a*) بسمه • الحمد لله ربّ العلمين بركة من الله لعبده (sic) ابي (الفضل) جعفر الامام
المقتدر بالله امير المؤمنين ايده الله مما امر الوزير محمد [remainder, illegible] (b) سلامة
لعبده الله الرفاء

a) Bismilla. Praise to God the Lord of the Worlds. Blessing from God to the Servant of God Abu- (I-Faḍl) Dja'far the Imān al-Muḫtadir billāh, Commander of the Faithful, may God strengthen him. The wazīr Muḫammad (?) ordered the making of this [12 cm. illegible].

b) Health to 'Abdallah ar-Raffā'.

The name of the wazīr seems to be Muḫammad, and as there were three wazīrs of that name under Muḫtadir, the ʿirāz cannot be dated exactly.⁶³ The additional inscription is probably, from its style and technique, contemporary. The name ar-Raffā' is very interesting; it means one who is by profession a mender, patcher, or darner of clothes.

15. *Linen, dated 322 or 326 H. (933 or 937 A.D.), under Rādī; brown, silk-embroidered, Kufī inscription. Size 41 x 22 cm. No. 22515. Fig. 15.* The cloth is firm, not very fine. Backstitch is used for the low letters and the tails, chain stitch on the reverse for the base line; the tall letters (here *lām* and *alif* only) are composed of two vertical threads laid on the surface of the cloth and held in place by stitches making four bars; these are continued horizontally the whole length of the inscription in a darning stitch; below the inscription darning stitches with the tails horizontal make another straight line. The tall letters have V-shaped finials, the low ones have finials in the shape of right angles. The length of the inscription is 34.5 cm., its height 1.2 cm., the tall letters are 1 cm. high. The style is involved, decoration being put before clarity; *dāl* and *ḥā* have the same form, *mīm*, *tā*, *hā*, and *wāw* have two tails, in some words the letters are out of order.

بسمه • الحمد لله ربّ العلمين [several words] لعبده الله محمد الامام الراضي بالله امرء (sic)
[several words] امير المؤمنين [several words] الله ما امر محمد بن علي [several words] (sic)

Bismilla. Praise to God, the Lord of the Worlds [several words] to the Servant of God Muḫammad the Imān ar-Rādī, Commander of the Faithful, may God strengthen him. The wazīr Muḫammad ibn 'Alī [several words] of the Commander of the Faithful, ordered it [several words].

⁶³ Zambaur, *loc. cit.*

(a) *بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم*

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم *بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم* *بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم* *بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم*

(b) *بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم*

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم *بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم* *بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم*

Above, actual state Below, restoration

FIG. 4—DATED 289 H. (901-902 A.D.) UNDER MU'TADID

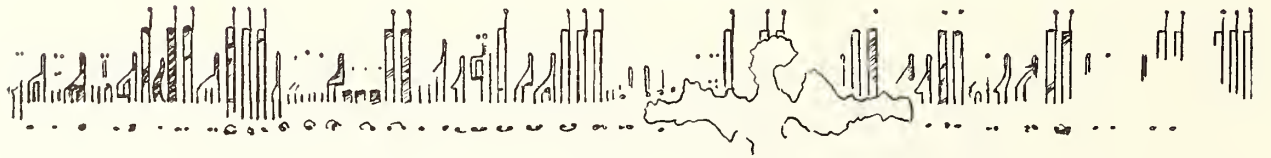


FIG. 11—DATED 316 H. ? (928-929 A.D. ?) UNDER MUQTADIR

(a) *بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم*

Actual state

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم *بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم* *بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم*

Restoration

(b) *بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم* *بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم*

Restoration

Actual state

FIG. 14—295-320 H. (908-932 A.D.) UNDER MUQTADIR

Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn Muḥla was twice wazīr to Rādī,⁶⁴ in 322 and in 326 H.; the calligrapher’s second wazīrat ended with the cutting off of his famous right hand.⁶⁵ This inscription shows signs of degeneration, and no indication of the creative genius connected with Ibn Muḥla.⁶⁶ From this example it might be deduced that the wazīrs left the designing of the ʿīrāz to others.⁶⁷

ʿĪrāz of Rādī in tapestry weaving are at the Metropolitan Museum, in Berlin, and in the Pfister collection.⁶⁸

16. *Linen, dated 329–333 H. (940–944 A.D.), under Muttakī; red, silk-embroidered, Kufī inscription. Size 40 x 25 cm. No. 22516. Fig. 16.* The cloth is loosely woven; the embroidery is chain stitch. The inscription is 34.5 cm. long and 2.1 cm. high. The tall letters are 1.8 cm. high; the width is 1–2 mm.; the tails descend only 2 mm. *Dāl* in ‘*abd*’ has a triangular serif on the base line, and its finial and the ascending tail of *wāw*, are leaflike—this Kufī has started to “flower.” The base line dips once; one *dāl* has a tail; a *mīm* and a *wāw* each have two tails, one going up, and one going down; one *ḥā* is exactly like a *kāf*; final *yā* has the same outline as in No. 6, except that here it is curved; ‘*ain*’ is exactly the same as *kāf*.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ • بَرَكَةٌ مِنَ اللَّهِ لِعَبْدِ اللَّهِ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ الْمُتَّقِي لِلَّهِ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ • [two words]

Bismilla. Blessing from God to the Servant of God Muḥammad (?) the Imām al-Muttakī lillah, Commander of the Faithful [two words].

The last two words might have contained the usual phrase of good wishes, as, “May God glorify him.” The caliph’s name is here given as Muḥammad, although according to the historians, it was Abu Ishāq Ibrahīm.⁶⁹ It is interesting to note the slight but distinctive differences in style between this ʿīrāz and No. 1, almost one hundred years earlier, indicating the change from a simple to a flowering Kufī.

17. *Glazed linen, dated 340 H. (951–952 A.D.), under Mutī; brown, silk-embroidered, Kufī inscription. Size 49 x 53 cm. No. 22517. Fig. 17.* The cloth is of coarse threads but is firmly woven. The embroidery system is that of No. 2, except that the isolated verticals of the low letters, as well as the high letters, are in over-and-over stitch. The horizontal bars at the tops of the tall letters are parts of a continuous thread run along the whole length of the inscription in darning stitch. The total length of the inscription is 28.5 cm., its height is 6 mm.; the tall letters are 4 mm., and the tails are 2 mm. Of the low letters only two *ba*’s are elongated. The base line marks a V-shaped dip below most of the ‘*ain*’s, *fā*, and *kāf* (though it

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ Al-Fakhri, p. 320. For details of his life, begin at p. 318.

⁶⁶ See the article by Eric Schroeder, *supra*.

⁶⁷ Al-Fakhri, *loc. cit.* Ibn Muḥla as a calligrapher wrote out ḥadīths and *Qur’āns*; he also composed poetry

and worded the royal decrees. Perhaps designing ʿīrāz inscriptions was not literary enough for him.

⁶⁸ Upton, *op. cit.*, Nos. 12 and 13, pp. 167–168, Figs. 12–13; Kühnel, *Festschrift*, pp. 61–62, Taf. II, Abb. 3; Pfister, *op. cit.*, C28, p. 76, Pl. XXXII.

⁶⁹ Zambaur, *op. cit.*, p. 4; al-Fakhri, p. 332, line 3.

remains level for two 'ain's). Tails are varied, turning right, left, or horizontally. *Ha* looks like *dāl* or *kāf*, and final *ha* has a tail.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ • بَرَكَاتٌ مِّنَ اللَّهِ الْفَضْلِ الْإِمَامِ الْمُطِيعِ لِلَّهِ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ أَطَالَ اللَّهُ بِفَاءِ مَا (أ) مَرَّ الْوَزِيرُ
بِعَمَلِهِ فِي طَرَاذِ الْعَامَّةِ بِمِصْرَ سَنَةِ أَرْبَعِينَ وَثَلَاثَةَ مِائَةٍ • مَلَد

Bismilla. Blessing from God. Al-Faḍl the Imām al-Muṭī' lillāh, Commander of the Faithful, may God prolong his life. The wazīr ordered this made in the public factory in Miṣr in the year [3]40 [951-952 A.D.]. [two or three letters].

The date is worn; it may be that the *thā* of *thalāth* is long horizontally, and that the last few letters are the *mi'a*. The low and cramped look of this inscription recalls that of No. 13; its special characteristics are noted above.

One does not expect to find the names of wazīrs given under the reign of Muṭī', nor of the two next succeeding caliphs, for by now both they and the wazīrs were under the complete control of the Buwaihids.⁷⁰

After the words "Blessing from God" the phrase "to the Servant of God" seems to have been omitted, according to the earlier formula.

18. *Linen, dated 341 (952-953 A.D.), under Muṭī'; dark green, silk, tapestry-woven, Kufī inscription. Size 68 x 41 cm. No. 22518. Fig. 18.* The cloth is fine but loosely woven; it is fringed, and has a narrow, red silk band near the end. The inscription is 25 cm. from the fringe. The inscription is worked in three techniques: first, true tapestry weaving in the horizontals, and the vertical parts which are less than 2 mm. high. Second, for the tall letters *alif*, *lām*, *tā*, and initial *bā*, and some *yā*'s, tapestry weaving is done by hand. Third, for the decoratively elongated parts of letters which are ordinarily low, i.e., the stems of *dāl*, 'ain, *fā*, *kāf*, *kāf*, final *tā*, and some *bā*'s, the silk thread is simply wound around the floating warp threads, giving an effect resembling the over-and-over embroidery stitch often used for tall letters, as in No. 2. This technical distinction between naturally tall and decoratively elongated letters is interesting. The inscription is 61 cm. long, 1.5 cm. high, the tall letters about 1.2 cm. high.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ • وَصَلَّى (?) اللَّهُ عَلَيَّ مُحَمَّدًا تَمَّ النَّبِيِّينَ بَرَكَاتٌ مِّنَ اللَّهِ لِعَبْدِ اللَّهِ الْفَضْلِ الْإِمَامِ الْمُطِيعِ
لِلَّهِ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ أَيَّدَهُ اللَّهُ أَمْرَ الْوَزِيرِ بِعَمَلِهِ فِي طَرَاذِ الْعَامَّةِ بِدِمِيَاطِي سَنَةِ أَحَدٍ وَ أَرْبَعِينَ وَثَلَاثَةَ مِائَةٍ

Bismilla. The blessing of God be upon Muḥammad Seal of the Prophets. Blessing from God to the Servant of God al-Faḍl, the Imām al-Muṭī' lillāh, Commander of the Faithful, may God strengthen him. The Wazīr ordered this made in the public factory in Damietta in the year 341 [952-953 A.D.].

The two horizontal threads run through the upper part of the inscription recall No. 15, which is embroidered; they occur also in a ṭirāz of Muṭī' very similar in style in the Metropol-

⁷⁰ Zambaur, *op. cit.*, p. 8; al-Fakhrī, p. 336, lines 4-6.

itan Museum.⁷¹ One in Berlin is also akin to this, but without the lines, and more developed decoratively.⁷²

19. *Linen, dated 334–358 H. (946–969 A.D.), under Mutī‘; brown silk, tapestry-woven, Kufī inscription. Size 68 x 24 cm. No. 22519. Fig. 19.* The cloth, with fringe and silk stripe, and the three techniques of the inscription, is like No. 18, except that the variations in technique are not so consistently applied. Of the inscription the length preserved is 51 cm., the height is 1.5 cm., the tall letters are about 1.2 cm. As in No. 18, a *wāw* and a *‘ain* each have two tails, going up and going down. In *sīn* the central tooth is higher than the others.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ • بَرَكَةٌ مِنَ اللَّهِ وَسَعَادَةٌ لِعَبْدِ اللَّهِ الْفَضْلِ الْإِمَامِ الْمُطِيعِ لِلَّهِ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ أَيَّدَهُ اللَّهُ أَمْرَ الْوَزِيرِ
بِعَمَلِهِ سَنَةَ •

Bismilla. Blessing from God and happiness to the Servant of God al-Faḍl the Imām al-Mutī‘ lillāh, Commander of the Faithful, may God strengthen him. The wazīr ordered this made in the year . . .

Because of its very strong resemblance to No. 18, this ʿirāz was very likely also made in Damietta.

20. *Gauzelike linen, dated 334–354 H. (946–965 A.D.), under Mutī‘; dark green, silk, tapestry-woven, Kufī inscription. Size 72 x 43 cm. No. 22520. Fig. 20.* The cloth ends in a fringe and three silk bands (one preserved is yellow-ocher). True tapestry weaving is used only for a small distance, at the base line; above and below this the letters float over the unwoven weft threads; next to all slanting lines the background is filled in with linen threads by hand. Most of the ground is simply the weave of the cloth. Of the inscription the length preserved is 65 cm., the height is 9.7 cm., tall letters are 7.2 cm. high. Besides *lām* and *aliḥ*, the only tall letters are *ḥā*, one *rā*, and two final *nūn*'s, an initial *bā*, and *nūn* and final *tā* in *sana*. The tail of *‘ain* turns back to the right.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ • الْمُطِيعِ لِلَّهِ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ سَنَةَ أَرْبَعٍ • • • • • وَثَلَاثِينَ •

Bismilla. Al-Mutī‘ lillah, Commander of the Faithful. In the year [3 . . . ?]4 [946–966 A.D.].

The year might be 334, 340, 344, or 354, the only years in the reign of Mutī‘ before the Fāṭimid conquest of Egypt in which four comes first (Arabic). By this time the earlier ‘Abbāsīd formula has dwindled to little more than the caliph’s name, and perhaps the date and the place. This rather elegant style, with the tops of the tall letters either like a half palmette or with disks which call to mind the effect of the *redende Buchstabe*⁷³ of later Mosul metal, is typical of the period of Mutī‘.⁷⁴

⁷¹ Upton, *op. cit.*, No. 14, p. 168, Fig. 14.

⁷² Kühnel, *Festschrift*, Taf. II, Abb. 4.

⁷³ See Kühnel, *Islamische Kleinkunst*, Berlin, 1925, Fig. 16 on p. 148, and G. Migeon, *Musulman Art*, Paris, 1922, I, Pl. 23, No. 70.

⁷⁴ E. Kühnel, “Tirazstoffe der Abbasiden,” *Der Islam*, IV, 1925, Abb. on p. 84; G. Wiet, *Album du Musée Arabe du Caire*, Le Caire, 1930, Pl. 78; M. S. Dimand,

“A recent gift of Egypto-Arabic textiles,” *Bull. Metropolitan Mus. Art*, April, 1932, Fig. 1, p. 93; Kühnel, *Festschrift*, 1933, Taf. II, Abb. 5, p. 62–63; C. J. Lamm, “Five Egyptian Tapestry-weavings in Swedish Museums,” *Ars Islamica*, 1934, I, Pt. 1, Figs. 1 and 2; G. Wiet, “Les tissus et tapisseries de l’Égypte musulmane,” *Revue de l’art ancien et moderne*, 68, 1935, illust. p. 9.

21. *Linen, dated 355 H. (965–966 A.D.), under Mutī‘; fine linen, with green silk, tapestry-woven, Kufī inscription; size 34.5 x 29.5 cm. No. 22521. Fig. 21.* Half of the height of the inscription is in true tapestry weaving in both background and letters; above and below this area the tops and the tails of the letters lie over the unwoven weft threads. Of the inscription the length preserved is 31 cm., the height is 1.5 cm.; the tall letters are 1.2 cm. Besides *lām* and *alif* the only tall forms are *ṭā* and the central tooth of *ṣīn*. The letters are decorated with sharp serifs and tiny knobs.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الْمُطِيعِ لِلَّهِ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ أَيَّدَهُ اللَّهُ . مَا أَمَرَ بِعَمَلِهِ فِي طَرَاظِ الْعَامَّةِ بِتَوْنَةِ سَنَةِ
خَمْسٍ وَخَمْسِينَ وَثَلَاثِمِائَةٍ

[Bismilla . . . al-Mutī‘ li]llāh, Commander of the Faithful, may God strengthen him. This was ordered to be made in the public factory in Tūna in the year 355 [965–966 A.D.].

Tūna in the Delta is said to have produced the same kind of stuffs as were made in Tinnīs.⁷⁵ This style of lettering, whose crisp and prickly appearance makes one think of holly, or of certain kinds of Gothic letters, seems rather rare for Mutī‘.

22. *Gauzelike linen, dated 334–358 H. (946–969 A.D.), under Mutī‘; yellow, silk, tapestry-woven, Kufī inscription. Size 56.5 x 9 cm. No. 22522. Fig. 22.* The technique of the inscription is that of No. 20. The length preserved is 53.5 cm., the height is 6.5 cm.; the tall letters are 6.5 cm. high. Initial *bā* is of medium height; *kāf* and *dāl* are the only other tall letters besides *lām* and *alif*.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ . بَرَكَةً مِنَ الْفَضْلِ الْإِمَامِ الْمُطِيعِ لِلَّهِ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ أَيَّدَهُ اللَّهُ

Bismilla. Blessing from al-Faḍl the Imām al-Mutī‘ lillāh, Commander of the Faithful, may God strengthen him. . . .

In order to make sense the omitted words must be restored to read, “Blessing from God to the Servant of God al-Faḍl . . .” In this series of textiles, this ṭirāz has the most leafy and flowery sort of Kufī of those of Mutī‘; and the soft golden tan of the silk adds to its charm.

23. *Gauzelike linen, dated 334–358 H. (946–969 A.D.), under Mutī‘; dark brown, silk, tapestry-woven, Kufī inscription. Size 41.5 x 35 cm. No. 22523. Fig. 23.* The cloth is fringed and has a dark green and a yellow silk stripe at the end. For the technique of the inscription see No. 20. The length preserved is 41.5 cm., the height is 12.2 cm.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ الْمُطِيعِ لِلَّهِ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ

[In the name of God the merci]ful, the compassionate. Al-Mutī‘ lillah, Commander of the F[aithful].

⁷⁵ Grohmann, *op. cit.*, p. 788.

The tops of the vertical letters are very compressed. They take their full form only with the slanting stem of *tā* and tail of *nūn*; only in the descending tails do the finials reveal their origin, that is, the half palmette. The large size is typical of the style of Mutī'.

24. *Gauzelike linen, dated 358–365 H. (969–975 A.D.), under Mu'izz; dark brown, silk, tapestry-woven, Kufī inscriptions. Size 18 x 13 cm. and 38 x 33 cm. No. 22524. Fig. 24, 1 and 2.* The cloth has fringe, and red and yellow silk bands at the end. Each one of the four inscriptions has slightly different dimensions; the length is in each case the length of the cloth, the heights are as follows: small piece, *a* 4.5 cm., *b* 3.6 cm.; large piece, *c* 2.5 cm., *d* 3 cm. The width of all the letters is 3–4 mm.

(a) [[الامام المعز]] لدِين الله (b) نصر من الله و [[فتح قريب]]
 (c) (a) يده الله (four times) (d) [[الرحيم الله ايده الله ايده الله]]

a) . . . Imām al-Mu'izz li-[dīn Allāh]. (*b*) Help from God and [a near] victory. (*c*) May God strengthen him (spelled incorrectly). (*d*) Bismilla. God. May God strengthen him. [The "God strengthen him" of *c* and *d* repeated indefinitely.]

The two pairs of inscriptions upside down to each other are obviously from the same cloth, but because the *a-b* pair is higher than the *c-d* pair, they must have been parallel and not continuous. For this sort of arrangement see below, No. 27.

The phraseology is appropriate to the recent conqueror of Egypt. The style is closely related to that of contemporary coinage in its horizontality and proportions.⁷⁶

25. *Gauzelike linen, dated 365–386 H. (975–996 A.D.), under 'Azīz; yellow, silk, tapestry-woven, Kufī inscriptions. Size 71 x 42 cm. No. 22525. Fig. 25.* The cloth is fringed, and has stripes of dark blue and of yellow silk, and a tapestry-woven decorative band in green and dark and light yellow-ocher silk. For the technique of the inscriptions see No. 20. The remaining length of the inscriptions is 65.5 cm., the height of *a* is 7.3 cm., of *b* only 7 cm.; *a* starts at the selvage, and *b* stops there, without ending properly.

(a) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم • بركة من الله لعبد الله و وليه نزار ا (بي) المنصور الامام العز [[يز]]
 (b) [[ال]] حمد لله (ر) ب العلمين بركة من الله (لعبد الله) و وليه نزار ا (ب) و (sic) المنصور الامام

a) In the name [of] the merciful, the compassionate. Blessing from God to the Servant of God and his Friend Nazār A[bū]-l Manṣūr the Imām al-'Az[īz]. (*b*) Praise to God the Lord of the Worlds. Blessing from God and his Friend Nazār A[b]ū-l Manṣūr the Imām.

In *a* the word "God" was omitted, and in *b*, after "from God," was omitted "to the Servant of God"; it should read the same as *a*.

⁷⁶ For 'Abbāsīd coins see Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, I, Rādī, No. 461, Muttakī No. 472, Mutī' No. 478, all on Pl. VII. For coins of Mu'izz, see *ibid.*, IV, 1879, Nos.

41 and 42, Pl. I. The similarity is in general proportions, not in details.

The style has more resemblance to that of some *ṭirāz* of Mutī' than to some other *ṭirāz* of 'Azīz himself.⁷⁷

26. *Gauzelike linen, dated 386–411 H. (996–1020 A.D.), under Ḥākīm; dark brown, silk, tapestry-woven inscription. Size 40 x 21 cm. No. 22526. Fig. 26.* The greater part of the inscription is in tapestry weaving; only the heads of the letters float over the unwoven weft threads. The disks in the heads are filled in with white linen thread. Length preserved is 39 cm., the height is 7.8 cm.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ بِالْحَاكِمِ بِأَمْرِ اللَّهِ

[In the name of] God, the merciful, the compassionate. Al-Ḥākīm (bi-am)r Allah. There is no God [but God].

The style of this *ṭirāz* is most astonishing and is not at all like many other *ṭirāz* of the same caliph.⁷⁸ M. Wiet has illustrated one exceedingly similar,⁷⁹ but more stylized. Here there is a trace of earlier styles only in the heads of the letters, the aesthetic effect as a whole is new: a strong lateral compression, a complete space filling, especially in the narrow vertical curves below the base line, all making a complicated, rich, and concentrated design.

27. *Fine linen, dated 420 H. (1029–1030 A.D.), under Zāhir; blue and red, silk, tapestry-woven, Kufī inscriptions. Size 45 x 18.5 cm. No. 22527. Fig. 27.* Not shown in the photograph is a row of alternating buds and blossoms, in red, blue, and white (or natural linen). The rabbit and bird-medallion bands between the inscriptions are in red, blue, green, and white. The letters are red on a white ground with dark blue scrolls and outer borders. All is in tapestry weaving pure and simple. The letters are badly worn. In *a* and *b* the height is 3 cm., in *c* and *d* the height is 1.6 cm.

(a) عشرين و اربع مائة
 (b) ؟ بركة كاملة ونعمة شاملة وسعا دة دائمة
 (c) في طراز الخاصة سنة و (sic) عشرين وا ربعمائة
 (d) several words وسعادة من الله

a) [year] 420. (*b*) Perfect [blessing], universal grace and [eternal] happiness. (*c*) [made in the] private factory year [4]20. (*d*) [several words] and happiness from God.

⁷⁷ Upton, *op. cit.*, No. 15, p. 168; Wiet, *op. cit.*, two illustrated on p. 11. One in the Victoria and Albert Museum, not dated, has a decorative band almost identical with that of this inscription, but between the two inscriptions; see Kendrick, *op. cit.*, No. 868, Pl. IV, and p. 13.

⁷⁸ Kendrick, *op. cit.*, No. 857, Pl. I; Wiet, "Album,"

1930, Pl. 80; Guest, "Further Arabic inscriptions on textiles," *Journ. R. As. Soc.*, 1931, No. 5, Pl. II (in the Elsberg collection); Wiet, "Les tissus et tapisseries de l'Egypte musulmane," p. 13; Wiet, "Tissus et tapisserie du Musée Arabe," Pl. XLVI, opposite p. 278.

⁷⁹ Wiet, "Les tissus et tapisseries de l'Egypte musulmane," p. 63.

The formula of good wishes occurs on other Fāṭimid works of art, such as wood carving.⁸⁰

In the Metropolitan Museum there is a ʿirāz of Zāhir with a very similar, though more angular, style of lettering; the rabbits are not very well drawn.⁸¹

The arrangement of two pairs of inscriptions upside down to each other, including between them a decorative band, one pair often being larger than the other, is very typical of Fāṭimid textile art.⁸² Examples are in London, Berlin, the Metropolitan Museum, and the Elsberg collection.⁸³

28. *Fine glazed linen, dated 411–427 H. (1020–1035 A.D.), under Zāhir; green, silk, tapestry-woven, Kufī inscription, and a short embroidered Kufī inscription. Size 58 x 24 cm. No. 22528. Fig. 28.* Just above the inscription is a row of lotus bud-and-blossom, white on a green ground. The tapestry-woven inscription *a* is 55 cm. long and 1.3 cm. high. The letters are very narrow, about .5 mm., but the curving tails are as much as 2 mm. in width. *Wāw* has two forms; ‘*ain* looks like a lotus blossom, *hā* is an inverted heart shape. Only three letters beside *lām* and *alif* are tall, but all spaces are filled by fine tendril-like lines. Inscription *b* is 1.8 cm. long and 9 mm. high; in the same green silk.

(*a*) بسم الله والله الرحمن الرحيم بكر (sic!) من الله لعبد الله و وليه عليّ ابي الحسن الامام الظاهر
لاعزاز دين الله امير المومنين بن الامام الحاكم بامر الله امير المومنين صلّى (٠٠٠) الله عليهما وعلى
ابائهما لا اله الا الله [several words] الله والتوفيق بالله والاقبال من الله (*b*) [Two or three words, illegible]

a) In the name of God, and God [sic] the merciful the compassionate. Blessing from God to the Servant of God and his Friend ‘Ali Abū-l Ḥasan the Imam az-Zāhir li-‘zāz dīn Allāh, Commander of the Faithful, son of the Imām al-Ḥākim bi-amr Allāh, Commander of the Faithful, may the blessing of God be upon them both and upon their fathers. There is no God but God [several words] Trust is in God, and prosperity is from God. [*b*] Illegible.]

In this ʿirāz the work is very fine; the effect is exquisite, but perhaps a little overrefined and a little fragile. A nice touch, however, is that near the beginning and at the end there are among the wavering tendrils small clusters of three dots, as if the space-filling scrolls were a vine, and these were the grapes.

⁸⁰ Some Fāṭimid wood carvings, with this same formula, are in the collection of the University of Michigan; as yet unpublished.

⁸¹ Upton, *op. cit.*, No. 16, pp. 168–169, Figs. 16 and 162.

⁸² Lamm to the contrary. See Lamm, *op. cit.*, p. 94, “the almost unparalleled way in which the two pairs of ornamental bands are placed reversely,” etc. His note 9 referred to a textile in Berlin as an exception.

⁸³ (1 and 2) Kendrick, *op. cit.*, No. 873, Pl. II, No. 916, Pl. VI; (3) Kühnel, “Islamische Stoffe aus Agyptischen Gräbern,” Berlin, 1927, No. 3136, Pl. 8, p. 24; (4) Dimand, in *Bull. Metropolitan Mus. Art.*, May 1930, Fig. 7, p. 130; (5) Guest, in *Journ. R. As. Soc.*, 1930, No. 3, Pl. XII, pp. 765–766; (6) Guest, in *Journ. R. As. Soc.*, 1931, No. 5, Pl. II, pp. 133–134 (Elsberg collection).

A *ṭirāz* of Zāhir of equal delicacy is in the Elsberg collection.⁸⁴ The inscription is double; there are two bands of rabbits. The colors are dark blue (or black) and tan.

29. *Fine glazed linen, dated 427-487 H. (1035-1094 A.D.), under Mustanşir; dark green, silk, tapestry-woven, Kufī inscription. Size 43.5 x 16.5 cm. No. 22529. Fig. 29.* The background, as well as the letters, is tapestry woven and is in natural linen threads. Of the inscription the length preserved is 43.5 cm., the height is 2.3 cm.; the space below the base line is very short, and all the tails curl up. Serifs are used, and *lām* and *alif* are braided. The weaving is very fine.

معدّ أبي تميم الامام و(sic !) المستنصر بالله امير المومنين صلى الله عليه وعلى ابائه الائمة الطاهرين
وا^ا [etc. بنائه]

... Ma'ad Abū Tamīm, the Imām al-Mustanşir billāh, Commander of the Faithful, may the blessing of God be upon him and upon his fathers the pure Imāms and [upon his sons, etc.].

Here is a good example of decoration versus legibility, and the result is about even. The motif of a braided *lām-alif* is repeated at regular intervals, regardless of where it falls; seventeen times it falls where it should not be, six times it falls in a place proper to either, or both, of these letters. But thirteen times either or both of these letters are suppressed so as not to interfere with the design; in eleven of these places they have left a short stump; and in the other two places, where *alif-lām-alif* belonged, there is a small, symmetrical, branching leaf. In the *ṭirāz* of Ḥākīm, No. 26, are found letters reshaped into a bold and striking design; here they are mutilated to produce a monotonous rhythmic effect.

Typically Fāṭimid is the phraseology; after "his fathers the pure Imāms" probably followed the words, "and his noble sons."⁸⁵

In the Victoria and Albert Museum two *ṭirāz* of Mustanşir are very close to this in style, though with ornamental borders and space filling;⁸⁶ a third, not dated, has the same schematic regularity of repeated verticals.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ Guest, in *Journ. R. As. Soc.*, 1930, No. 2, pp. 762-764, Pl. XII. The sentence beginning "Victory" obviously has some other words missing, and it probably should read "Victory from God to the Servant of God and his Friend 'Ali Abū-l Ḥasan the Imām," etc. Mr. Guest had read the personal name 'Alī as the preposition 'ala, meaning "to" (in this sentence).

⁸⁵ Van Berchem, *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, Egypt, Paris, 1894 (thus is Vol. XIX of the *Mémoires publiées par les Membres de la Mission archéologique Française au Caire*), I, p. 25, note 1; and No. 32, p. 54.

⁸⁶ Kendrick, *op. cit.*, Nos. 862 and 863, Pl. II, pp. 10-11.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 860, Pl. II, p. 9.

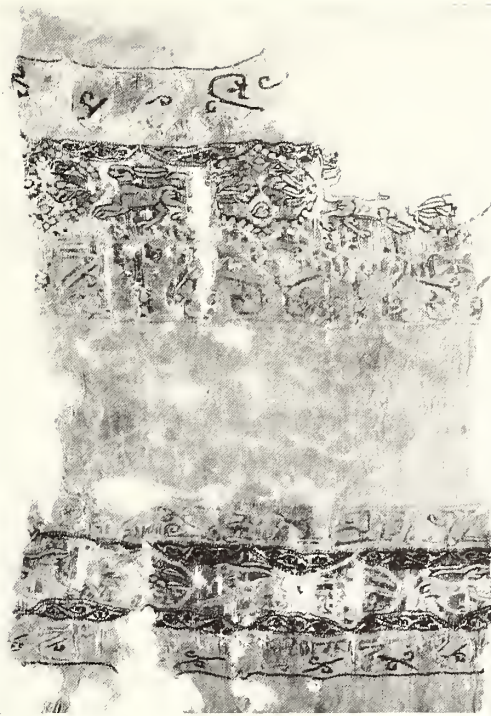


FIG. 27—DATED 420 H. (1029-1030 A.D.) UNDER ZĀHIR



FIG. 28—411-427 H. (1020-1035 A.D.) UNDER ZĀHIR

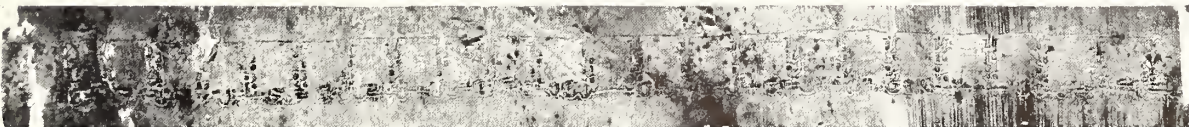


FIG. 29—427-487 H. (1035-1094 A.D.) UNDER MUSTANŞIR

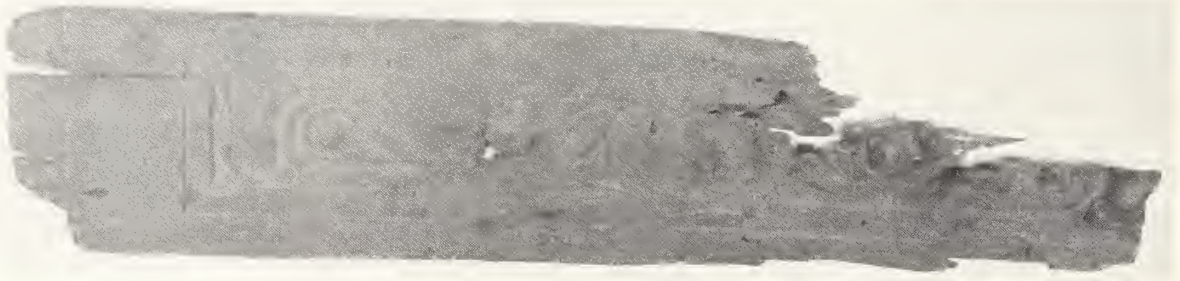


FIG. 1—No. 10160



FIG. 2—No. 10158

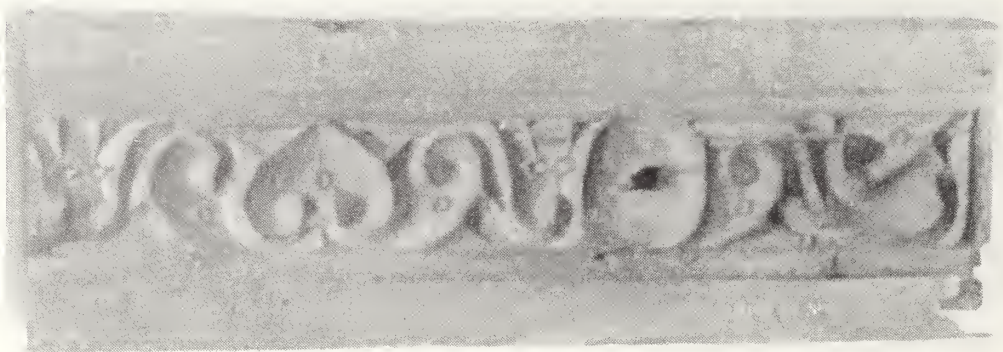


FIG. 3—No. 10144

SOME EGYPTIAN WOOD CARVINGS IN THE COLLECTION OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

BY PETER RUTHVEN

IN 1935 THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN ACQUIRED IN CAIRO A COLLECTION OF TWENTY examples of Egyptian woodwork dating from the ninth and tenth centuries carved in the so-called Ṭūlūnid style. The pieces, recently found in the rubbish mounds of Fustāṭ by native workmen, form an interesting group, representative of the sloping cut technique which was adopted from Mesopotamia in Egypt; they considerably increase the number of known pieces of wood carving of this period. As M. S. Dimand treats the problem of the development of early Islamic ornament on pages 293-337 in this volume, the following will be limited to a description of the pieces.

No. 10160 (*Fig. 1*). A rectangular panel (760 x 164 mm.) forming the top or bottom section of a frame. The upper right side is missing. The piece is decorated with a central cordate ornament enclosed between two oblong lanceolate leaves which unroll into elongated scrolls and half palmettes. The design ends in a trilobed floral half palmette. A simple beveled frame borders the pattern. The top and bottom edges are decorated with a beaded design. Similar ornamentation is found on a panel in the Musée Arabe, No. 4619,¹ which has a like arrangement of palmette and scroll designs and which is executed with the same rather uneven technique.

No. 10158 (*Fig. 2*). A section of the upper part of a frame (693 x 117 mm.) likewise displaying a central motif in the form of a cordate palmette enclosed by an oblong lanceolate design which develops into ornamental units composed of four interlacing half palmettes. The composition is completed at the end with a cordate half palmette. It is confined by a simple edge and beaded design. A similar pattern is found on a frame in the Musée Arabe, No. 9521,² from the cemetery of Ain al Sira, No. 670³ in the same museum, and on two pieces in the State Museum, Berlin.⁴ The wood is finely carved with the design in smoothly sloping form and is representative of the best Ṭūlūnid woodwork.

No. 10144 (*Fig. 3*). A section of a frame (399 x 140 mm.) of similar central motif as Nos. 10158 and 18160 which develops into trilobed half palmettes. The palmettes and half palmettes are ornamented with small circles. An ovoid area interrupts the pattern, which ends in curling lanceolate half palmettes. The palmettes and half palmettes are decorated with circles. A plain band margins the ornamental frieze. The piece is executed in a rough technique.

No. 10139 (*Fig. 4*). A fragment of a panel (565 x 253 mm.) in palm wood in a bad state of preservation; it exhibits the same unrolling lobate half palmettes and cleft palmette

¹ E. Pauty, *Catalogue général du Musée arabe du Caire, Les bois sculptés jusqu'à l'époque ayyoubide*, Le Caire, 1931, Pl. XV.

² *Ibid.*, Pl. E.

³ *Ibid.*, Pl. XVII.

⁴ E. Cohn-Wiener, *Das Kunstgewerbe des Ostens*, Berlin, n. d., Fig. 77.

decorative features as Nos. 10158 and 10144. An undecorated border is employed. Similar to No. 3498 in the Musée Arabe.⁵

No. 10175 (*Fig. 5*). A panel (864 x 132 mm.) decorated with a deeply cut frieze composed of a central cordate palmette with a sagittate base enclosed by two half lanceolate palmettes and two trilobed palmettes separated by cirrose half palmettes. The surface is covered with a thick white pigment with blue coloring in the recessed portions. Red, yellow, black, and gold decorate the areas in relief. A plain band rims the ornamentation. A similar use of triparted palmettes is displayed in No. 4620⁶ in the Musée Arabe.

No. 10142 (*Fig. 6*). A finely carved section of a frame (618 x 132 mm.) with the decoration formed by the repetition of compact rectangular compartments filled with half cordate palmettes developing into trifoliate palmettes. The central motif of each compartment is a triangle composed of two half palmettes developing into trifoliate palmettes. A simple band limits the decoration. This design is found on No. 6855 in the Musée Arabe.⁷

No. 10161 (*Fig. 7*). A rectangular panel (686 x 158 mm.) probably from a door. The piece displays a highly stylized composition of four sagittate and four lanceolate half palmettes enclosing three triangular units and an oblong lanceolate ornament decorated by two concentric circles. The palmettes have become so stylized as to approach an abstract geometric form. There are similar panels in the State Museum, Berlin,⁸ and the Musée Arabe, Nos. 3770⁹ and 4617.¹⁰ The piece displays a general decline in technique.

No. 10220 (*Fig. 8*). A long panel with slanting ends (1044 x 120 mm.) filled with two elongated shields, decorated with circles. The intermediate areas are occupied by cordate palmettes and half palmettes which unroll to form a complex of cirrose half palmettes which occupy the ends. The carving is in low relief and carefully shaped.

No. 10120 (*Fig. 9*). The end of a panel (681 x 254 mm.) boldly carved in half cordate palmettes and lobate palmettes separated by a beveled angular band sharply dividing the areas. The piece has a plain margin.

No. 10138 (*Fig. 10*). A part of a panel (719 x 222 mm.) intricately carved with two large palmettes of three divisions and half cordate leaf forms which develop into separating bands, circular designs composed of half sagittate forms, and two cirrose designs enclosing a full palmette. All available space is filled with foliaceous elements of various scroll-like and convoluted shapes.

No. 10131 (*Fig. 11*). A part of a triangular-shaped panel (610 x 193 mm.) perhaps originally a grill from a window. Deep-cut, rounded scrolls form half palmettes in graceful unrolling fillet designs with open areas. The plastic design is bordered with a frieze of alternating cordate half palmettes decorated with circles and similar to the band on No. 6856 in the Musée Arabe.¹¹

⁵ Pauty, *op. cit.*, Pl. XVI.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Pl. XVII.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 22, Pl. XVIII.

⁸ Cohn-Wiener, *op. cit.*, p. 103, Pl. 77.

⁹ Pauty, *op. cit.*, Pl. XIV.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Pl. XII.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Pl. XVI.



FIG. 4—No. 10139



FIG. 5—No. 10175



FIG. 6—No. 10142



FIG. 7—No. 10161



FIG. 8—No. 10220



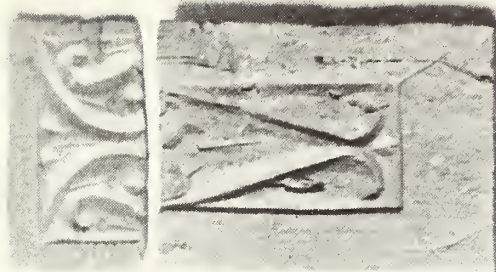
No. 9—No. 10120



FIG. 10—No. 10138



FIG. 11—No. 10131



FIGS. 12, 13 AND 14—Nos. 10167, 10130
AND 10168





FIG. 15—No. 10211



FIGS. 16 AND 17—Nos. 10156 AND 10157



FIGS. 18, 19, AND 20—Nos. 10170, 10171-10172,
AND 10129

No. 10167 (*Fig. 12*). The upper half of small panel (158 x 91 mm.) decorated with four cordate half palmettes enclosing a trilobate leaf form carved in low relief and decorated with circles and slanting lines.

No. 10130 (*Fig. 13*). The lower part of small panel (210 x 151 mm.) decorated with an apiculate leaf form enclosed by two slender half palmettes. Similar to the lower part of No. 7109¹² in the Musée Arabe.

No. 10168 (*Fig. 14*). A section of a frieze (243 x 128 mm.) decorated by a trilobate palmette with unrolling half palmettes. There are evidences of pigment in the deeply cut areas. This motif occurs frequently on wood carving of this period, being found on several examples in the Musée Arabe, and on Nos. 10175 (*Fig. 5*) and 10129 (*Fig. 20*).

No. 10211 (*Fig. 15*). A panel (693 x 144 mm.) forming part of a frame (693 x 144 mm.), similar to No. 4619¹³ in the Musée Arabe. This design of a central cordate palmette and unrolling half palmettes ending in trilobed half palmettes is similar to No. 10160 (*Fig. 1*), though of less refined carving.

Nos. 10156 and 10157 (*Figs. 16 and 17*). Bands of wood (*Fig. 16*, 957 x 46 mm.; *Fig. 17*, 914 x 51 mm.) crudely cut. The design of unrolling half palmettes is similar to that of a piece in the Musée Arabe, No. 6856.

Nos. 10170, 10171-10172, and 10129 (*Figs. 18, 19, and 20*). Fragments of crudely carved wood (*Fig. 18*, 257 x 71 mm.; *Fig. 19*, 200 x 133 mm.; *Fig. 20*, 260 x 83 mm.), perhaps models or rejects, displaying familiar designs of palmettes and half palmettes exemplified in several of the preceding pieces.

¹² *Ibid.*, Pl. XIII.

¹³ *Ibid.*, Pl. XV.

NOTES

ON PERSIAN RUGS OF THE SO-CALLED POLISH TYPE

For the Polish historian of art the problem of Persian rugs of the so-called Polish type offers a series of interesting points, and, exclusively on the ground of Polish sources, many curious details may be added to the subject of the organization of weaving. Poland's relations with the East were so active at one time and the part played by the Polish Armenians was so prominent that more than one reason may be found to explain the presence of these rugs in Poland, and it is perhaps only through the medium of Poland that they were brought farther to the West. I have endeavored to explain this fact in another article (T. Mańkowski, "Influence of Islamic Art in Poland," *Ars Islamica*, II, Pt. 1, pp. 93-117).

Artistic weaving in Persia may be said to have had two phases. On the one hand there was the popular production of rugs by the large masses of weavers who followed old traditions of form deeply rooted in the minds of the Persian people. They carried on that art as a home industry and wove designs which had been used through generations. On the other hand the rulers of the land influenced the weaving of rugs by calling to their court the most skillful workers and ordering them to weave according to new cartoons supplied by painters. Thus the popular art and ornament, which had sprung from the lower classes, encountered the more refined and artistic form forced upon weaving by the court.

When Shāh 'Abbās I (1587-1629), whom history has called the Great, mounted the throne of Persia, the weaving of rugs had already attained a high degree of development under the protection of his predecessors. An excellent organizer as well as a great warrior, he determined

to take this domain into his hands too, and to regulate its production for the benefit of the king and the royal treasury as well as for the profit of the large number of weavers.

The most important source of information concerning the organization of the Persian weaving centers has been until now the accounts of the chevalier Chardin (*Voyages du M. chevalier Chardin en Perse et autres lieux de l'Orient, 1664-1677*, éd. Langlès, Paris, 1811 [first edition, Amsterdam, 1740]), the French traveler, who lived in the second half of the seventeenth century. I am in a position to augment them here by recording certain narrations which have not been used previously.

A Polish Jesuit and missionary, Father Krusiński (Thadaco Krusiński, *Tragica vertentis belli Persici Historia per repetitas clades ab anno 1711 ad annum 1728 continuata . . .*, Societatis Jesu, Missionario Persico, Leopoli, 1740) lived in Persia from 1704 to 1729. He was an acute observer of the country and a good judge of its history, and in his account he characterizes the methods of Shāh 'Abbās I as follows: "In the matter of garments and dress for the royal court of Persia, the foresight of Shāh 'Abbās I causes all kinds of workshops to be erected in the provinces of Shīrwān, Ḳārābagh Gilān, Kāshān, Kīrmān, Mashhad, Astrābād, and in the capital Iṣfahān itself. In these numerous workshops and under the close superintendence of overseers, silk tissues and scarves for common use as well as royal turbans called Madyl (Madyl = mandīl [Arabic]) are woven in a marvellous and beautiful manner, rugs and tissues of all kinds are unceasingly produced for the royal court." (Krusiński, *ibid.*, p. 219: *Quod rem vestiariam Aulae Persicae attinet, regia eiusdem magni Szah Abas providentia in provinciis Szyrvan, Karabach, Gylan, Kaszan,*

Kyrman, Meszat, Astrabat et in ipsa Asphani Metropoli, omnis generis plurimae officinae exstructae. Ubi exacta praefectorum cura panni serici, cincturae, tum ad communem usum, tum quas in Cydarim vulgo Madyl, mira elegantia flectunt, tapetia et omne textrinum opus continuo opere pro aula Regia elaborantur.)

The eight provinces in which Shāh 'Abbās I organized the already existing weaving manufacture did not lie in only one part of the empire. If we look at the map of Persia, we may see that the above-mentioned provinces are scattered all over the enormous expanse of the Persian empire of those days. The Shāh created "officinae" managed by his officers in those centers where artistic weaving had been flourishing and where it had had its finest traditions. Here our Jesuit gives us important information concerning the Shāh's orders, which I am going to repeat: "According to orders which had been issued, in each place different kinds of silk tissues and different sorts of textiles were to be produced." (Krusiński, *ibid.*, p. 219: Haec insuper ordinatione facta, ut in quolibet loco alia serici panni species, alia textrini operis fieret.)

Therefore we see that, in carrying out this organization, it had been the Shāh's intention to preserve the unique character of artistic weaving and its peculiarities of style, which had existed up to that time in different parts of Persia. The central workshops under the management of royal officers were intended to benefit the king's household as well as the whole empire.

Father Krusiński's information throws a new light on the weaving centers organized under Shāh 'Abbās I. They supplement Chardin's well-known narrations, which contain more details but speak less of the weaving itself. In spite of their being written previous to those of Krusiński, they do not describe the whole organization of Persian weaving so minutely as does Krusiński, who in his reports reaches back as far as the end of the sixteenth century.

With the exception of this one detail, both accounts coincide as to the organization of the karkans (Pers. kārkhāne = workshop), as all weaving shops were generally called. In speaking of the weavers, Krusiński tells us that: "Established masters of this art who were endowed with lands were accustomed to transmit the secret of their art along with their other properties to their sons or, if they had none, to their adopted heirs." (Krusiński, *ibid.*, p. 220: Operis artifices constituti et agris donati artis secretum cum haereditate ad filios, si suos non habent adoptivos transmittabant.)

In Chardin's narratives we read about the weavers who worked in the karkans, as well as of those who worked at home under the control of royal overseers who inspected their workshops. Doubtless only the most skillful weavers were employed in the royal karkans, and it was from there that the most costly and sumptuous, as well as the most carefully executed rugs came. These luxurious fabrics were made partly for the royal household and partly for export, the latter helping to fill the royal treasury. The problem of exportation was given by Shāh 'Abbās to a special state organization and is reported and explained by Krusiński: "Therefore these workshops do not produce only what is necessary for the court and courtiers at very small cost to the treasury, aside from the expense for silver thread, but they also enrich the royal treasury beyond measure, as whole cargoes of more valuable silk tissues and rugs brocaded with gold and silk thread are sent to Europe, and above all to India, to be sold by the royal salesmen." (Krusiński, *ibid.*, p. 220: Haec igitur officinae non solum necessaria ad vestitum aulae et omnium aulicorum parvo praeter argenteum filum fisci dispendio suppeditant, sed insuper Regium fiscum non mediocriter ditant. Interdum enim pretiosiores panni serici et tapetia aureo filo et serico picta, integris navibus oneratis in Europam et

vel maxime in Indias, cum Regiis mercatoribus distrahendi mittuntur.)

This detail about the organized selling of the costliest rugs produced in the royal karkans helps one to understand a fact that has puzzled many for a long time, but could not be adequately explained. Fine rugs brocaded with gold and silver thread are to be found abroad, outside Persia, in different collections and antiquary shops. They were discovered especially often in Poland, but they could not be traced anywhere in Persia. The Krusiński report gives us the key to that enigma. These fine rugs produced in the royal karkans were either used at the royal court or they were sold by the king's dealers in Europe and particularly in India.

This, however, does not mean that private orders were not accepted and executed in the royal workshops. Chardin relates that the headweavers in the karkans always had time at their own disposition for weaving rugs ordered by private persons, especially rugs destined for abroad.

Moreover there exists another side of the organization of royal manufacturing under Shāh 'Abbās I to which the attention of the student must be called. This is the union of the royal weaving shops with another group of royal artist-craftsmen, i.e. the designers and painters. Without this close union the weaving of rugs would perhaps not have attained so high an artistic level, and perhaps there would never have been created among Persian silk rugs a type distinguishing itself from other rugs, a type in which the hand of the draftsman who supplied the cartoon is discerned so clearly among the other characteristics and values which enchant us in these masterpieces of old Persian rugs brocaded with gold and silk thread.

In creating the type of court rug, the designer worked from established artistic traditions. Besides this, however, another and a deciding factor enters here in the creative power

of the painters and draftsmen who supplied the cartoons for the rugs in the royal workshops.

In the organization of the Persian Shāhs' court which had been reformed by Shāh 'Abbās I, painting played an important part. Court painters were put on nearly the same level as weavers and other craftsmen, but they had their own chief, who was the so-called Nakhishkār-bāshī (this name or title is composed of the words: *nakhsh* = drawing, painting, adorning; *kār* = work; *bāsh* = head, chief; therefore Nakhishkār-bāshī means, chief head of the artists, draftsmen, as well as painters and other workmen occupied with decorative adornment), doubtless a prominent painter himself. It is again to Polish sources that we owe information on this subject. In one place in his book Krusiński says: "Nakhishkār-bāshī, i.e. the chief, set over the royal painting, to which art the Persians attach great importance . . ." (Krusiński, *ibid.*, Appendix, p. 217). It is doubtful that the task of the court painters was limited only to the execution of cartoons for the royal weaving workshops, and we may believe that they also had to supply designs for the painting of earthenware, tiles, etc. This is indicated by the resemblance of designs among these various arts. Nakhishkār-bāshī was the one who had the greatest influence on the taste and style of the court art, and this showed itself in the works of miniature painting, as well as in rugs, wall tiles, and, last but not least, in the binding of books.

It was not only the ancient artistic culture of the weaver or court painter, possessing a high understanding of his art, but also the artist's individual traits and personal talent, which transformed the ancient patterns in a highly original way. He could afford not only to paint small miniatures, subtly executed, but to design the energetic lines of boldly invented ornaments for a rug.

Besides the artist who designed the ornamental cartoon, the hand of the weaver played

no small part. It was he who changed the cartoon into tissue, indicating the design and color. The intentions of the painter of the cartoon could not always be closely executed in a rug. The material itself and the different conditions of weaving technique very often obliged the weaver to changes in execution and in color harmony. Therefore the place of the weaver in creating such a work of art is in no way secondary to that of the cartoonist, and they should be considered as joint creators.

In his narration of the events in Persia during his stay there, Father Krusiński states: "During the siege of Iṣfahān, when famine had scattered the weavers, the art of a special method of brocading silk tissues with silver thread . . . was entirely lost. Nor is there any possibility, even in case some of the master-weavers have survived or have been able to escape, that this art could revive under the Afghans' rule, who feel an aversion to objects of Persian culture." (Krusiński, *ibid.*, p. 220: *Aspahani obsidionis tempore fame evectis artificibus, ars ipsa speciali modo serico panno argentei fili intertextendi . . . totaliter interiit. Nec periculum, si qui supervixerint artis magistri vel effugerint, ut ab Aghvanis, quibus Persicus cultus sordet, resuscitetur.*)

This interesting information confirms the date of decadence of the royal rug factories and weaving shops in Iṣfahān during the siege of the capital in 1722. It was followed by the downfall of the greater part of other royal karkans situated in the different Persian provinces, after the collapse of the Ṣafawid dynasty.

The royal karkans became disorganized, and their work stopped. The flourishing epoch of Persian rug-weaving, which had attained its highest perfection in the silk rugs brocaded with gold and silver thread, and which had begun under *Shāh 'Abbās I*, perhaps even under *Shāh Ṭamāsp*, closed with the downfall of the Safawids. This art was not to revive again, and in

the eighteenth century the export of silk Persian rugs into Poland came to its end.

TADEUZ MAŃKOWSKI

A NEW MUGHAL PAINTING ON STUFF

Included among the choice collection of Mughal paintings bequeathed in 1929 to Bedford College for Women, a constituent part of London University, by Lady Herringham, well known for her copies of the Ajanta frescoes, is a picture of considerable historical as well as aesthetic value. It is a painting on stuff of a procession of elephants, and in its present state it measures 33 centimeters by 39 centimeters (*Fig. 1*). The original dimensions were obviously greater: it has probably lost a considerable amount from the top, an inch or two from the right side, and has been trimmed along the other two sides. In addition, it has suffered considerably from wear and apparently also from damp. The present mounting, of no great age, is Indian, perhaps of the late eighteenth century. Except for the head of the principal elephant the picture is free from retouching. In spite of all the disfigurements it remains a fine painting thanks to the strength of the composition and the brilliancy of the coloring.

The subject of the painting is evidently a procession, not a hunting expedition but possibly a triumphal return from a military expedition; however, the principal figure, who is evidently the young prince acting as mahout to the central elephant, is unarmed, and the incident is more likely an ordinary progress by one of the Mughal princes. Of this figure unfortunately nothing remains but the original outline drawing, afterwards covered by the opaque paint. The features are fairly clear.

Before attempting to identify the prince it would be as well to examine the rest of the painting for evidence of the date at which it was produced. The small turbans, the sleeveless tunic

worn by the trumpeter in the foreground, the long plain ends of the waist-sashes and the tails to the *djāme*—all point to the reign of Akbar. The manner of wearing beards and moustaches is also characteristic of this period. The closest parallels will be found amongst the late, but not the latest, miniatures of the reign, rather than in the *Hamza* paintings with which at first sight it would be natural to connect the picture on account of its large size as well as the material on which it is painted.

In style there is little sign of Hindu influence unless it be in the complete understanding of the elephants. The swords in the hands of the figures on the right (*Fig. 2*) are the Hindu *khadja* with blade slightly larger at the extremity, and with a curved, not a pointed end. In the *Hamza-Nāme* pages, nearly all of which show armed figures, swords of this type occur only three times. In the South Kensington *Akbar-Nāme* they are commoner, while in the Jaipur *Razm-Nāme* (where of course the Hindu subject might have more influence) they are about as common as the Persian curved and pointed sword. This last manuscript was finished in 1588 A.D., and it is to about this period that I should assign the present painting.

We are now free to approach the problem of the identity of the principal figure. Akbar's sons Selīm (*Djahāngīr*) and Murād were born in 1569 and 1570 respectively. Curiously enough a painting in the Berlin Museum representing a prince breaking in a restive elephant, signed by Zaīn al-'Abidīn, has been published by Sattar Kheiri (*Indische Miniaturen der islamischen Zeit*, Berlin, n. d., Pl. 13) as a portrait of Prince Murād. E. Kühnel, who has republished it (*Bilderhefte der islamischen Kunstabteilung*, Heft I, *Indische Miniaturen*, Berlin, 1933, Pl. 21) says nothing of the identity of the subject.

Presumably Murād's name is written on the mount, and there is nothing in the painting which would make this identification impossible,

although the miniature could hardly be quite contemporary. The style points to a date about 1600–1610, although Murād is represented as he would have been about 1590. He died of drink in 1599, and this might be a memorial portrait. The subject of the present painting does not appear to be the same. It is therefore tempting to identify it as a portrait of Prince Selīm at the age of sixteen to eighteen. No other portrait of the future emperor in youth is known to me, so that identification must remain at present tentative.

The occasion of the procession cannot of course be guessed, but it has the form which seems to be typical of an imperial progress except for the absence of standards which would probably only be carried before the Emperor himself. A much later painting at Vienna (J. Strzygowski, *Asiatische Miniatur-Malerei*, Klagenfurt, 1933, Pl. 9, Fig. 29) shows *Shāh Djahān* mounted on an elephant, making a progress with armed men on foot running in front and others mounted on elephants and horses following in a serried line behind. On these occasions the approach of the procession was heralded with music: in this procession of *Shāh Djahān*, by a man striking a gong; in a famous miniature by Manōhar, in the Rampur State Library, of the period of *Djahāngīr*, a whole band of musicians and singers on foot is shown taking part in such a procession. In the present painting, in addition to the mounted trumpeter in the foreground, there are two drums mounted on one of the elephants in the line.

Some traces of European influence are to be detected in the modeling of some of the faces and in the foreshortening of a horse in the foreground on the right (*Fig. 2*). The coloring is very rich; the dominant colors being vermilion (characteristically foiled with crimson), a strong earth yellow, two blues, one very deep, green, and purple. The ground is a whitish green and considerable white is used. All the elephants are

magnificently drawn, and the baby elephant adds a charming touch of naturalism. The composition is vigorously conceived: the circular movement which it seems to follow in its main lines being particularly characteristic of the period. (Cf. a page from the *Tarīkh-i Alfī* acquired by the British Museum in 1934 and published in the *Br. Mus. Quart.*, VIII, p. 149.)

Such a painting on stuff, like the famous *House of Timur* in the British Museum, seems to look back to a time when the Mughal emperors, like their Mongol ancestors, were always on campaign, and when such paintings might decorate their temporary quarters. It is, in all probability, an isolated painting and not a page from an enormous book like the illustrations to the *Hamza-Nāme*. It is therefore impossible to calculate the original size, but it is interesting to note that the *House of Timur* was almost a square picture. The proportions of the present painting may well have been similar. At present these are the only two relics of a class of pictures which may have been numerous.

BASIL GRAY

FUNDE VON GUSSFORMEN FÜR KUFISCHE
MÜNZEN UND MEDAILLEN

Im Jahr 1933 kaufte ich bei einem Antiquitätenhändler in Teheran eine rektanguläre grüne Schieferplatte, die als Gussform für ein paar kleine Medaillen mit runder Ose and kufischen Inschriften abgesehen war. An jeder ihrer Breitseiten befindet sich ein kleines eingeritztes Medaillon oder eine münzenähnliche Figur, zu welcher eine Gussrinne führt (L. 9.4 cm., Br. 4 cm., Dicke 1.5 cm., *Fig. 1 a, b* und *2 a, b*).

Diese Gussform ist zweifellos in Persien gefunden worden, aber Fundort und die Fundumstände sind unbekannt. Sie hat ein besonderes Interesse wegen der allgemeinen Ähnlichkeit der Medaillons mit kufischen Münzen von c. 900 und 1000 n. Chr. Es ist mittlerweile schwer zu sagen zu welchem Zweck die Medaillons her-

gestellt wurden. Es handelt sich hier offenbar nicht um eine Münzenfälschung, wie man Anfangs zu glauben geneigt wäre. Vermutlich beabsichtigte man eine Massenherstellung von billigen Hängeschmucksachen, die man in der Art wie die durchbohrten Münzen, aber bequemer als diese an Hals-, Stirn- und Ohrschmucksachen hängen konnte. Man hat sich aber mehr um das schöne Aussehen der Inschrift als um deren Bedeutung gekümmert. Die eine Medaillonseite (*Fig. 2 b*) zeigt in der Mitte die Worte: "Allāh ilāh Allāh Allāh . . . ilāh Allāh" also der Name Gottes, der immer wieder wiederholt wird, aber die äussere Umschrift ergibt keinen Sinn.

Die andere Medailloninschrift konnte auch nicht mit voller Bestimmtheit übersetzt werden. Ich verdanke den Professoren A. Moberg und H. Nyberg diese Aufklärungen (diese Gussform befindet sich jetzt in Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm, Inv. No. 21456).

Man kann sich wohl denken, dass diese durch den Namen Gottes mit Amulettkraft versehenen Schmucksachen für weniger Leskundige abgesehen waren, z.B. für Nomadenfrauen auf dem Lande und an den äusseren Landesgrenzen, man will aber nicht gerne glauben, dass der offenbar schriftkundige Ritzer nichts mit den übrigen Worten gemeint hat. Könnte man sich möglicherweise denken, dass die arabische Schrift hier für eine fremde Sprache adaptiert wurde, beispielsweise für eine kaukasische?

In der formaligen Archäologischen Gesellschaft in St. Petersburg wurde unter No. 225 eine Gussform in Schiefer (?) verwahrt zur Herstellung von münzenähnlichen Zeichen, wahrscheinlich aus dem Kaukasus stammend (*Fig. 3*). Sowohl von dieser als auch von mehreren anderen Gussformen aus Russland habe ich Zeichnungen gemacht, leider nicht so exakte dass man entscheiden kann ob wirkliche arabische Schriftzeichen vorkommen. Eine Gussform aus fettem Speckstein ist in der Ermitage in Leningrad verwahrt. Diese würde in Nevel,

Gouv. Vitebsk gefunden. Dasselbst kann man auf der obersten Zeile innerhalb der zwei Kreise

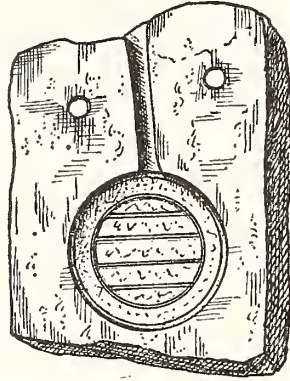


FIG. 3—GUSSFORM AUS DEM KAVKASUS

das arabische Schriftzeichen (*Fig. 4*) unterscheiden (R. Vatmer, "O monetakh volzhshikh Bolgar X-veka," *Izvestiya Obshechestva Arkheologii Istorii i Etnografii*, Kazan, 1926, XXXIII, 1; Laut Vatmer barbarische Nachbildung eines Samaniden Dirhems. Die *Fig. 4* stammt aus A. Markow, *Russkaya Numizmatika*, 2 Aufl., Taf. II, 18 als Manuskript gedruckt). Aus Kiew stammt eine derartige Gussform aus Sandstein (*Fig. 5*). Schliesslich liegt noch eine Gussform

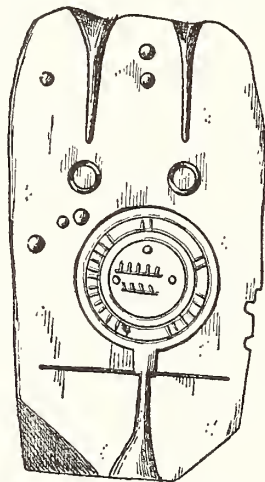


FIG. 5—GUSSFORM AUS KIEW

aus Kalkstein von Bertby Kirschspiel Saltvik auf Aland vor, in einem kleinen Erdhügel ge-

funden (Mitteilung von Frl. Elli Kivikoski, Helsingfors, Statens Historiska Museum). An dieser Form sieht man Vertiefungen zum Guss von verschiedenen Riemenbeschlägen, sowie für einen runden Schmuck der ohne Zweifel an arabische Münzen erinnert durch seine beiden Kreise und die innerhalb derselben angebrachten Doppelreihen mit perpendikulären Strichen, die Schriftzeichen zu imitieren scheinen (*Fig. 6*). Diese Gussform ist kaum einheimisch sondern scheint von Ostrussland herzurühren (cf. J. Aspelin, *Antiquités du Nord Finno-Ougrien*, Helsingfors, 1877).

Alle diese Gussformen stammen von Gegenden, wo arabische Münzen in grossen Mengen angetroffen wurden. Die arabischen Münzen sind in der Regel geprägt worden. Hingegen dürften in den Münzenschätzen selten oder nie gegossene Münzennachahmungen angetroffen worden sein, von welchen man sich denken könnte, dass sie in derartigen Formen gegossen worden seien. Wenn z.B. Khazaren oder Bulgaren versuchten Münzen nach mohamedanischem Modell herzustellen, so scheinen diese alle geprägt worden zu sein. Die auf russischem Boden angetroffenen Gussformen sind wahrscheinlich hergestellt worden um als Schmuck zu dienen, was aber nicht hindert, dass die Erzeugnisse zu weilen bei der arabischen Schrift unkundgen Völkern als Geld benutzt werden konnten.

Ausser der hier genannten Formen kenne ich von islamischen Gebiet noch ein paar zusammenhängende Formen aus Gips, die zur Herstellung von wirklichen Münzen abgesehen waren. Diese wurden bei Ausgrabungen in Afräsiāb dem ehemaligen Samarkand, das von Čingiz Khān 1221 zerstört wurde gefunden. Der Finder, Prof. Wjatkin, der auf derselben Stelle einem Stempel für Prägung von Kupferdirhemen mit der Jahreszahl 630 H.—1236 n.Chr., fand glaubte hier das offizielle Münzamt angetroffen zu haben (W. Wjatkin, "Matritsa i shtamp iz Samarkanda," *Izvestiya Drevneaziatskago Komiteta*,



FIG. 1—PROCESSIONAL SCENE, MUGHAL SCHOOL, ABOUT 1585 A.D.
LONDON UNIVERSITY, HERRINGHAM COLLECTION

A NEW MUGHAL PAINTING ON STUFF



FIG. 2.—DETAIL OF PROCESSIONAL SCENE

A NEW MUGHAL PAINTING ON STUFF



FIG. 1 a, b.—GUSSFORM AUS GRÜNEM SCHIEFER AUS IRAN



FIG. 2 a, b—MEDAILLEN VON FIG. 1 a, b



FIG. 4—GUSSFORM VON NEVEL, VITEBSK
LENINGRAD, ERMITAGE

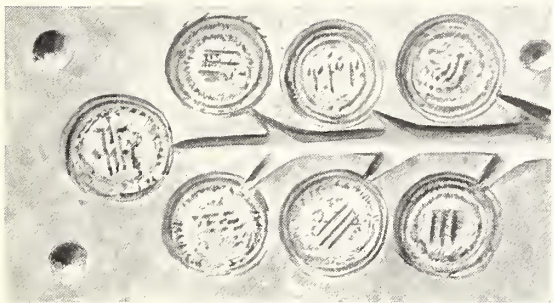


FIG. 7



FIG. 8

FIGS. 7-8—GIPSPLATTEN VON AFRÄSĀB NACH WJATKIN



FIG. 6—GUSSFORM VON ALAND, FINLAND
HELSINGFORS, MUSEUM



FIG. 1—BOWL FOUND AT AL MINA, SYRIA
LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM

SYRIA OR CYPRUS?

Tashkent, 1926, I; cf. auch Notiz in *Numismatisches Literaturblatt*, 1933). Diese Ansicht hat Prof. M. E. Masson mit recht bestritten ("Klad utvari masterskoy falshivomonetchika XIV veka pod Toshkentom," *Materiali Uz Komstarista*, Tashkent, 1933).

Die beiden Gipsplatten von Afrāsīāb sind eine jede mit sieben Matrizen versehen, dafür abgesehen sieben Exemplare von Samanidenmünzen gleichzeitig herstellen zu können (Ahmed ibn Ismaīl, Samarqand, 297 H.). Die Platten können mittels dreier Sapfen zusammengefügt werden, die in die entsprechenden Löcher gesteckt werden. Eine Rinne in der Mitte mit Seitenrinnen dient zur Verbreitung des Metalles (*Fig. 7, 8*).

Masson hebt auch hervor dass die arabischen Dirhemen allgemein geprägt und nicht gegossen wurden und dass man es auch hier mit Werkzeugen eines Falschmünzers zu tun habe. Er veröffentlicht in seiner Abhandlung eine Anzahl von Stempeln zur Herstellung von falschen islamischen Münzen aus verschiedenen Zeiten, und er erwähnt besonders einen Fund von Falschmünzwerkzeugen der in der Umgebung von Tāshkent gemacht wurde, aus der späteren Hälfte des vierzehnten Jahrhundert stammend. Der Fund bestand aus einer Zange, einer Schere, einem Hammer, einer mit Schaft versehenen rechteckigen Platte mit breiter Mittenrinne, alles aus Eisen, zwei Wagschalen aus Kupfer, einem Dratziehinstrument aus Eisen, einer prismatischen Eisenstange (Amboss) drei niedrigen eisernen Stampfen (?) neun konischen Bronzestanzanzen von welchen fünf Inschriften trugen, Stücke von einem abgenützten Bronzegefäß mit Schnittpuren, ein paar kleine Bronzschalen, in welchen die Stanzen und hundert- und fünfzig falsche Kupfermünzen lagen für verschiedene Herrscher und Städte in den Jahren 750–787 H. (1349–50—1385–86 n. Chr.) geprägt.

In den Fällen, wo die Gussformen oder Stanzen in Persien oder Turkestan gefunden wurden, sind also die Inschriften leserlich,

während die in Russland oder auf Aland gefundenen Gussformen nur eine grobe Nachahmung von der arabischen Schriftaufweisen. Die letzteren dürften deshalb bloß populäre Schmucksachen darstellen durchbrochene Dirheme, die als Hals—oder Haarschmuck angewendet wurden, sind ja gewöhnlich in Gräbern—aber auch die Gussform aus Persien muss auf Grund der Öse als demselben Zwecke gedient zu haben angesehen werden. T. J. ARNE

SYRIA OR CYPRUS?

In the *British Museum Guide to the Islamic Pottery of the Near East* (London, 1932, p. 31) is the illustration of a remarkable bowl just over ten inches in diameter. It is described as follows: "The important bowl (*Fig. 39*) with a mounted archer among foliage scrolls is closely analogous in technique to the Cyprus wares. It is reputed to have been found in Syria, near Aleppo, with other specimens. Possibly it is a Syrian variety of the Cyprus type. The decorative design and the colouring are reminiscent of some of the Northern Persian pottery; and it may be regarded as a link between the eleventh-century Persian wares and the late Byzantine graffiato pottery of Cyprus."

Among the pottery objects brought by Sir Leonard Woolley from the excavations made last year at Al Mina near the mouth of the Orontes, in northern Syria, were a number of shards and more or less complete pots found in the Islamic strata. They include several specimens of a *graffiato* ware similar to that described above. One of these is illustrated (*Fig. 1*), a bowl with slightly contracted mouth, sharply slanting sides, and small base (diam. 7½ in.). It is made of soft, reddish buff pottery with a wash of white slip through which is incised the freely drawn and elegant design of a prancing lionlike beast with a human head and neck, wearing what may be a miter or a crown. The winglike projection from the shoulder of the animal has a foliate

end, and the tail ends in foliate scrolls. Parts of the design are colored green and parts a brownish yellow; over all is a transparent lead glaze of creamy tone. The lower half of the exterior is bare of both glaze and slip.

The bearing of these bowls on the problem of the Cyprus pottery is not without interest. The Cyprus ware has always been something of an enigma. A considerable quantity has been excavated at Cludia, Larnaka, and elsewhere, but no traces of a factory have so far been found. Was it made locally or imported? If the latter, from what country? Egypt was an obvious suggestion, but the Egyptian *graffiato* ware of the Mamlūk period is in many ways different. It is darker in color, and more refined in potting; moreover, the Cyprus bowls have thicker bases, usually splayed outwards, and their decorative designs favor human forms, which are not seen on Egyptian pottery.

On the other hand, though the two Syrian bowls mentioned here are of finer quality than most of the Cyprus pottery, their material, coloring, and technique are closely similar to examples of the latter, and the human element is prominent in their decoration.

One can hardly doubt that the Aleppo and Al Mina bowls were both made at the same Syrian factory, and, as their superior quality gives them senior status over the Cyprus wares, it would seem that the latter were either importations from Syria or made in Cyprus by migrant Syrian potters.

R. L. HOBSON

À PROPOS DE L'ÉPIGRAPHIE D'UN PLAT
À LUSTRE MÉTALLIQUE

Dans sa monographie dédiée à la céramique archaïque de l'Islam M. Pézard a discuté l'ornementation d'un plat lustré de la collection Alphonse Kann (*La Céramique archaïque de l'Islam et ses origines*, Paris, 1920, II, Pl. CXIV). Il est décoré d'un "personnage tenant un drapeau immense," sur lequel il y a deux groupes diffé-

rents de signes alphabétiques. L'auteur s'arrête brièvement sur la forme du drapeau, en indiquant se devanciers sur un plat sasanide en argent (*ibid.*, p. 139, no. 5. Cf. les reproductions du plat, G. Migeon, "Exposition des Arts musulmans à Munich," *Les Arts*, déc. 1910, p. 2; J. Orbeli et C. Trever, *Orfèvrerie sasanide*, Moscou-Leningrad, 1935, Pl. 20; E. Diez, *Die Kunst der islamischen Völker*, Berlin-Neubabelsberg, 1917, Fig. 79 etc.). En réalité l'analogie n'est pas exacte: on y voit trois drapeaux qui ont un bord dentelé ou festonné et ne se terminent pas à la pointe. La forme triangulaire du drapeau du plat lustré tout aussi bien que celle du drapeau du plat en argent ne se lie pas directement avec la tradition de l'Islam primitif, lorsqu'on attachait à la lance tantôt une pièce de vêtement (M. Giers, "Les Étendards chez les Arabes" [en russe], *Mem. Comité des Orientalists*, Leningrad, 1930, V, pp. 348-349, 352) tantôt un morceau d'étoffe quadrangulaire (*ibid.*, p. 351 [en 631 H.]). Cette dernière forme persista sous les dynasties omayyade, 'abbāsīde et fāṭimīde (*ibid.*, pp. 356 s. K. Inostrantsev, "Sortie solennelle des caliphes fāṭimīdes" [en russe], *Zapiski*, XVII, 1906, St. Petersburg, 1907, pp. 27, n. 19, 71, 83, 84). Il semble que la forme triangulaire est d'origine non-arabe (la terminologie arabe a gardé entre autres un mot persan; cf. Inostrantsev, *op. cit.*, pp. 23, 44). Outre la miniature d'un traité d'astrologie daté 748 H. (1349 A.D.) citée par M. Pézard (*op. cit.*, p. 139, no. 5 [d'après Marteau et Véver, *Miniatures persanes*, Paris, 1913, Pl. XLIX]). On y voit un grand médaillon foncé à ornement cruciforme), elle est fréquente parmi les miniatures persanes des quinzième aux dix-septième siècles (E. Kühnel, *Miniaturmalerei im islamischen Orient*, Berlin, 1923, Pl. 50: Behzād datée 1467; L. Giusalian et M. Diakonov, *Miniatures iraniennes* [en russe], Moscou-Leningrad, 1935, Pls. en couleur II [quinzième siècle] et IV [seizième siècle], Pl. 7, Pl. 22 [931 H.-1524 A.D.],

Pl. 26 [seizième siècle], Pl. 42 [1642-1651 A.D.]).

Si intéressante que soit la question de la forme du drapeau du plat lustré, son décor épigraphique ne l'est pas moins. Le premier motif occupe le bandeau d'un grand médaillon rond (en réserve), placé presque au milieu du drapeau. Deux groupes de ses lettres ont été mises en rapport avec les variantes d'une formule بركة . très fréquente dans la céramique et sujette à de grandes déformations (Pézar, *op. cit.*, pp. 180, 181, 189, Pls. LXXXIII-LXXXVII, LXXXIX). Démembrée, elle était parfois écrite en trois lignes, ou bien inscrite dans un cercle (S. Flury, "Une formule épigraphique de la céramique archaïque de l'Islam," *Syria*, V, 1924, Fig. 1. E. Kühnel, "Die 'abbāsīdischen Lüsterfayencen," *Ars Islamica*, I, Pt. 2, 1934, p. 158, Fig. 7; l'auteur l'attribue à c. 950 A.D.). Il paraît impossible de retrouver sur le médaillon du drapeau cette formule entière, si bien qu'on ne la connaît maintenant. La graphie en est trop libre; elle rappelle un peu la manière de l'écriture protocolaire des papyrus arabes le troisième groupe des lettres par excellence. Les deux hampes verticales des deux premiers groupes s'unissent avec la ligne de base, mais le reste, surtout la fin, s'en détache. Malgré l'insuffisance de la lecture ce morceau d'épigraphie, considéré ensemble avec le médaillon, est extrêmement curieux. Il a l'aspect d'un écu rond vue de côté et divisé en trois parties par une barre blanche, ornée d'une inscription du genre coufique en lustre. Au-dessus et au-dessous de la barre le champ est semé de petits traits anguleux, disposés en rangs réguliers (Fig. 1). Le tout produit un effet tricolore: le cercle et la barre sont blancs, l'écriture est de couleur foncée, les deux champs en semis sont de couleur neutre. La ressemblance de ce médaillon avec la disposition du type primaire des blasons mamlûks à inscriptions est frappante avec cette différence que celles-là sont toujours en *naskhī*. (Les premiers essais remontent au

onzième siècle; les premiers exemplaires datés sont de la fin du treizième au commencement du quatorzième siècle. La ligne médiane seule portait d'abord l'inscription. Cf. L. A. Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry*, Oxford, 1933, pp. 34, n. 4, 35. Sur la formule "izz li mawlāna . . ." des blasons mamlûks à inscription, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 36 s. *Idem*, "Das Schriftwappen der Mamlukensultane," *Jhrb. Asiat. Kunst*, 1925, p. 184, no. 6. Le type précurseur—disques pareils, privés de toute inscription—cf. Mayer, *op. cit.*, 1933, pp. 8, Fig. 15, 17.)

Le deuxième motif épigraphique sans médaillon se déroule parallèlement à la longueur du drapeau et s'amincit vers sa pointe. Selon M. Pézar, c'est "une inscription archaïque en caractères qui ne rappellent exactement ni le pehlvi, ni le coufique" (*op. cit.*, p. 139, n. 5. Par un malentendu l'auteur emploie "médaillons" au pluriel. Outre le premier cité déjà, il y en a un plus petit disposé plus bas. L'anneau extérieur de ce dernier est blanc; sur le cercle intérieur en lustre il y a un petit signe à crochet, en réserve, qu'on ne peut pas compter pour une inscription. Toute de mieux, nous rapportons ces paroles au deuxième motif épigraphique.) Malgré cette assertion, son caractère commun à l'écriture coufique saute aux yeux. On voit la ligne de base droite, mais courbée en arc suivant l'ondulation de l'étoffe flottante, trois hampes verticales, dont deux flanquent une lettre ronde (Fig. 3). Quoique le contour soit net, la lecture arabe ordinaire, de droite à gauche, réussit mal. Cela change, si l'on essaye de lire à l'envers à l'aide d'un miroir; la partie gauche de l'original se déplace alors à droite et forme le commencement du mot unique (Fig. 2). On y reconnaît sans grandes difficultés les deux hampes de l'article *alif* et *lām* aux têtes larges et anguleuses; l'article est suivi, à ce qu'il paraît, de trois lettres. La première, d'un contour rond, est séparée de la ligne de base par un col court, la deuxième a une hampe verticale; la troisième a un corps

très sinueux et une queue en festons irréguliers. Le rapport entre la largeur des lettres blanches en réserve et l'économie du fond en lustre, qui les contourne seulement, est très caractéristique. Ce système nous est familier grâce à l'écriture coufique en relief des stèles funéraires d'Égypte depuis de commencement du troisième siècle H. (cf. H. Hawary et H. Rached, *Stèles funéraires, Cat. général du Musée arabe du Caire*, Le Caire, 1932, I, Pl. XII, No. 2721/87; Pl. XIV, No. 3380/12; Pl. XVI, No. 1195; Pl. XVIII, No. 2721/188; Pl. XXII, No. 1265; Pl. XLV, No. 2721/69; Pl. XLVII, Nos. 2721/96 et 2721/98; Pl. XLIX, No. 8247/1; Pl. LIX, No. 7011 [années 203–237 H.]. G. Wiet, *Stèles funéraires, Cat. général du Musée arabe du Caire*, Le Caire, 1936, II, Pl. III, No. 8640; Pl. IV, No. 8614; Pl. V, Nos. 3011 et 1506/699; Pl. VII, No. 1506/40; Pl. VIII, No. 2721/70; Pl. IX, No. 4288; Pl. XI, No. 1508/7; Pl. XIII, Nos. 2721/84 et 1506/705; Pl. XIV, No. 1215; Pl. XV, No. 1270; Pl. XVI, No. 3904; Pl. XVII, No. 2721/78; Pl. XVIII, No. 12614; Pl. XIX, Nos. 3974/10 et 2721/247; Pl. XXI, No. 2721/77; Pl. XXIV, Nos. 10838 et 1506/578; Pl. XXV, Nos. 1233 et 2721/37; Pl. XXVI, No. 2953; Pl. XXVII, No. 8608; Pl. XXIX, Nos. 10891 et 8094; Pl. XXX, No. 7292; Pl. XXXII, No. 1508/6; Pl. XXXV, Nos. 8589, 3380/5 et 9129; Pl. XXXVI, Nos. 8352 et 1506/632; Pl. XXXVII, No. 7138; Pl. XXXVIII, No. 7138; Pl. XXXIX, No. 12758 [gauche]; Pl. XL, No. 1506/49; Pl. XLI, Nos. 1273 et 1506/713; Pl. XLIII, Nos. 1206 et 8093; Pl. XLIV, No. 10914; Pl. XLVI, No. 1506/768; Pl. XLVIII, Nos. 1274 et 2721/26; Pl. XLIX, No. 2721/67; Pl. L, 2954; Pl. LI, Nos. 1506/712, 6740 et 9821; Pl. LII, Nos. 2956, 8381 et 2955; Pl. LIII, Nos. 11064 et 8321; Pl. LIV, No. 3377; Pl. LV, No. 8845; Pl. LVI, No. 11022; Pl. LVII, No. 9114; Pl. LVIII, Nos. 3380/6 et 12869; [années 241–251 H.]). Elle est large, trapue, servée parfois au plus haut degrés (Max van

Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptio-num Arabicarum, I, Égypte*, Paris, 1903, I, p. 23. *Idem*, "Notes d'archéologie arabe II, Toulounides et Fatimites," *Journ. Asiat.*, VIII, XIX, 1892, p. 381. V. Kratchkowskaya, *Arab-skie Nadgrobiya Muzeya Paleographii Akademii Nauk SSSR* [Stèles funéraires arabes . . .], *Travaux [Trudi] du Musée de Paléographie*, Leningrad, 1929, III, Pl. II, Fig. 2, pp. 32 s., 79–80). Une rainure y sert à séparer deux lettres, à marquer les courbures des corps, une fossette indique le centre d'une boucle. Il suffit de comparer quelques spécimens pour constater la parenté et saisir la différence. Les têtes des lettres de l'écriture lapidaire sont quelque fois aplaties (cf. Wiet, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXXV, No. 3380/5, الله; Pl. XI, No. 1508/7, فالة, etc.) comme dans notre inscription. Les boucles è–ë y influencent bien souvent la forme des lettres voisines (voir surtout لفسه) de la stèle de Leningrad (*Fig. 4*), datée 242 H. (Cf. Kratchkowskaya, *loc. cit.*); leur position au-dessus de la ligne de base est pareille à la lettre rond du drapeau (cf. Hawary et Rached, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXII, No. 1265: القعدة [211 H.]; Pl. LIX, No. 7011: كفوا [237 H.]. Wiet, *op. cit.*, Pl. III, No. 8640: القبور [241 H.]; Pl. VIII, No. 2721/70: بالقسط القسم [243 H.]; Pl. XI, No. 1508/7: مقر [243 H.]; Pl. XIV, No. 1215: القعدة, etc.).

La lettre finale s'apparente aussi avec certains *kāf—dāl* lapidaires qui se distinguent peu les uns des autres. En général, l'écriture est plus libre, souple, moins anguleuse. Le trait qui précède le *lām*, large à la base, pointu à la tête peut être un préfixe, une préposition tout aussi bien qu'un appendice ornemental, comme celui de la queue; n'oublions pas, que le style lapidaire des monuments les plus modestes n'est pas privé d'éléments floraux (Kratchkowskaya, *op. cit.*, pp. 80–82). Ainsi le préfixe au contour ondulé n'est probablement qu'une feuille qui remplace la terminaison anguleuse d'*alif* hypertrophiée (*ibid.*, Pl. II, 1, l. 10: l'*alif*).

La lecture de ce morceau n'est pas facile. A l'obstacle ordinaire que présente le choix des lettres uniformes, privée de ponctuation, s'ajoute le nivellement de la hauteur. La meilleure serait الفلك mais elle n'a pas de rapport droit avec le sens de la représentation. Deux mots conviendraient très bien, si leur leçon était irréprochable. Le mot الفتح qu'on voudrait trouver d'après la lettre en boucle, sied à un drapeau (sur les grands drapeaux رأية رأيات, cités par Maḳrīzī parmi les insignes des califes fātimides se trouvait la citation du *Ḳor'ān*, LXI, 13; cf. Inostrantsev, *op. cit.*, pp. 27, n. 19, 71. Sur le drapeau des insurgés négres زنج au temps du calife 'abbāside al-Mu'tamid était cité le *Ḳor'ān*, IX, 112; cf. Giers, *op. cit.*, p. 363, d'après al Ṭabarī, III, 1748. Sur une miniature du *Maḳāmāt* de Harīrī de la collection Schefer sont représentés des drapeaux ornés d'inscriptions; on y voit la confession de foi et le *Ḳor'ān*, CXII; cf. Kühnel, *op. cit.*, Pl. 12), mais la lettre finale ne ressemble guère à un *hā*. En choisissant le mot fréquent الملك, on se heurte à la position peu habituelle du *mīm* au-dessus de la ligne de base.

Ce serait peut-être superflu d'exiger ici une graphie très exacte et tout à fait correcte. Outre les déformations de formules courantes par les céramistes, on connaît beaucoup d'exemples analogues dans d'autres branches de l'art islamique; il est inutile de les citer. Suffit la certitude que la nature du motif en question cesse d'être douteuse: un mot d'écriture coufique est représenté sur le plat à l'envers, comme s'il était écrit (tissé ou brodé) sur l'autre face du tissu. On le voit tel, qu'il pouvait être vu par l'artiste sur le revers de l'étoffe. Selon E. Kühnel (*op. cit.*, 1934, p. 158; l'auteur attribue cette catégorie à c. 900 A.D., pour la plupart au dixième siècle) ce plat remonte au dixième siècle par son style et ses indices techniques. Ceci est plus plausible que le huitième siècle, comme le croyait M. Pézard (*op. cit.*, p. 243). L'analyse paléogra-

phique du deuxième motif semble le confirmer. Outre l'écriture lapidaire en relief qui a été en vogue en Egypte depuis le commencement du troisième siècle H. et continue d'être en usage au quatrième siècle H., il faut citer encore les spécimens épigraphiques d'époque 'abbāside provenant des fouilles de Sāmarrā en Mésopotamie. Leurs traits caractéristiques sont généralisés par E. Herzfeld ("Epigraphisches," dans F. Sarre, *Die Keramik von Samarra*, Berlin, 1925, p. 83: "Seine Merkmale sind der starke wagerechte Balken, die kurze der senkrechten Hasten, die sehr dicken keilförmigen Apices..."; cf. *ibid.*, Figs. 173, 174, 180, 181). Sans être tout à fait identiques au style lapidaire en relief, ils offrent des analogies à l'écriture du plat lustré. Cela permet de préciser encore plus sa date.

La décoration du drapeau par une inscription de la fin du neuvième—commencement du dixième siècle et par un médaillon à inscription nous donne la certitude qu'à cette époque des drapeaux semblables ont été en usage. C'est un rare représentant d'un type inconnu jusqu'ici, qui a servi peut-être de prototype au blason mamlūk à inscription.

V. A. KRATCHKOWSKAYA

UN BOIS À ÉPIGRAPHE ATTRIBUÉ AU
DIXIÈME SIÈCLE

En considérant l'épigraphe sculpté sur le bois où la lettre apparaît en relief sur un fond défoncé et l'épigraphe simplement gravé en profondeur à l'aide d'une pointe ou d'un instrument coupant, on s'aperçoit que l'évolution de la forme des caractères en ce qui concerne ces deux techniques s'est opérée d'une façon assez différente (cf. pour l'épigraphe sur pierre et sur marbre, H. Hawary et H. Rached, *Stèles funéraires, Cat. général du Musée arabe du Caire*, Le Caire, 1932, I, pp. 6-7).

Malheureusement, jusqu'à présent du moins, les objets des trois premiers siècles de la domina-

tion arabe en Egypte, datés avec certitude, où l'épigraphe est simplement gravé sur le bois, sont si rares qu'on ne peut suivre avec précision cette progression.

Aussi nous a-t-il semblé qu'un spécimen de plus, même si les éléments qu'il vous fournit ne nous permettent pas de lui attribuer une date certaine, méritait d'être publié.

La description du fragment de linteau que j'ai acquis au Caire, il y a quelques années, justifiera l'intérêt de cette remarque préliminaire.

Sur un fragment de linteau de o. m. 74 x o. m. 10 dont toute la partie inférieure manque, une ligne d'écriture en coufique moyen sans points, gravé en creux, en biseau:

الحمد لله الذي احياى سعيدا و اماتنى شهيد (sic)

Traduction: "Louange à Dieu qui m'a fait revivre bienheureux et mourir martyr."

Un bref commentaire de cette inscription s'impose; et tout d'abord notons que l'alif final du mot شهيد (pour l'évolution du sens de ce mot, cf. *Encycl. de l'Islam*, sub *shahīd*) manque, alors qu'il est grammaticalement nécessaire.

Quant au sens de l'inscription il est évident qu'à première vue, on serait tenté, étant donné l'ordre des mots, de donner à احيا le sens de "faire vivre" qu'il a évidemment dans *Kor'an*, XXII, 65:

وهو الذي احياكم ثم يميتكم ثم يحييكم ان الاسى
لكفور

et *Kor'an*, XLV, 25:

قل الله يحييكم ثم يميتكم ثم يجمعكم الى يوم
القيامة

La traduction de l'inscription serait alors: "Louange à Dieu qui m'a fait vivre heureux et mourir martyr."

D'ailleurs le mot سعيد (sur ce mot pris dans un sens précatif, cf. Max van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus inscriptionum arabicarum*,

I, Egypte, Paris, 1903, p. 648.) s'applique également au bonheur de ce monde et de l'autre ce qui rend la seconde interprétation possible.

Après avoir considéré le sens de notre inscription, notons en l'aspect extérieur. Les deux extrémités du petit linteau sur lequel elle est gravée sont constitués par deux tenons qui devaient pénétrer dans deux mortaises. Ces deux tenons sont d'ailleurs percés, chacun en son milieu, d'un trou qui devait servir soit à suspendre le linteau, soit à le fixer au moyen d'une cheville ou d'un clou.

En passant à l'examen de l'épigraphie, on remarquera la forme des lettres dont les particularités aideront à dater approximativement l'inscription.

D'une façon générale l'écriture est moins sèche et moins géométrique, en un mot, moins primitive d'aspect, que celle de l'épithaphe de Maimūna (cf. J. David-Weill, *Bois à épigraphes, Cat. général du Musée arabe du Caire*, Le Caire, 1931, I, pp. 73-74 et Pl. II, no. 8527; G. Wiet, *Répertoire d'épigraphie*, Le Caire, II, 1932, no. 538.) que Wiet attribue peut-être à une époque un peu tardive: 250 H.—864 A.D.

Elle se rapprocherait plutôt de l'inscription funéraire d'Aḥmad ibn 'Abdallah que Wiet date en l'an 225 H.—839-840 A.D. (cf. *ibid.*, I, no. 273) et qui est conservée comme la précédente au Musée arabe du Caire.

En examinant le dessin des caractères plus en détail, on remarque aisément combien ceux de notre inscription tendent à s'écarter de la forme géométrique qu'on note dans les deux précédentes.

Pour ne citer que quelques exemples caractéristiques qu'un rapide examen de la planche permettra de vérifier, le *dāl* qui dans le no. 273 du *Répertoire* reste absolument angulaire s'agrémente ici d'un petit prolongement qui annonce le col de cygne du coufique fleuri fātimide; le *vā* final s'incurve au-dessus de la ligne; le *mīm* de اماتنى est complètement arrondi; quant au *hā*



FIG. 1



FIG. 2



FIG. 3

liens



FIG. 4

FIG. 1—MÉDAILLON DU DRAPEAU À INSCRIPTION, D'APRÈS M. PÉZARD

FIGS. 2-3—INSCRIPTION COUFIQUE DU DRAPEAU, D'APRÈS M. PÉZARD

FIG. 4—SPÉCIMEN DE COUFIQUE LAPIDAIRE, STÈLE DE LENINGRAD, A. 242 (856)

À PROPOS DE L'ÉPIGRAPHIE D'UN PLAT A LUSTRE MÉTALLIQUE



FIG. 1—L'INTEAU DE BOIS AVEC INSCRIPTION
PARIS, COLLECTION DE J. DAVID-WEILL

UN BOIS À ÉPIGRAPHE ATTRIBUÉ AU DIXIÈME SIÈCLE



بهتت زوی را قصری بسیارند
 سلیمان و ابراهیم برین داد
 دو منزل را بیک منزل نمی کرد
 ستوران را علینا بر نهادن
 میان گلشن آبی دید روشن

دران بجز که او خواهد بسیارند
 حکمت این قصه بیرون فخران
 زیم شاه می شد دل پر از درد
 علان را بفرمود ایستادن
 طوایغ زد دران بیرون کلهش

جو خضه اسفک ارد سوی صحرا
 خنبر می داد ز الهام خدا
 سوی ارمن زمین را زخم کرده
 بدان منزل که آن سوی می
 سوی آن غنچه را را بد فرامان
 غزوی بر لب کوه نشسته
 دران شکلی امسته می گفت
 کیان بت جان من بودی چه بودی
 و دران سبب آن من بودی چه بودی
 نبود که آن شکرک وان ما
 برج او فرو خواهد شد از راه

و کرنگ اند این مسکوی خضرا
 بدان صورت که دل دادش کوا
 زمین کن کوه خود را گرم کرده
 قصه را بسببش اندر راه سست
 تن تنها ز نزدیک علان
 جو طویست عبا بی بار بسته
 بان لعل را داشته می سنت

FIG. 1—KHUSRAU DISCOVERS SHĪRĪN. *Khusrau wa Shīrīn* by NIZĀMĪ
 WASHINGTON, FREER GALLERY OF ART



FIG. 2—HUNTING SCENE, *Khusrau wa Shirin* BY NIZĀMĪ
WASHINGTON, FREER GALLERY OF ART

31.33

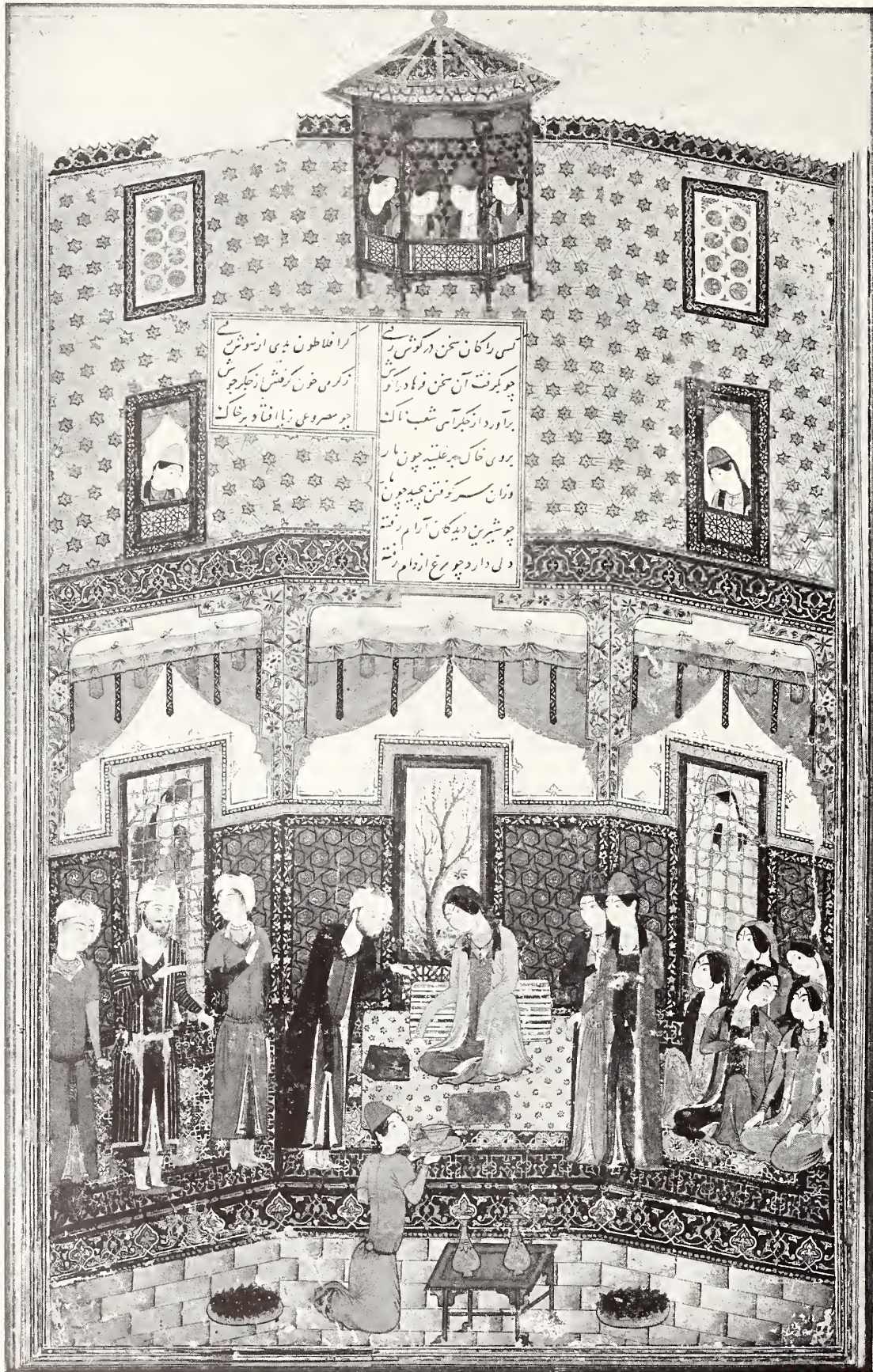


FIG. 3—SHĀPŪR BRINGS FARĪHĀD BEFORE SHĪRĪN, *Khusrau wa Shirin* by NIZĀMĪ
 WASHINGTON, FREER GALLERY OF ART

31.54



و خوش و دایم و دزد بودیم
 نداشتیم جز خواندم از امام
 حساب کردند خرد و از ما هم

دل ما محرم و دم ساز و همرا
 نمی خوردیم نمی خفتیم با امام
 چون یکدش از آن سال و امام
 بزم نمودن خواندندم بدو کا
 بر فتم چون از آن کردندم آگاه
 چون نزد بارگاهش رفتم از راه
 مرا بردند نزدیک شهنشاه

31.35

FIG. 4—SHĪRĪN VISITS FARHĀD AT WORK, *Khusrau wa Shīrīn* BY NIẒĀMĪ
 WASHINGTON, FREER GALLERY OF ART



بگویم آنچه ما را گفت باید
 کسب کار دان بر و شادان
 همه ترتیب کرد این ز رفت
 رخ شیرین بخت ماند چون
 جواز نزل زرافشان بر دوا
 بدست جانشین گیری جویندگان
 چون گفتم این کنیم آنکه که شاید
 برون بر دایج فرمود این سخن
 فرود آورد خسر و را و خود
 که نزل شاه چون سازد سیاهی
 ز طلاب و سگرتزی دکورسا
 فرستادش شرایبهای جلای
 پیش آنکه ماه را بر آید بر
 برآمد بار و باره سرد و در

FIG. 5—KHUSRAU BEFORE THE CASTLE OF SHĪRĪN, *Khusrau wa Shīrīn* BY NIẒĀMĪ
 WASHINGTON, FREER GALLERY OF ART

31.36

médian du mot شهيد il est tout à fait différent de celui du no. 273 du *Répertoire* qui est formé d'un angle aigu coupé par deux traits parallèles; en effet le *hā* de notre inscription est formé seulement de courbes dont l'examen de la planche donnera une idée.

On peut également rapprocher la forme des caractères de notre inscription de celle du no. 905 du Musée arabe du Caire (cf. David-Weill, *op. cit.*, p. 76; E. Pauty, *Les Bois sculptés jusqu'à l'époque ayyoubide*, *Cat. général du Musée arabe du Caire*, Le Caire, 1931, p. 29, Pl. F; Wiet, *op. cit.*, III, n. 824.), inscription de fondation au nom d'Ahmad ibn al Ḥasan [al A] zrak datée de 289 H.—901–902 A.D.

Mais d'aspect fruste du travail et l'inexpérience manifeste de l'artisan qui a été gêné par les noeuds du bois, ne nous autorisent pas à tirer des conclusions définitives de l'examen du no. 9054 du Musée arabe (no. 824 du *Répertoire*).

Malheureusement, notre texte lui-même qui devait orner un monument funéraire ne nous permet pas de préciser davantage la date de l'inscription qui doit vraisemblablement se placer entre 901–902 A.D. et 959 A.D., date de l'épithaphe d'ibn Ṭabāṭabā (cf. David-Weill, *op. cit.*, pp. 49–50, Pl. IX, no. 3914. Wiet, *op. cit.*, IV, no. 1495.).

JEAN DAVID-WEILL

THE *Khusrau wa Shīrīn* MANUSCRIPT (31.29)
IN THE FREER GALLERY

In the chapter devoted to the Tīmūrid School in the latest important monograph on Persian miniature painting, the authors stated that "in fact no illustrated manuscript from Tabrīz is certainly known between the middle of the fourteenth century and the coming of the Sawafīs." (L. Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson, and B. Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting*, Oxford, 1933, p. 54.) In referring to the famous *Khwadju Kirmānī* manuscript of the British Museum copied in Baghdād in 1396 and illustrated by Djunaīd

Sulṭānī, they also justly asserted that "the style in which this book is illuminated must have been practiced also at Tabrīz." It is therefore of no little importance to present in this brief note an unpublished illustrated manuscript which is of Tabrīz origin belonging to the period hitherto not represented by any authentic work.

The manuscript is the copy of the romance *Khusrau wa Shīrīn* by Shaikh Niẓāmī and belongs to the collection of the Freer Gallery in Washington, D. C. (It is a pleasant duty to thank Mr. Lodge, the director, and Miss Guest of the Freer Gallery for facilities given to the writer when studying the unpublished miniatures of the collection and for permission to publish them.) Its text is written in a *nasta'liq* script and is adorned, in addition to illustrations, with numerous illuminations of high artistic quality, both in design and color composition. The five miniatures, depicting episodes from the text, are supplemented by a sixth one painted later during the Ṣafawid period to which the lacquered binding of the manuscript also belongs.

The customary *Shamsa* medallion on the title page has either been left without an *ex-libris* or it has been covered over with gold paint. At the end of the text one finds the colophon, which, unfortunately, is partly destroyed. The preserved portion of it, however, furnishes information about the place of execution of the manuscript and the name of the scribe. The colophon reads:

حرره العبد [الر]اجي الى العفو الرباني على
بن حسن السلطاني وزالله عن سعامة
بدار السلطنة تبريز هما لله تعالى

Thus, the manuscript has been copied by 'Alī ibn Ḥasan al-Sulṭānī in "the capital of the kingdom—Tabrīz." The date originally mentioned in the colophon remains unknown, for it occupied the portion which is now torn off. Nevertheless one is certain that the manuscript is of Tabrīz

origin, and if an approximate date of 1396 to 1430 can be established it will be of importance in showing the existence of a style of painting in Tabrīz which constitutes an advance in some respects over the existing works of the Shīrāz and Baghdād schools of the late fourteenth century and a direct anticipation of the school of Herāt of the first half of the fifteenth century. This fact has been suggested by various authorities, but it has never been demonstrated by a definite example.

Before describing and assigning the miniatures to a certain period mention should be made of the calligrapher of the manuscript, 'Alī ibn Ḥasan al-Sulṭānī. The last part of his name, "al-Sulṭānī," indicates beyond a doubt, that he was in the service of the court at Tabrīz. However, his name does not appear in treatises on Islamic calligraphers and no second manuscript from his hand is known to the present writer. A careful comparison of the script of the *Khwadju Kirmānī* manuscript in the British Museum, copied by Mīr 'Alī of Tabrīz, with that of the *Khusrau wa Shīrīn* manuscript reveals such a striking stylistic relation that one is inclined to identify both calligraphers as one and the same person. Is it possible that the name of Mīr 'Alī's father was Ḥasan and that he used the title of "al-Sulṭānī," leaving out the nickname "Mīr," in the later period of his activity? Not venturing into such a speculative question it might with certainty be asserted that this stylistic relation of the scripts places the *Khusrau wa Shīrīn* manuscript at a date not far removed from the already-mentioned work of Mīr 'Alī of Tabrīz, a fact which is evidenced also by the style of the miniatures of both manuscripts.

A description of the illustrations and their stylistic features may help to substantiate the above opinion. The first miniature (*Fig. 1*) represents Khusrau discovering Shīrīn (size 16.3 x 15.3 cm.). The royal lady is seated in the middle of a pool, nude to the waist; two long

heavy braids of hair fall over her shoulders. With her right hand she combs her hair, while the left hand rests on her lap. Khusrau is on horseback between two rocks, biting his finger in the typical gesture of surprise. The sky is gold; the ground a creamy white with the rock contours of blue; the vegetation in various shades of green; and the water originally silver, has been oxidized. Khusrau wears a green gown; his horse is dark red. Shīrīn's dress, which rests on the ground, is rose and dark blue; her horse, seen beyond the rocks, is black.

The second miniature is reproduced in *Figure 2* (size 21.7 x 15.8 cm.). The scene seems to depict two episodes of hunting within one single composition, divided in two by an edge of ground. The prince, attended by members of his court, is engaged in hunting onagers, deer, lions, and wolves. The composition, oriented in a single direction, is rather loosely knit, though it suggests a certain disposition with the royal person as the focal point. As to the colors employed: the sky is gold; the ground, white; the contours of the hills and the rocks, blue. The dresses of the personages are in various shades of red, orange, and blue; the animals are mainly gray.

The following miniature (*Fig. 3*) is an interior scene showing Farhād being presented to Shīrīn by Shāpūr (size 27.3 x 16.5 cm.). The princess is seated on a piece of textile spread over the rug in the center of the composition. The ladies of the court are at her left, and four gentlemen are at her right. In the foreground a kneeling servant holds a tray with a cup. Three large windows are symmetrically disposed in the background; above the frieze are smaller windows and a balcony. The scene is extremely rich in its surface ornament, and the figures and architectural elements are harmoniously composed. Here the main colors are dark blue and red.

The fourth picture (*Fig. 4*) is of an unusual composition depicting Shīrīn visiting Farhād at

his work (size 26.1 x 17.6 cm.). Shīrīn on horseback approaches the sculptor. The background is occupied by two trees and magnificent rocks which are treated in an almost unique fashion, being massive and strongly outlined and having a peculiar parallel system of swirling stratifications. From the standpoint of color this scene is truly a masterpiece. The rocks are painted in innumerable shades of blue, forming a fine setting for the figures in red, orange, and dark blue. The sky is painted gold.

The last miniature (*Fig. 5*) is a night scene (size 25.7 x 18.4 cm.). The sky is painted in dark blue with a golden moon and silver stars. Khusrau in a green costume approaches the castle of Shīrīn on horseback. A mounted attendant is holding an umbrella over his head. The horses walk over pieces of textiles, one orange, the other violet decorated with Chinese motifs of flying birds. The dark blue castle with its minutely detailed arabesque design in gold and green has a balcony from which Shīrīn is looking down at Khusrau. Two female servants are offering refreshments to the visiting prince, while the court ladies observe the scene from the windows of the upper story of the castle.

The detailed consideration of the stylistic features of the miniatures and their iconographic comparison with known Nizāmī illustrations will be reserved for another paper to be published shortly in this journal. However, attention should be called to two manuscripts which mark the dates between which the miniatures of this *Khusrau wa Shīrīn* should be placed: namely, the already-mentioned *Khwadju Kirmānī* of the year 1396 and the famous *Shāh-Nāme* executed in the year 1430 at Herāt for Bāisonghor Mīrzā. A comparative study of the illustrations of all three manuscripts shows clearly that the miniatures of *Khusrau wa Shīrīn* in the Freer Gallery form a link between the style of the Baghdād school of the last decades of the fourteenth century and the academic style of Herāt of the first

half of the fifteenth century. This confirms the generally accepted fact that the artists of Eastern Persia, particularly from Tabrīz, were responsible for the development of the Herāt style during the Timūrid period.

MEHMET AGA-OGLU

THE DARK AGES. LOAN EXHIBITION OF PAGAN AND CHRISTIAN ART IN THE LATIN WEST AND BYZANTINE EAST. FEBRUARY 20 TO MARCH 21, 1937. WORCESTER ART MUSEUM

The excavations of Syrian Antioch were undertaken five years ago by a joint expedition of the Worcester Art Museum, Princeton University, the Baltimore Museum of Art, the Musées Nationaux de France, and the Syrian Government. The division of finds a year ago allocated to the Worcester Art Museum twelve mosaics: six complete panels and three sections of decorative borders. They date from the first six centuries of our era and form a rather representative collection of Antiochian mosaic art of this period.

These mosaics, as the catalogue states, form the focal point of the exhibition. Very wisely, however, the Museum has added an extensive collection of paintings, manuscripts, sculpture, metalwork, and textiles, illustrating the art of the Near East and Europe for the first twelve hundred years of our era. The pieces loaned from both private and public collections in this country and abroad present a broad view of the development of art and culture in the Dark Ages.

The appropriateness of including in the exhibition Byzantine and European works of art to the thirteenth century is at once apparent, for Syrian art up to the Arab invasion exerted a great influence on the subsequent development in Byzantium and through Byzantium on all western Europe. The growth of interest in the culture of Byzantium and the Dark Ages in Europe gives particular interest to this exhibi-

tion, which strives to present a broad view of the whole period. Scholars in the field will rejoice that so many scattered objects are here brought together in one group, and the layman will welcome the opportunity to review the culture of an age hitherto largely neglected.

The mosaics themselves offer a very distinct contribution to our knowledge of Syrian art. One is struck by the fact that in spite of Roman domination so many purely Greek characteristics remain. A border of the fifth century representing affronted rams' heads rising above outstretched wings betrays marked Sassanian influence, a border (also of the fifth century) of peacocks, a cock, and a gazelle in an elaborate vine pattern suggests the florid Roman taste, and perhaps the hunting panel of the sixth century with its very varied scene shows much that is Roman in conception; otherwise the basic feeling in the panels is Greek.

An excellent example of late Greek art is the mosaic (No. 1, first century) representing a symposium of Dionysos and Heracles. The very careful balance in the composition, the simplicity in the scheme as a whole, the prominence of the chief characters, all make the panel a notable example of the Greek *megalographia* style. The stiffness of the second-century mosaic representing two actors (No. 2) may reflect eastern influence or perhaps merely the interpretation of a less skillful artist. The heads in three-quarters view are certainly western. The flatness of the bodies, on the other hand, almost entirely full front, and the position of the feet of Metiochos, one entirely in profile, the other raised for a step, are characteristic features of strongly easternized workshops.

The mosaic borders, Nos. 3, 9, and 11, furnish very interesting contrasts. No. 3 (third century) consists of a rather small panel with busts of two actors in the center and panels of geometric designs on either side framed by a guilloche pattern. The work is typical of a late

school conventionally imitating earlier patterns. No. 9 (fifth century) presents the elaborate, rather flat but very decorative vine motif in which two peacocks in profile but with tails turned front are arranged heraldically on either side of a basket of grapes. A cock framed in the scrollwork border of vines stands on one side of the border, and a gazelle, disproportionately small, on the opposite side leaps forward in a gallop half Parthian, half Greek. Beneath, a regular but rather elaborate ribbon pattern is skillfully drawn about projecting beams, illusionistically rendered, leaves, and berry clusters. In No. 11 (also fifth century) Sassanian influence is apparent both in the rams' or ibex heads affronté, in profile with horns in front view, and in the extended wings. The meaning of the wavy lines beneath, and of the flowers, is not clear. Possibly in the latter one may see the survival of the oriental custom of employing flowers, especially in textiles, as a decorative motif to fill vacant spaces in the background.

Hermes carrying the infant Dionysos is the subject of the fourth panel (fourth century). As pointed out in the catalogue, the scene is of particular interest, for it is the iconographic prototype of the medieval representation of Saint Christopher and the infant Jesus. The smooth lines of the body of Hermes are well contrasted with the elaborate folds of the robe which forms the background. Conventional shadow lines lend some depth to the picture and a judicious use of highlights as in panel No. 1 gives substance and roundness to the body. The treatment seems typically Hellenistic, but the round halo which circles the child's head is Syrian, as is also, perhaps, the rather conventional position of the legs and feet of Hermes.

Nos. 5 through 8 are all taken from the same mosaic, whose central panel represents a symposium and whose borders portray female personifications of Agora, Eukarpia, Cheimon, and Trope Cheimerine. In the central panel against

a background of curtains three ladies are seated before a round table loaded with food; one on the left is reading from a scroll while a wreath is held above her head by the lady beside her. A servant advances from the right of the picture with an oenochoë, and on the left two standing women converse behind the reader. Again we see the careful grouping of figures, the shallow background, and the characteristic Greek emphasis on personal subjects. The tipping of the table to expose to view plates and viands, a feature characteristic of fourth- and fifth-century manuscripts, may represent a local Syrian tradition.

A medallion in the center of No. 10 depicts the crowned bust of Ktisis surrounded by an elaborate geometric pattern. A border of ducks and lotus flowers reminiscent of Egyptian work encircles the whole.

The last of the series (No. 12, sixth century) depicts an elaborate hunting scene, or rather a whole group of scenes, with at least ten different kinds of animals. A great variety of styles seem linked together in very eclectic fashion to form the elaborate design. In the corners rather naturalistic though flat trees are represented. The blood pouring from the sides of wounded animals reminds one of tapestries with Parthian hunting scenes described by Sidonius Apollinaris. One of the warriors hunts on horseback with the bow in Persian fashion. A second holds out a cub toward an enraged tiger in a style reminiscent of the Sassanian. The horses and many of the animals are represented in the gallop motif typical of the east Mediterranean coast. On the other hand the bowman turns his back, not his chest, toward the observer, and there are a number of variations even in the running-leaping postures of the animals. The design is colorful and very decorative, but rather too complicated in the flamboyant Roman style.

It is worth remark that the gallop of some of the horses, with very stiff hind legs, the off in

front of the near, and sharply bent forelegs, the off above the near, is almost exactly that of the charging horses on the battle scene from the Synagogue at Dura. This is not the typical position at Dura and presupposes foreign influence. The panel of Antioch suggests what one would logically expect, that much of the Synagogue painting is derived from the coast, perhaps direct from Antioch. The same conclusion is reached from a comparison of conventional shadow lines at Dura and Antioch and from the treatment of medallion busts.

It is not the aim of this review, however, to draw conclusions as to the spread of Antiochian art, nor is my purpose to study in detail the mosaics themselves. That a careful study of these splendid pictures will contribute mightily to our knowledge of this most interesting period is obvious at a glance. The mosaics do not represent perhaps the acme of artistic effort; they do supply an immense gap in our knowledge of artistic development.

Haste in the compilation of the little volume, excellently illustrated, which describes the collection, is evidenced in the title of No. 4, which refers to Heracles carrying the infant Dionysos, whereas the catalogue rightly names the god Hermes; in the title of No. 2, which mentions Meteochos instead of Metiochos written on the panel; the ascription of item No. 149 to the second century though one of the medallions on the faïence vase is possibly that of Sapor; and the designation of the beautiful silver vase, No. 72, to the Parthians though the design is purely Hellenistic. The famous so-called "chalice of Antioch" (No. 71) is cautiously assigned to the "first centuries of the Christian era."

The Worcester Art Museum is to be heartily congratulated on an excellent as well as a most interesting exhibition, and the expedition at Antioch on the extremely valuable results of its campaigns.

CLARK HOPKINS

EXHIBITION OF ISLAMIC ART,
SAN FRANCISCO, 1937

The presentation of an outstanding exhibition of Islamic art to the people of the western section of our country was a memorable feature of the formal opening of the recently reconstructed M. H. de Young Memorial Museum in San Francisco. Not only did this showing of Islamic art reveal a branch of art little known, at least in any quantity, to that part of the country, but the exhibit itself was one of the most extensive and inclusive assemblages of Muḥammadan art to have been arranged in this country. This signal opportunity of viewing varied and priceless examples of art from the Near Eastern world fulfills a long-felt and timely want, inasmuch as the museums of the West are already so richly endowed with art treasures coming from China and Japan and other parts of the Far East. Credit for the success of the undertaking is due the Director of the Museum, Dr. Walter Heil, who arranged the exhibit with the co-operation of Dr. Mehmet Aga-Oglu, the Museum's Honorary Curator of Near-Eastern Art.

The exhibition was essentially a complete one, universal in its make-up and wide in its appeal. Loans were obtained from a variety of sources: comparatively familiar examples of Islamic art from museums, both European and American; seldom seen treasures, many of them unpublished as yet, from well-known or more obscure private collections; and certain objects of recognized value in the possession of dealers in this branch of art. The many phases of Islamic art are each represented by characteristic examples; particularly extensive and illustrative of stylistic development through many periods and centuries are the numerous pages of miniature painting, as always colorful and decorative; and especially rich and magnificent are the forty-some rugs, including a glorious array of Persian examples of the earliest and finest periods.

Miniature painting is the most generally appreciated portion of the Near Eastern art of bookmaking, but the inclusion in this exhibit of splendid examples both of calligraphy and of bookbinding assures a truer and more accurate conception of the complete creations. Nowhere more than in the art of calligraphy do we realize so forcefully that Islamic art is indeed illustrious as an expression of the unity and spiritual uniformity of the Muḥammadan peoples. Throughout centuries, in widely separated countries, we find the same sensitive approach to the inherent beauty of decorative art. Several *Ḳur'ān* pages from a private collection in Ann Arbor, productions of different countries and periods, give proof of the variety of style and wealth of invention of this peculiarly oriental love of fine writing. Bold calligraphy in Kūfic script is seen in examples from Mesopotamia and from Persia. Examination of a page, from the Toledo Museum of Art, from a Persian manuscript of the eleventh century (*Fig. 1*), leaves little room for wonder at the adaptability of this type of decorative ornament to various other fields of art, calligraphy having become a favorite motif of decoration in ceramics, in metal and wood work, and in textiles. A fourteenth-century page from a Mesopotamian manuscript written in Naskhī script and a Spanish-Arabic page in Maghribī script of the thirteenth century are specimens of two of the more elaborate types of this highly developed art of calligraphy.

A group of leather bindings and covers was loaned by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, of Egypto-Arabic work of the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries. A cover and flap typical of bindings of the Mamlūk period, a specimen of the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries (*Fig. 2*), shows a central medallion and quarter medallions in the corner fields, with the flap having a characteristic all-over geometrical design; the leather is blind and gold tooled with open work and is lined with green silk. Forming

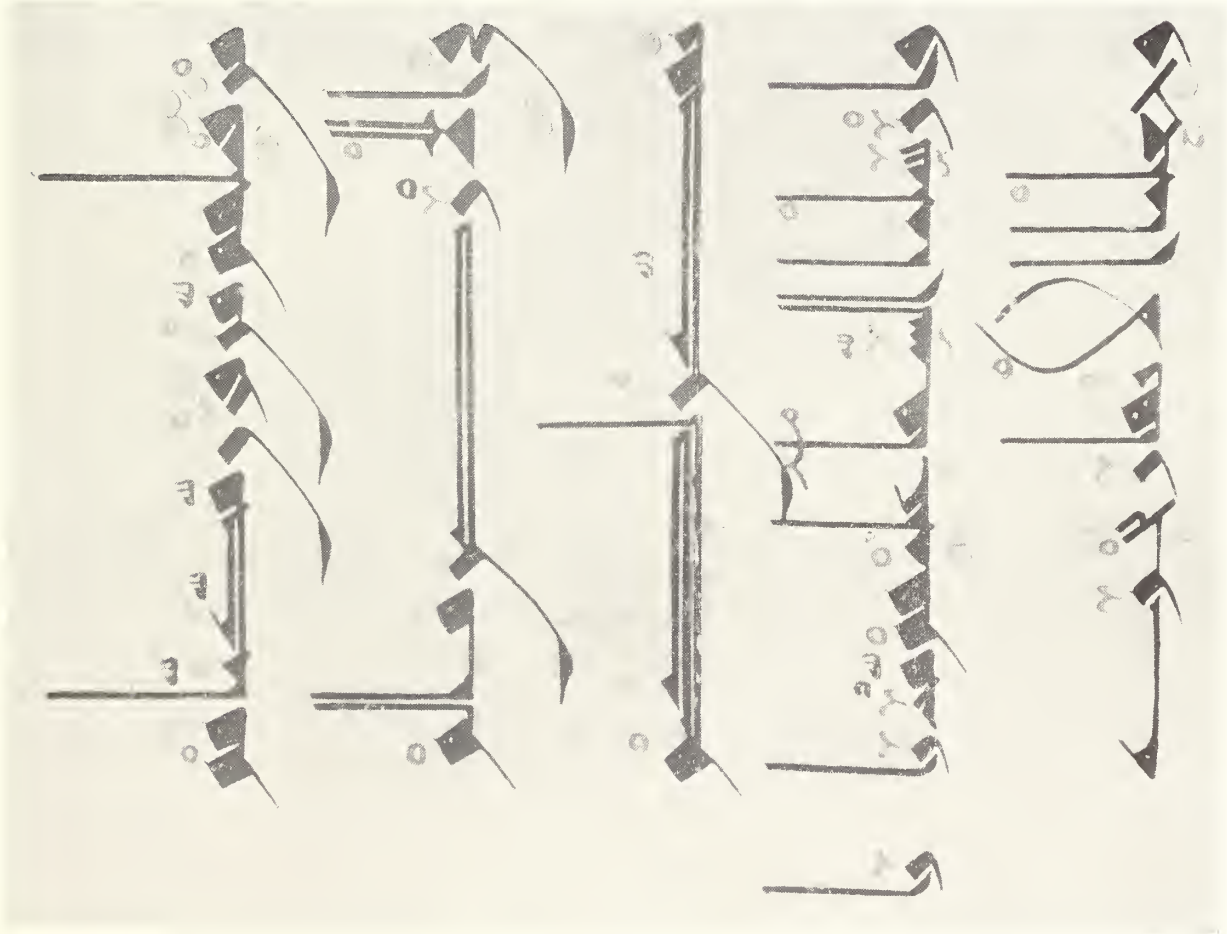


FIG. 1—Kuf'ūn PAGE, PERSIAN, ELEVENTH CENTURY, TOLEDO MUSEUM OF ART
Recl. : Sārah Nā, 1906...



FIG. 2—LEATHER BINDING, EGYPTO-ARABIC, FOURTEENTH-FIFTEENTH CENTURY
 CHICAGO. ORIENTAL INSTITUTE



FIG. 4—COMBAT BETWEEN ARDASHĪR AND ARDUWĀN, *Shāh Nāme* PERSIAN, FOURTEENTH CENTURY, DETROIT INSTITUTE OF ARTS

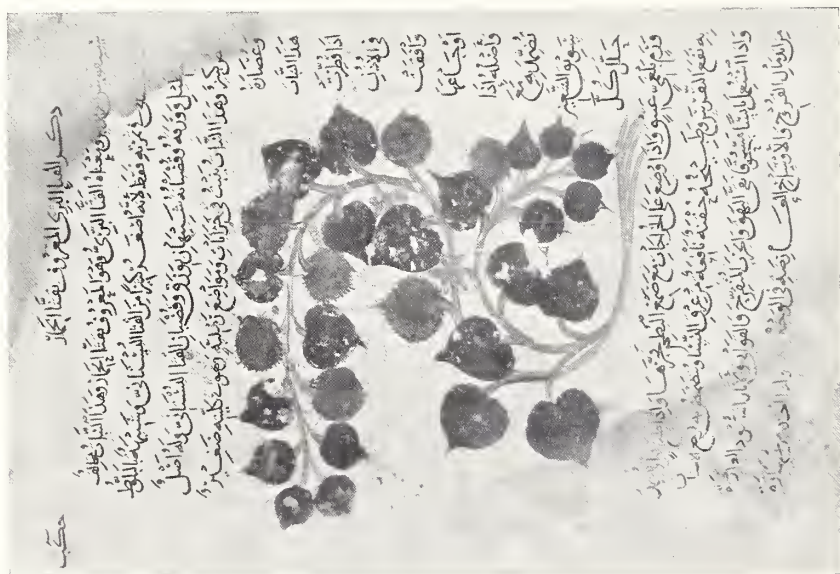


FIG. 3—MEDICINAL PLANT, *Materia Medica*, MESOPOTAMIAN THIRTEENTH CENTURY

PARIS, COLLECTION OF E. DE LOREY



FIG. 5—BĪZHAN RESCUED BY RUSTAM, *Shāh Nāme*, PERSIAN, FIFTEENTH CENTURY
CAMBRIDGE, COLLECTION OF PAUL SACHS



FIG. 6—SICK HORSE AND RIDER, PERSIAN, LATE SIXTEENTH CENTURY
NEW YORK, COLLECTION OF MRS. G. D. PRATT

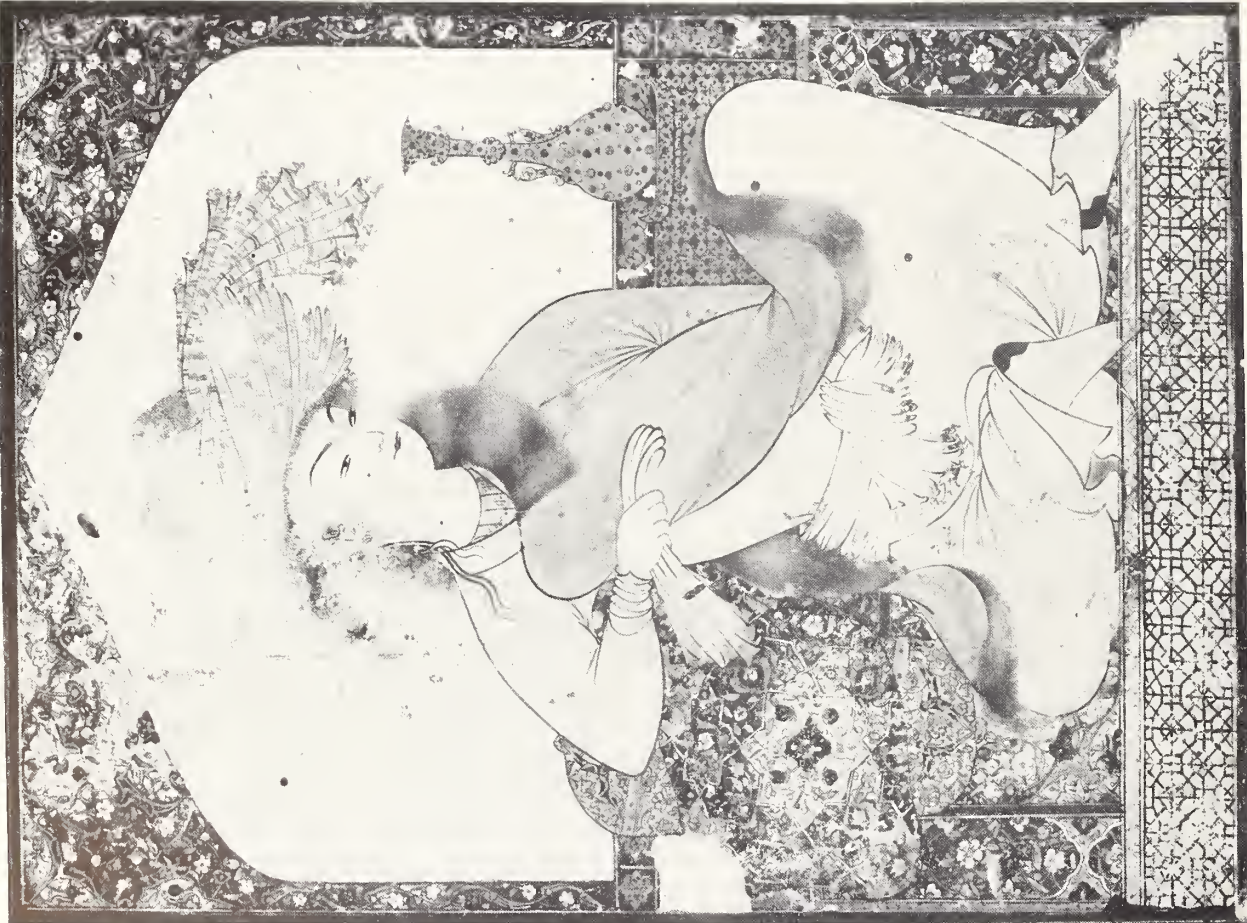


FIG. 7—YOUTH WITH FLACON, PERSIAN, SEVENTEENTH CENTURY
NEW YORK, PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY

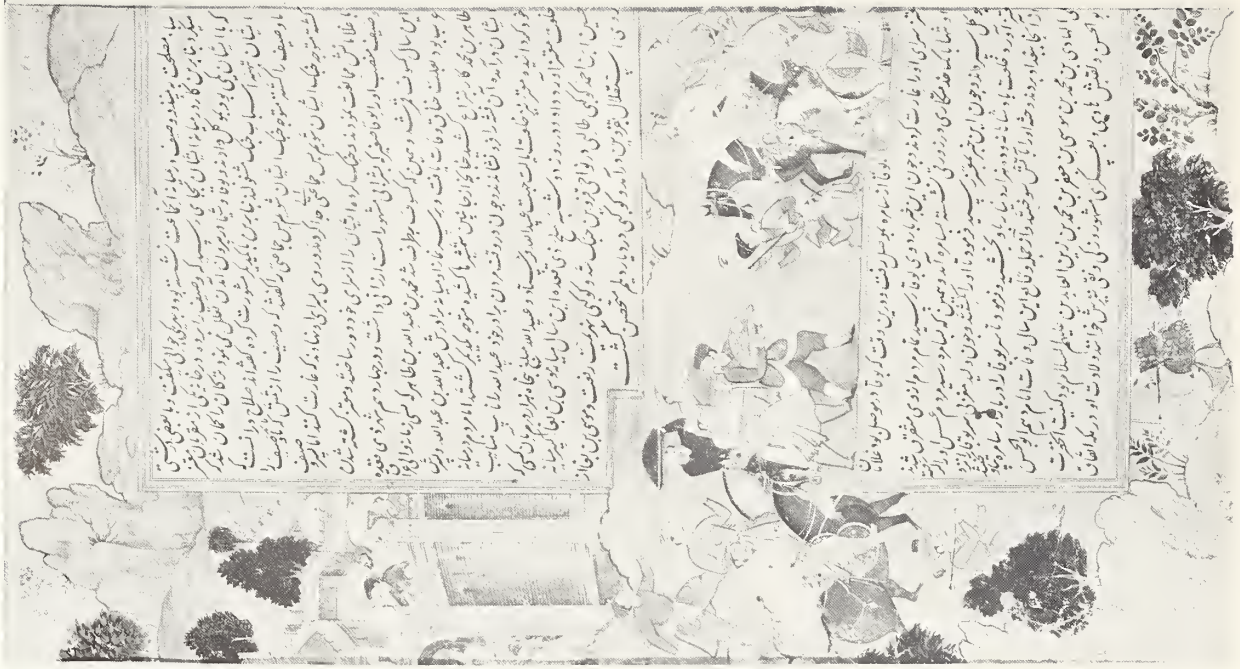


FIG. 8—HISTORICAL SCENE, *Tārīkh-i Alfī*, INDIAN-MUGHAL
SIXTEENTH CENTURY, CHICAGO ART INSTITUTE



FIG. 9—BOWL, PERSIAN, TENTH-ELEVENTH CENTURY
CHICAGO ART INSTITUTE



FIG. 10—PLATE, TURKISH, SIXTEENTH CENTURY
NEW YORK, COLLECTION OF J. J. RORIMER



FIG. 11—HELMET, TURKISH, FIFTEENTH CENTURY
NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART



FIG. 12—SHIELD, PERSIAN, EIGHTEENTH CENTURY
NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART



FIG. 14—DOOR PANEL, EGYPTO-ARABIC, ELEVENTH CENTURY
NEW YORK. METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

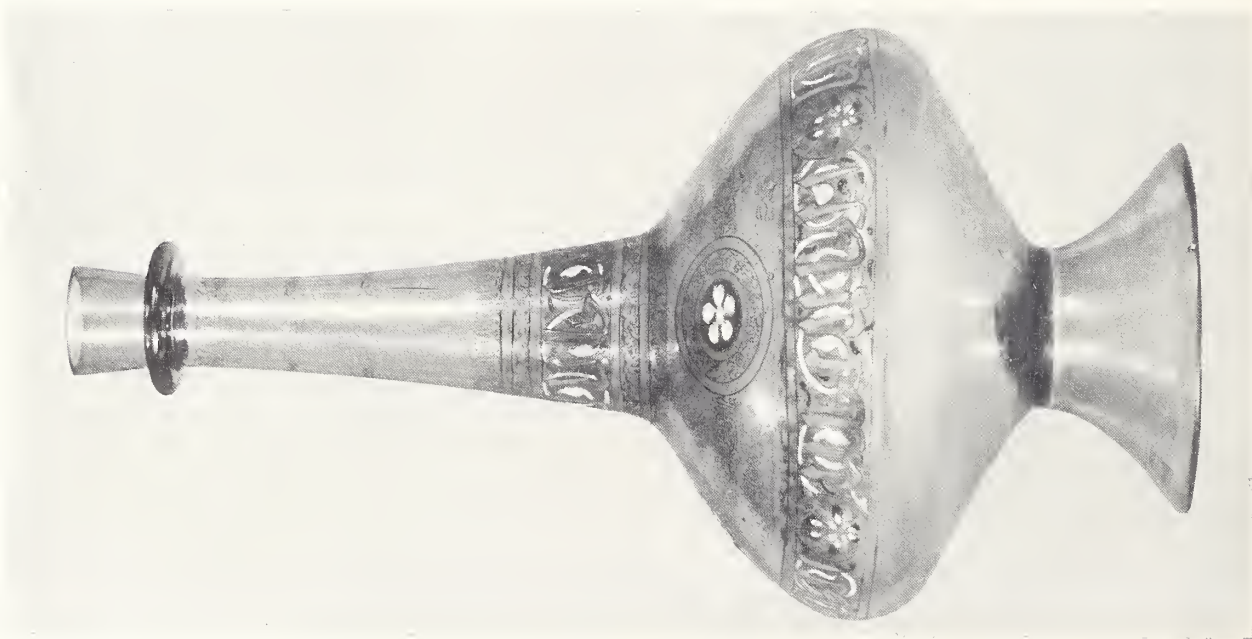


FIG. 13—BOTTLE, SYRIAN, FOURTEENTH CENTURY
DETROIT INSTITUTE OF ARTS

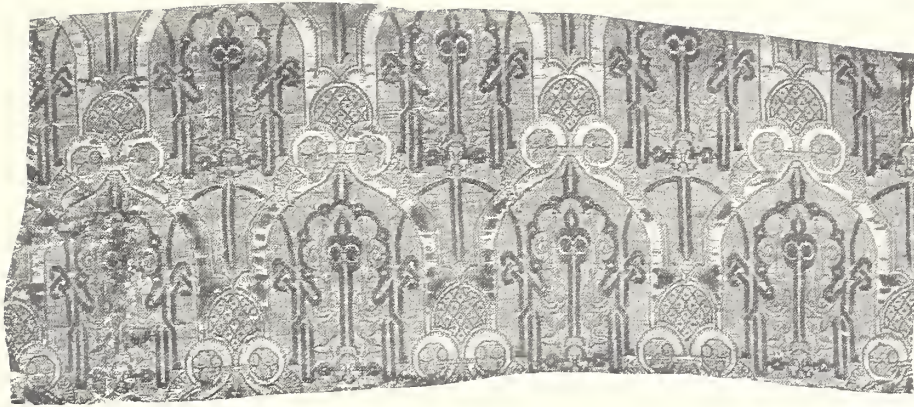


FIG. 15—SILK FABRIC, HISPANO-MOESQUE, FIFTEENTH CENTURY
WASHINGTON, TEXTILE MUSEUM

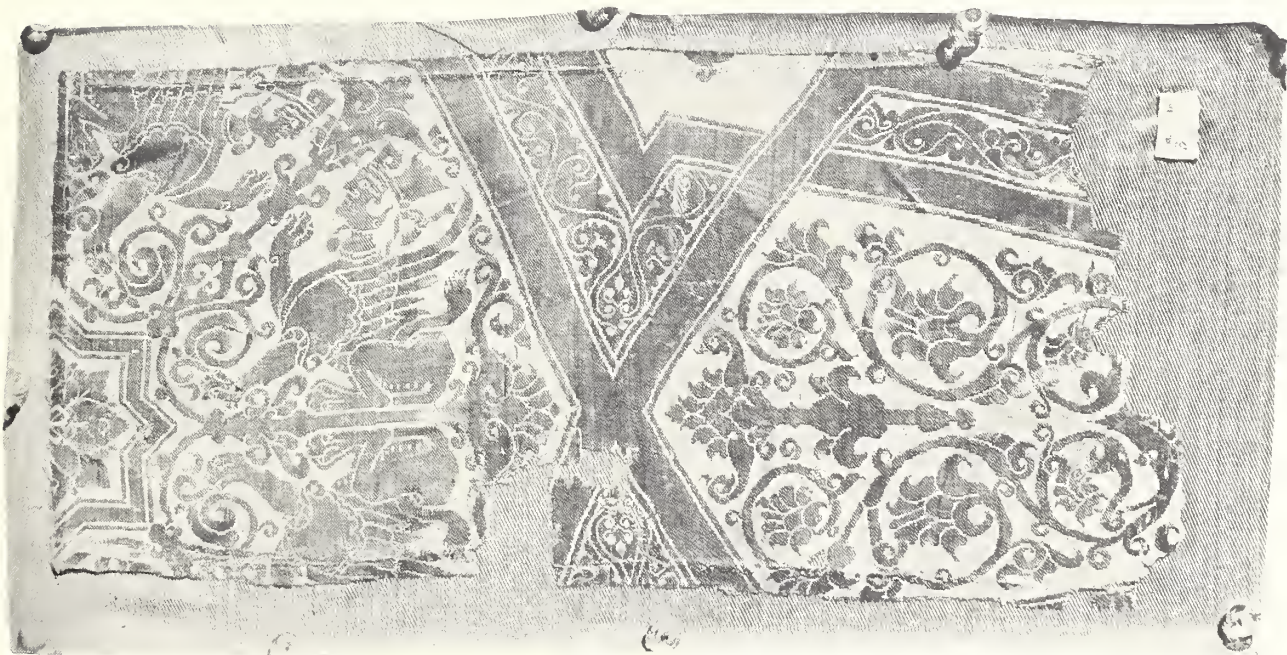


FIG. 16—SILK FABRIC, PERSIAN, TWELFTH CENTURY
WASHINGTON, TEXTILE MUSEUM

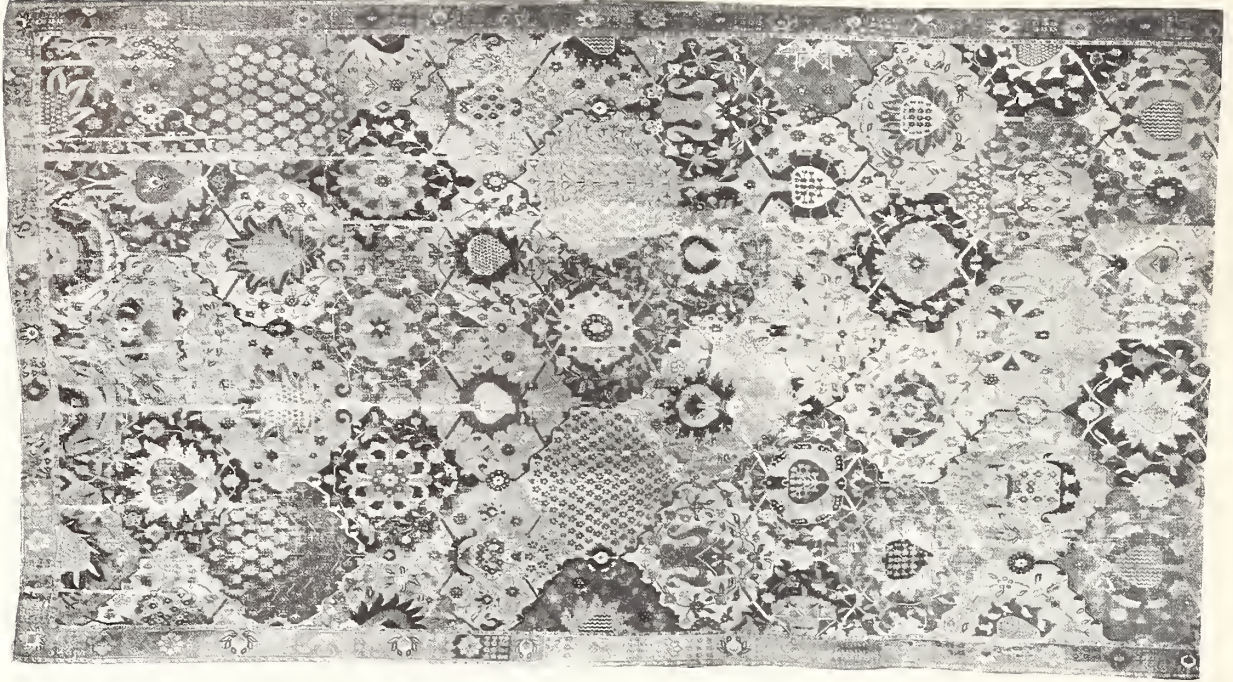


FIG. 18—VASE RUG, PERSIAN, SIXTEENTH CENTURY
NEW YORK, COLLECTION OF C. H. MACKAY

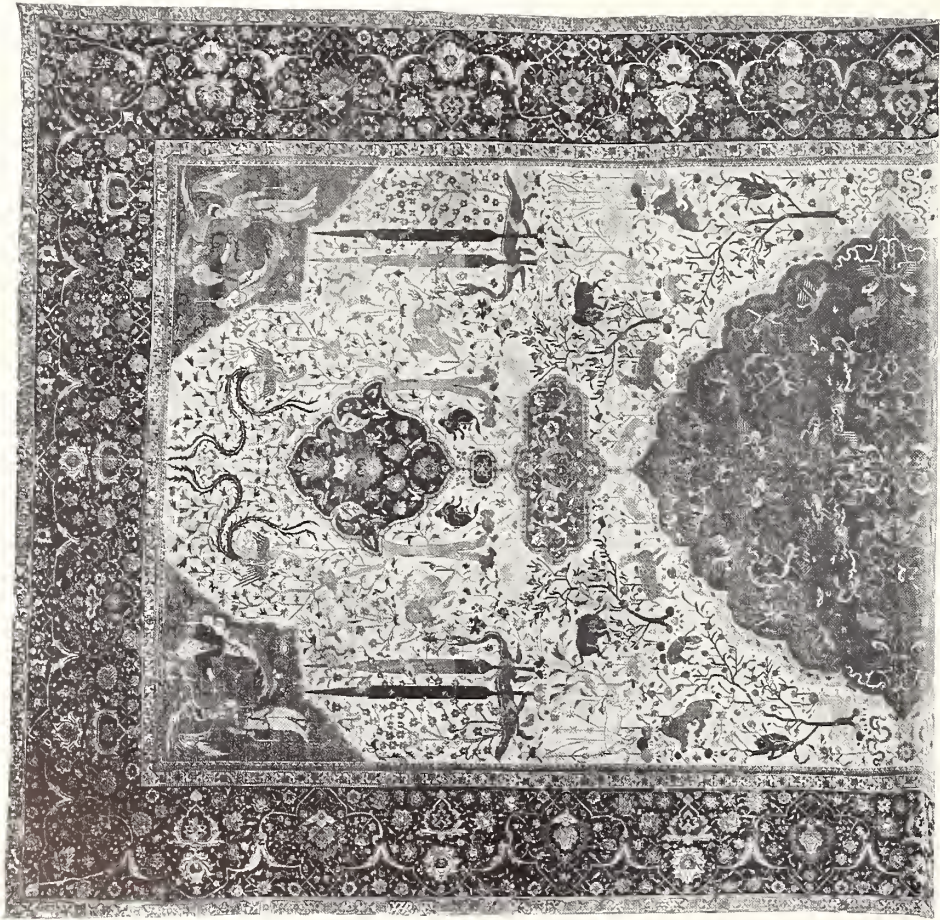


FIG. 17—MEDALLION RUG WITH ANIMALS, PERSIAN, SIXTEENTH CENTURY
NEW YORK, COLLECTION OF C. H. MACKAY

a strong contrast to this type of work is the cover and flap of the binding of one of the complete manuscripts exhibited, a sixteenth-century Persian copy of the *Shāh-Nāme* by Firdawsī with contemporary binding (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York). The binding has close affinities with the painting of the period, the exterior decoration of the brown leather being a stamped and gilded design depicting a rich landscape with animals and birds.

Over sixty miniatures, in addition to several pages of miniature painting in the half-dozen complete manuscripts on view, constituted an exceptionally rich display. The vigor of the earliest preserved works of miniature painting, illustrations for scientific works, is shown to advantage in pages from two different manuscripts of the *Treatise on Automata* by al-Djazarī, one Syrian, dated 715 H.—1316 A.D., the other Egyptian and dated 756 H.—1354 A.D. The primary interest in both is stylistic; the former shows strong Byzantine influence, the latter is a work of the linear type with details outlined and filled in with colors. Mesopotamian work of the thirteenth century is represented by two different versions of manuscripts of the Arabic translation of the *Materia Medica* by Dioscorides, four pages from the famous 619 H.—1222 A.D. work and three pages in the collection of Eustache de Lorey, Paris, one page of which (*Fig. 3*) shows the stylistic developments taking place at that time, with the new element of the Islamic ornamental tendency mingling with the Hellenistic or late antique tradition then prevalent, the result being one of delicacy and directness. Of two fourteenth-century Persian pages from manuscripts of Rashīd al-Dīn's *Djāmi' al-Tawārīkh*, one done early in the century, depicting the dog *Ḳārā-Burāk*, "Black Lightning," driving off wolves from a flock of sheep (D. G. Kelekian, New York), having originated in Tabrīz probably in 1318 and being a work of the Mongol period with later Tīmūrid additions, gives strong

evidence of the intrusion of the Chinese influence into Persian miniature painting and its assimilation with existing decorative elements.

Six superb pages from various collections of the so-called "Demotte" *Shāh-Nāme*, executed as is probable in Tabrīz, portray this fourteenth-century Persian skill in integrating Chinese, Mongolian, and Persian elements. The example from the collection of the Detroit Institute of Arts, the "Combat between Ardashīr and Arduwān" (*Fig. 4*), is indeed illustrative of the richness and the monumental character, the vividness and the action, of these splendid pages. Two other *Shāh-Nāme* pages catalogued as from a fifteenth-century Persian manuscript of Firdawsī's masterpiece, both lent by Paul J. Sachs, through the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, are characteristic of the Tīmūrid school at the end of the preceding century; these pages representing "Rustam Fighting a Dragon" and "Bīzhan Rescued by Rustam from the Well" (*Fig. 5*) show stylistic relationship with the *Shāh-Nāme* of 1393 A.D. in the Cairo Library (L. Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson and B. Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting*, London, 1933, p. 63, No. 34, and Pl. XXXII).

The tendency toward a more linear style, delicate and nervous, calligraphic in essence, is clearly seen in many of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century miniatures, notably genre scenes, such as the "Two Dervishes in a Winter Landscape" (H. Kevorkian, New York) and the "Sick Horse and His Rider" (*Fig. 6*), the latter an exquisitely sensitive miniature in the collection of Mrs. G. D. Pratt, New York. Portraits, which were particularly in vogue during this period, under *Shāh* 'Abbās and later, were necessarily subjected to the influence of the leading artist of the time, Rizā 'Abbāsī, a work of whose pen is loaned to the exhibit by W. R. Valentiner, Detroit, with the title "A Portuguese Cup-Bearer with Dog"; the "Youth with Flacon" (*Fig. 7*), in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New

York, is a seventeenth-century example of this calligraphic style, showing, however, the influence of a slightly decadent time in the attempt at placing a portrait in a larger and more pretentious composition.

The section of Indian-Mughal miniatures, works of the sixteenth century, included three of the Brooklyn Museum of Art pages from the romance of *Amir Hamza*, monumental and colorful and exuberant; and in contrast to these a page from the *Tārīkh-i Alfī* (*Fig. 8*), lent by the Chicago Art Institute, is in a delicate style more akin to contemporary Persian works, and is interesting as a document of the assimilation of Chinese influences by Indian miniature painters.

Pottery of the Near East was accorded due recognition in this exhibit. The collection of seventy objects, giving an excellent idea of the variety of shapes and sizes to be met with, was fairly representative of the different types of work produced in various important centers throughout several periods of great artistic excellence. Mesopotamian, Persian, and Turkish works were shown, covering a range of years from the earliest eleventh-century example to highly developed seventeenth-century products. A fine signed bowl of the eleventh century from Sāmarrā (Eustache de Lorey Collection, Paris) is an example of earthenware enameled in white, with painted overglaze decoration. Several specimens of another type of early Mesopotamian ware were displayed, that is, the glazed Raḡḡa pottery of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, with many pieces having the characteristic black and cobalt blue colors, with geometric ornamental patterns or with the delightful stylized animal designs often found on this ware. Early Persian ceramics of the tenth to the twelfth centuries were abundantly represented. On several examples the bird motif is prominent, the type being glazed earthenware with incised and painted decoration. A fine bowl of this tenth–eleventh-century Persian work (*Fig. 9*), in the

collection of the Chicago Art Institute, shows a splendid monumental design, reminiscent of Achamaenian and Sassanian Persia—an eagle done in graffito with spread wings reserved in white, and foliate arabesques as background on either side of the head; the reddish earthenware has a white slip, the glaze is ivory with green splashes, and the ground is painted golden brown with darker spots under the glaze.

Among a number of polychrome decorated wares from Rayy, twelfth–thirteenth century, is a fine small bowl of Minai ware whose decoration has affinities with the earlier miniature paintings—a royal personage surrounded by court officials and musicians, and a frieze of conventionalized inscription (William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City); and several characteristic examples of lustered Rayy ware of the thirteenth century were included. Other Persian ceramics included Sulṭānābād pieces of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and Kāshān ware of the thirteenth century. A fine late fifteenth-century Hispano-Moresque plate in the collection of Alexander G. Ruthven, Ann Arbor, gives an impression of this branch of Muḥammadan ceramic art, with its decoration of copper metallic luster on a creamy earthenware background. The design consists of a central shield bearing I.H.S. in cobalt blue, surrounded by petal-shaped loops outlined in relief and an all-over diaper pattern of dot and stalk alternating with a conventionalized thistle pattern. Several Turkish plates and dishes, Asia Minor ware of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, were loaned from the collection of James J. Rorimer, New York. A typical work of this glazed earthenware with polychrome underglaze decoration has a floral design composed of tulips, carnations, and hyacinths (*Fig. 10*). The colors, enriched with gold, are typically Turkish in their brightness and boldness, red, blue, green, and black, and the nature of the



FIG. 20—TAPESTRY RUG, PERSIAN, SEVENTEENTH CENTURY
WASHINGTON, TEXTILE MUSEUM

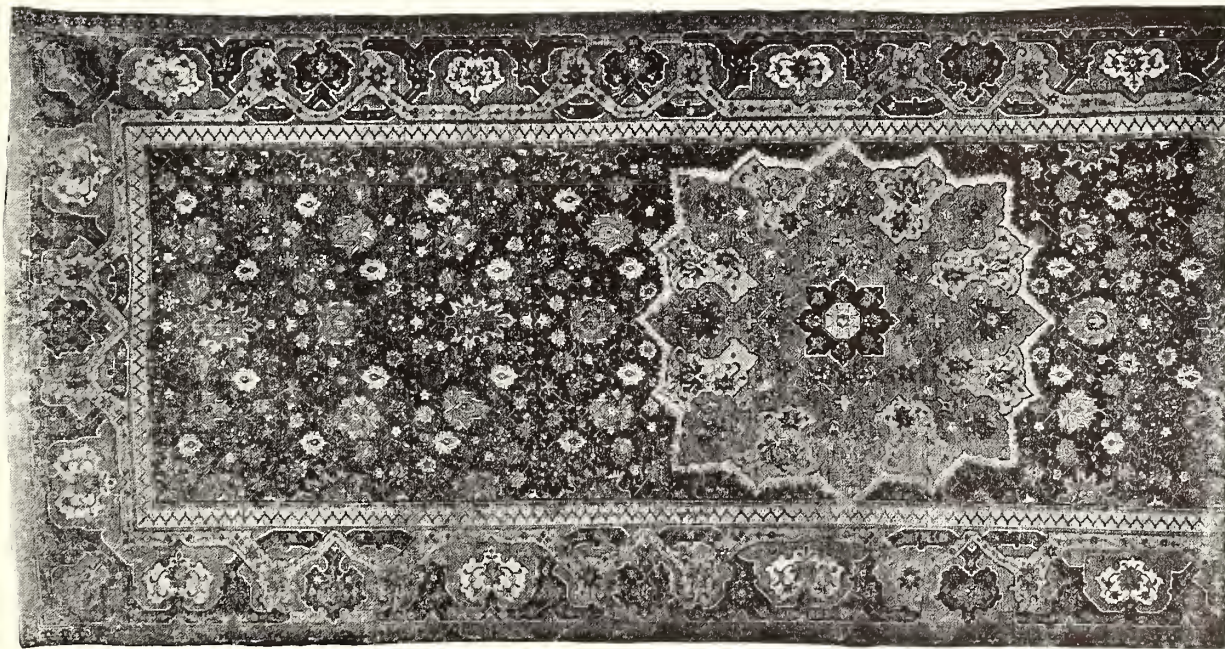


FIG. 19—MEDALLION RUG, PERSIAN, SIXTEENTH CENTURY
NEW YORK, COLLECTION OF M. C. TAYLOR

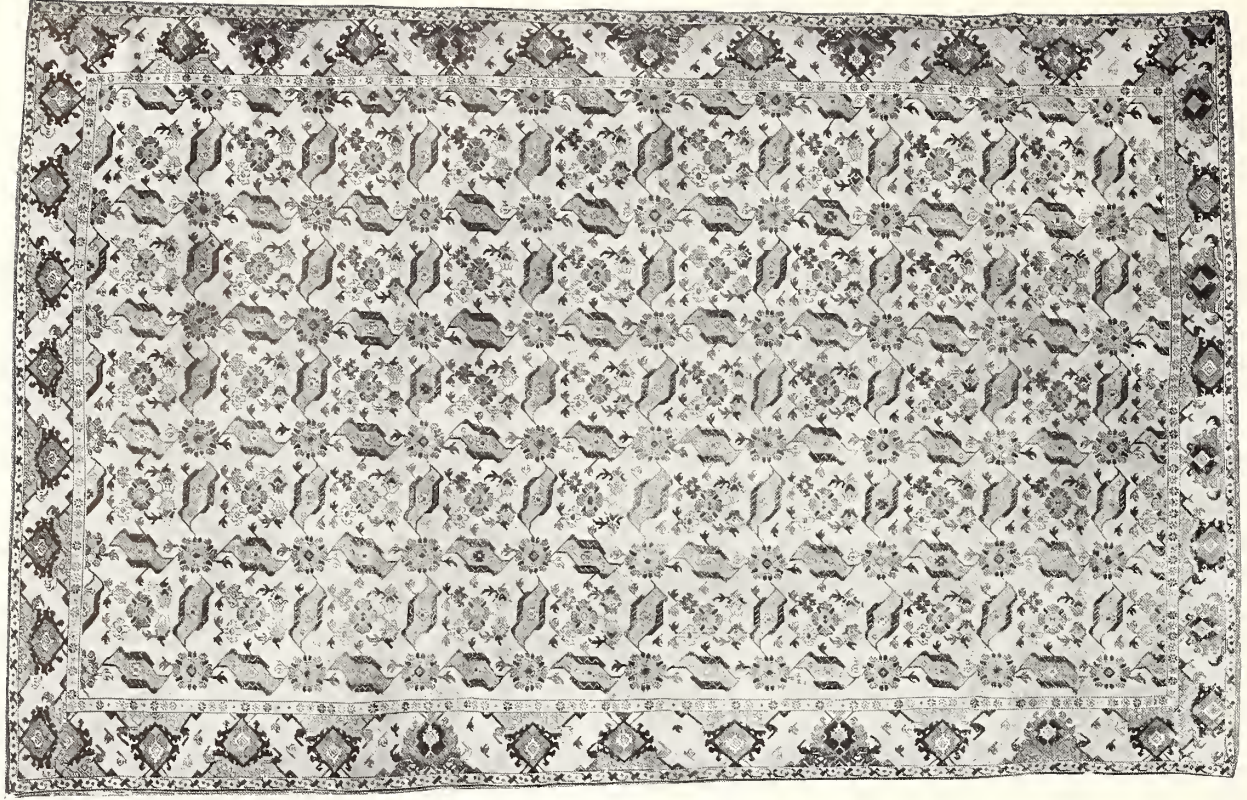


FIG. 22—BIRD RUG, TURKISH, SEVENTEENTH CENTURY
SAN FRANCISCO, COLLECTION OF W. H. CROCKER



FIG. 21—POLONAISE RUG, PERSIAN, SEVENTEENTH CENTURY
CLEVELAND MUSEUM OF ART

design is essentially Turkish in its striking brilliance and realistic qualities.

The pieces of metal work in the exhibition give a most comprehensive view of the perfection of this type of Islamic Art; variety in centers of production—Turkey, Persia, Mesopotamia (Mosul), Syria, and Egypt—vie with variety in shapes and objects—helmet, scimitar and scabbard, shield, ewer, candlestick, canteen, plate, aquamanile in the shape of a bird, and a bronze cat with Kūfic inscription. Two pieces in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, a turban helmet (*Fig. 11*) of fifteenth-century Turkish make, and a shield (*Fig. 12*) from eighteenth-century Persia, both attest the supreme skill of Muḥammadan artists in fashioning such articles, shaped with dexterity and decorated with delicate and elaborate designs.

The beauty of Islamic glass is readily seen in several examples of Syrian bottles and mosque lamps of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; an early fourteenth-century bottle (*Fig. 13*), lent by the Detroit Institute of Arts, is clear proof of the combination of svelte form and brilliance of technique in this branch of art, with decided charm in the colored enamel decoration so aptly combining calligraphy and delicate scroll motifs. Valuable as comparative material are pieces of ivory work of the twelfth century, one a Sicilian work, the other an Egyptian work. And two Egypto-Arabic specimens of Fatimid wood door panels offer striking contrasts in technical procedure: a ninth-century example in the collection of Peter Ruthven, Ann Arbor, has its decoration of symmetrically composed palmettes worked out in sloping relief, and the decoration of an eleventh-century panel (*Fig. 14*) from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, is attained by deeply cut relief producing a design of two horses' heads surrounded by symmetrically composed arabesques.

The unerring sensitiveness of the Muḥam-

madan artist, able to create a sound design with script as its basis or founded on plant or animal forms, is everywhere apparent in the splendid showing of textiles. Several early specimens of cotton or linen with inscriptions, oftentimes dated, work produced in the Yēmēn or in Egypt during the ninth to the twelfth centuries, were loaned by the Institute of Fine Arts, University of Michigan, and take their place among important documentary material in this field of decorative art. Silk fabrics of Hispano-Moresque origin in the fifteenth century, such as one (*Fig. 15*) from the Textile Museum of the District of Columbia, Washington, are indicative of the rich and elaborately stylized work done in the Iberian Peninsula. A magnificent fragment of a twelfth-century Persian silk textile (*Fig. 16*), also in the Textile Museum in Washington, green and gold, the decoration consisting of crowned sphinxes and arabesques enclosed in compartments, is indeed reminiscent of the glories of earlier Persian art during Sassanian time, and equally prophetic of the delicate and graceful designs to be created in later Islamic-Persian textiles. Seventeenth-century textiles—brocaded silks and velvets—display the grace and rhythm of Persian decoration, the boldness and abstraction of Turkish designs, and the richness of Indian patterns.

The impressive grandeur and beauty of Islamic design, color, and workmanship is nowhere more axiomatic than in this magnificent group of over forty rugs of many lands and of the best periods. Unexcelled specimens of most of the important types of rugs from Persia, Turkey, and other centers of production were loaned to this western exhibit. Two rugs in the possession of C. H. Mackay, New York, are particularly fine sixteenth-century Persian works: the medallion rug with animal decoration (*Fig. 17*), called the "Coronation Carpet" and seldom before offered to public view, is comparable to a more widely known example in Berlin, and is superb in color with its white ground, red medallion and

corner sections, and blue border, and delicate in its detail of ornament, with landscape, animals, angels, arabesques, and floral scrolls; and a fine vase rug (*Fig. 18*) of subtle and intricate design and color. Another medallion rug of this period (*Fig. 19*), in the collection of M. C. Taylor, New York, has a certain innate elegance in the simplicity of its conception, with central medallion and floral decoration enclosed by a border of interlaced arabesque bands.

Tapestry-woven rugs as well as knotted ones were loaned to the exhibition, and a characteristic example is to be seen in the seventeenth-century Persian rug (*Fig. 20*) in the Textile Museum of the District of Columbia, Washington, brocaded and with a great variety of colors, and its design including the oval medallion and animal motifs typical of this kind of rug. Seventeenth-century Persian examples were enriched by the inclusion of a so-called Portuguese rug lent by French and Company, New York, with its striking and sophisticated design, and rugs of the so-called Polonaise type, one (*Fig. 21*) from the Cleveland Museum of Art giving a fine impression of these luxurious creations with brocade of gold and silver thread enhancing the often-used color scheme of salmon-pink, blue, and green, and with its design made up of two medallions composed of lancet leaves and palmettes.

Among the specimens of Turkish rugs is a delightful, withal naïve, bird rug (*Fig. 22*) owned by W. H. Crocker, San Francisco, with the freshness of its all-over pattern of angular motifs on a white inner field. A distinguished Sumak rug, lent by the Bachstitz Gallery, The Hague, and listed in the *Catalogue* as Turkish, Asia Minor, or Caucasus, late seventeenth century, is, rather, a sixteenth-century example of the pileless rug produced in those regions. Two Egyptian (so-called Damascus) rugs added their

complex and subtle design and color to the magnificence of the exhibit; and products of Indian and Hispano-Moresque skill in rug-making helped to make this a complete survey of the charm, brilliance, and power of the Islamic decorative arts.

HELEN B. HALL

EXHIBITION OF ORIENTAL RUGS AT THE
TOLEDO MUSEUM OF ART

During the month of January, 1937, a small loan exhibition of Oriental rugs was held at the Toledo Museum of Art (Toledo, Ohio) under the direction of J. Arthur MacLean. In the introduction to the catalogue Dr. MacLean stated that the exhibition was "assembled without any effort to present a sequence of any kind but rather to awaken an appreciation of Oriental rugs for their artistic excellence." The majority of rugs were selected from the Ballard Collection in the Art Museum of St. Louis, recently published by Dr. M. S. Dimand (*The Ballard Collection of Oriental Rugs in the City Art Museum of St. Louis*, St. Louis, 1935). Loans were also made by the Brooklyn Museum, the Detroit Institute of Arts, the Textile Museum of the District of Columbia, and by several private collectors. Although only one Persian rug (Saraband, nineteenth century) was included, there were many fine examples from Asia Minor, India, and Turkestan. One of the most outstanding pieces in the exhibition was the dragon rug from the collection of Arthur U. Dilley. This splendid rug belongs to the group usually called Caucasian and is characterized by a striking design of stylized animals—mainly dragons—executed in clear, intense colors. This rug was also included in the exhibition of Islamic art at the M. H. de Young Memorial Museum in San Francisco.

I. H.

IN MEMORIAM
RUDOLF MEYER RIEFSTAHL
1880-1936

Students and lovers of Islamic art have experienced a serious loss through the sudden death of Rudolf Meyer Riefstahl, scholar and teacher, admired by all who came in contact with his vast realm of knowledge and his stimulating personality. His name is known throughout the world as that of a leader, and the records of his research will be of incalculable value to others following in his footsteps.

Born in Munich in 1880, Dr. Riefstahl was educated at the University of Göttingen and the University of Strassburg, receiving his Ph.D. *magna cum laude* at the latter institution. Leaving Germany he lectured at the Sorbonne and École Normale Supérieure in Paris from 1903 to 1910. During this time he studied French art and published many articles in connection with his work. His interest in Islamic art was firmly established when he was elected Secretary-General of the Exposition of Muhammadan art in Munich in 1910. The following year he returned to Paris to specialize in Oriental art.

In 1915 Dr. Riefstahl established his residence in America, leaving it only for several expeditions in Anatolia and for study in Cairo, Syria, Transjordan, Palestine, and Italy. In the spring terms of 1927 and 1928 he lectured at Robert College in Istanbul. He first achieved recognition in this country through an exhibition of historic textiles at Paterson, New Jersey, and through articles published in American periodicals, chiefly on textiles. His first lectureship in America was at the University of California during the summer session and part of the fall term of 1916. He was appointed professor at New York University in 1924, where he remained until his death, save for a brief interim of study in Europe as fellow of the College Art Association. His teachings covered, in addition to courses in his special field of Islamic art, courses on Oriental rugs and on the textiles of Europe and the East, in both of which fields he was recognized as an authority.

He served as adviser of the Pennsylvania Museum, as a member of the advisory council of the American Institute for Persian Art and Archaeology, as a Fellow of the Research Institute of the College Art Association, as a corresponding member of the German Archaeological Institute, as a member of the American Oriental Society and of the Oriental Club of New York, as a Guggenheim Fellow for the study of Islamic influence in Italy, and as a member of the consultative committee of *Ars Islamica*.

Dr. Riefstahl's many publications include three well-known books, *The Parish-Watson Collection of Mohammedan Potteries* (New York, 1922), *Persian and Indian Textiles of the Late Sixteenth to Early Nineteenth Centuries* (New York, 1923), and *Turkish Architecture in Southwestern Anatolia* (Cambridge, 1931). Besides his works now available Dr. Riefstahl had three more volumes ready for publication and several articles and books in preparation. It is the hope of his colleagues and friends that the wealth of material in these unfinished and unpublished works may soon be made available to the many students who, in years to come, will turn to Dr. Riefstahl's written word for guidance.

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